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THE

TRIBES AND CASTES

OF THE

NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH.

BY

W. CROOKE, B.A.,

BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

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THE

TRIBES AND CASTES

OF THE

NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH.

VOLUME III.

I

'Irâqi, Irâki, Rânki, Ranki, Râki.[1]—A sub-caste of Muhammadan Kalwârs. They profess to take their name from the country of 'Irâq, which is now divided into 'Irâq Ajami, or Persian Irâq, which is nearly coincident with ancient Media, and 'Irâq Arabi, or Arabian Irâq, on the lower course of the Tigris and Euphrates.[2] According to others the name is only a corruption of 'Araqi, from,' Araq "spirituous liquor." In Bihâr they are known as Kalâl, which is merely a variant of Kalwâr and the name by which the tribe are known in the Eastern Panjâb.[3] The word Kalâl is derived from the Sanskrit *kalyapála*, *kalyápála*, *kalyapálaka* or *kalyápálaka*,[4] meaning "a distiller." Some of the Rânkis profess to be the descendants of Persian immigrants, but there seems little doubt that they are little more than Kalwârs who have embraced Islâm. The professed Muhammadan members are said to call themselves Rânki, while others who call themselves Ranki occasionally for the sake of trade sink their Muhammadanism, and revert to the name of Kalwâr, which suits their Hindu customers better. The only difference between them is that Rankis fasten their coats in Hindu fashion to the left and Rânkis in Muhammadan fashion to the right. A Rânki wears a beard and uses a tinned water jar (*badhna*); the Ranki wears no beard and uses

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[1] Based on local enquiries at Mirzapur, and a very complete note by Sayyid Khairuddin Husain Khân, Excise Superintendent, Azamgarh.

[2] Irâq (Mesopotamia) means "a level country beside the banks of a river."—Burton, *Arabian Nights*. *Note 53rd Night*.

[3] Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, II., 196; Ibbetson, *Panjab Ethnography*, 335.

[4] Mr. Neefield's suggestion to connect the word with the *Khairwár* catechumaker, and Mr. Risley's derivation from *kalwária*, "one who works a machine," *Kol* (*loc. cit.* I., 385) are equally untenable.

a brass *loṭa*. The Rânkis in Mirzapur fix their head-quarters at a place called Belkhara, in the Partâbgarh District, whence they emigrated some forty years ago.

Traditions of origin.

2. Once upon a time, they say, a Muhammadan army passed Belkhara, and the soldiers seized a Kalwâr and made him a Muhammadan by force. His descendants are the present Rânkis. There seems little doubt that their conversion occurred in comparatively recent times. Those who have advanced in the belief in Islâm regard Hazrat Jilâni of Bâghdâd as their patron saint.

Tribal organization and marriage rules.

3. Those in Mirzapur certainly have a tribal council (*panchâyat*) which is said not to be the case in Azamgarh,[1] but as they have scattered about in small numbers it is not influential. The president, who is a hereditary officer, is called Chaudhari. Formerly, it is said, the council used to meet to settle trade questions, but now since their dispersion it has become a simple council which meets to settle charges of adultery, breach of caste rules, and the like. Illicit intercourse with a woman of another caste is punished by expulsion, and the offender is re-admitted on feeding the clan on meat boiled with rice (*pulâo*) and liquor. A few years ago the tribal council of the town Rânkis prescribed abstinence from spirits, but the scattered members of the tribe do not carry out this order. If a man seduce a woman of the caste he is obliged to marry her by the Nikâh form. If a woman intrigue with an outsider she is permanently expelled. Their rules of exogamy appear to be a sort of compromise between Hindu and Muhammadan rules. At the last census the Muhammadan Irâqis were recorded in fourteen sections :—Anfi, Angi, Bandi, Bata, Kaldâr, Panchambar, Quraishi, Rafki, Rângi or Rânki, Sâna, Shaikh, Sadîqi, and Zangi. But these do not appear to influence marriage. A man may not marry the daughter of his father's sister or of his own sister, but he can marry the daughter of his maternal uncle. They give daughters as brides into families with which they are already closely intermarried, but do not take wives from them. Polygamy is recognised. Women have considerable freedom before marriage, but after marriage are secluded until they have three or four children, when the restriction ceases. If a man seduce an unmarried girl, both are put out of caste until their respective

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[1] Mr. J. R. Reid, *Settlement Report*, 36.

fathers give a tribal feast; and they are then married by the Nikâh form and admitted to caste. Girls are usually married at the age of ten and the boys at fifteen. The marriage is arranged by the brother-in-law of the boy's father. The consent of the parents is essential, and the parties have no freedom of choice. No bride price is paid. After the consummation of the marriage, the bride's father is expected to give something to the bridegroom's father by way of dowry: this becomes the property of the bride. No physical defect arising after marriage is sufficient to annul it, but this is not the case if any defect in either party which existed before marriage has been fraudulently concealed by the relations on either side. When a woman is proved to be habitually unchaste, she is divorced by the council, and a regular letter of divorcement is drawn up. The marriage of widows and divorced women with leave of the council is permitted, and their children rank equally with those of a regular marriage.[1]

Widow marriage and levirate.

4. Marriage of widows is performed by the Qâzi reading the *Nikâh* over both parties. The man gives the widow some jewels and a sheet, which she puts on. Her father is then expected to feast the clansmen, but if he cannot afford this, he gives them a drink of sharbat, and the ceremony is complete. Contrary to Muhammadan customs,[2] the levirate is permitted with the ordinary restriction that it is only the younger brother of her late husband who can take the widow to wife. If the right of the levirate be not claimed, she can marry outside the family of her late husband. In this case the children by her late husband remain in charge of his brother, and they will inherit their father's estate. The same rule applies in the case of the levirate, with this difference that the levir, in addition to being a trustee for his nephews, is, during their minority, entitled to the usufruct of their estate. There is no fiction of attributing the children of the levir to the mother's first husband.

Adoption.

5. A sonless man may adopt a son with the consent of his heirs. He may adopt his daughter's son. While an adopted son is alive, a second

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[1] There appears to be no fixed rule that a divorced woman cannot marry within the period of *iddah*.—Hughes' *Dictionary of Islâm*, 317.

[2] The only Muhammadan races among whom it appears to exist are the Afghâns.—Elphinstone, *Picture of the Kingdom of Cabul*, *I.*, *168*, quoted by *Letourneau*, *Evolution of Marriage*; 263; and the Bilochis, Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 511, note.

not be adopted. A bachelor, a blind, impotent or lame man can adopt, but not an ascetic. A woman can adopt only by permission of her husband, and if a man adopt a son his widow cannot adopt again. But she can adopt if such adopted son dies, provided the property be the acquired property of her husband. A man can give his only or eldest son or brother to his brother for adoption. A girl may be adopted. The person, however, usually adopted is a nephew or son-in-law, but preference is given to a nephew. In default of a nephew on the male side or daughter's son or son-in-law, they adopt a sister's son. If the son adopted give shares to his brothers in the property of his adoptive father, he can also inherit from his natural father. But not unless the condition is fulfilled, or unless his natural father leave no other son. All this is, of course, contrary to Muhammadan law. "An adopted son or daughter of known descent has no right to inherit from his or her adoptive parents and their relatives—the filiation of this description being neither recommended nor recognized by Muhammadan law. Such son or daughter is, however, entitled to what may be given under a valid deed in gift or will. In this particular the Muhammadan agrees with the English and the Hindu with the Roman law."[1] If after adoption a natural son be born, he and the adopted son share equally. The custom of beena marriage prevails to some extent, and in this case the son-in-law living with his father-in-law acquires no rights of inheritance.

Succession.

6. A man's heirs are his sons, but the property is divided according to the number of mothers. A father cannot during his lifetime nominate particular son to take a larger share than that of the others. When an estate has been held jointly by a father and his sons, and is distributed among the sons on the father's decease, the sons will take all the joint estate, moveable or immoveable, ancestral or acquired. But any part of such estate which a particular son has acquired by succession from his maternal grandfather or father-in-law does not come under division. When there are no sons, but grandsons or great-grandsons, the shares are allotted according to the number of sons of the deceased. If a man die leaving a widow or widows, a daughter and daughters and brothers with their descendants, but no male lineal descendants within their generations, the inheritance

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[1] *Tagore Law Lectures*, 1873, p. 124.

will devolve on the brothers; but the widow is entitled to maintenance. The widow, however, will inherit if her late husband lived apart from his brothers, and she can alienate by sale. But if she become unchaste, her husband's brethren will exclude her and take the property. A daughter never inherits from the father unless during his lifetime he assign her a share by deed; and she has no right to maintenance out of her father's estate. But by caste rules the brothers are held bound, out of love and affection, to support their sisters who are childless widows. If a man used to live separate from his brothers with his mother, and dies without a male lineal descendant, a widow, a daughter or daughter's son, the inheritance will devolve upon the mother. She has a life interest, and at her death the nearest agnate will inherit. It seems also agreed that when the inheritance passes to the associated brethren the owner may by will select a particular brother as his heir. When a wife dies holding property in her own right, the husband succeeds. The son of a widow who re-marries inherits from his father. The step-father supports him till he is twelve years old, after which he returns to his father's family. A man who retires from the world and joins a religious order loses his right to inherit or to retain his property, which passes to his heirs.

Birth ceremonies.

7. There is no ceremony during pregnancy. When parturition is difficult, the woman is given some water to drink on which a Maulavi has blown and over which he has recited some passages of the Qurân. The woman is delivered on the ground. After birth a Chamâin midwife is called in, who cuts the cord and buries it in the ground where the child is born. Over it a fire is kept lighting till the twelfth day. On the sixth day the midwife bathes the mother and child. On the twelfth day the whole house is whitewashed and plastered, and the earthen vessels replaced. On that day the mother and child are bathed by the barber's wife. Her feet are not dyed with lac, as is usual with Hindus. While she is being bathed her women friends sing. On that day, if the father can afford it, he feeds the clansmen on bread, rice, and parched gram. Some families who are extra strict consider the mother impure for forty days.

Circumcision.

8. A boy is circumcised (*Musalmâni karâna*) at the age of five or seven. The ceremony is done in the month of Ramzân or Barê Pîr. Sweet bread

and meat boiled with rice (*puláo*) are first offered to God with prayers, and then the barber making the boy stand facing the east performs the operation. Before and after the boy prays in a mosque. During the operation the boy is given a dose of ma'jún composed of *bhang* and sugar. The wound is washed with a decoction of mahoya (? sarsaparilla), oil of jasmine (*chameli*) or cocoanut, and a decoction of the leaves of the *sín* tree is applied daily. The barber receives four annas as his remuneration and a pice or two from each of the friends present. After this the clansmen are feasted.

Marriage.

9. The marriage arrangements are made by the brother-in-law, or in default of him by some near relation of the boy's father. Then comes the betrothal (*mangni*). The marriage follows a year after. They have the *matmangar* ceremony as among low Hindus.[1] Some families set up a nuptial shed (*máro*), and some do not. In the same way some anoint the bridegroom with turmeric and oil: others use only mustard oil. Before the procession starts the clansmen are entertained at a feast (*bhatwás*). Some offer on the wedding day sweet bread and other choice food to God and Muhammad, others do not. The bridegroom in a white or yellow dress is taken to his bride's house on horseback. When the procession reaches the bride's door, her relations advance a few paces to receive and then escort them to the place prepared for their reception. The Qázi then reads the *Nikáh* first over the bridegroom and then over the bride, after which the friends are treated to sharbat and given a feast. Next morning the bride's father produces the dowry before the friends of the bridegroom, and after feasting them the bride is dismissed with her husband. Some follow the Hindu practice of plunging the marriage festoons (*bandarwár*) into running water on the fourth day after the wedding. This form of marriage is called *shádi* or *charhawa*, in distinction with widow marriage, *sagái*.

Burial.

10. The dead are buried in the usual Muhammadan way in a burial ground known as Harâwal, "the place of bones" (*hár*, *haddi*). The body in the grave is covered with boards, over which leaves of the *palás* (*butea frondosa*) are laid. After the funeral sharbat is distributed to clansmen. On the fourth day rice and *puláo* are distributed to

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[1] For this see *Bhuiya*, para. 14.

friends and beggars. In the same way, on the tenth day food is distributed in the name of the dead, and the clansmen are fed on the twentieth day, and again on the fortieth, while money, cloth and the articles used by the deceased are given to a Maulavi in the hope that the spirit will enjoy them in the land of the dead.[1] On the Shab-i-barât every year bread, meat, and the *halwa* sweetmeat are offered in the name of the dead.

Religion.

11. Rânkis are Muhammadans of the Sunni sect. Those resident in villages observe yearly the marriage of Ghâzi Miyân, and offer in his name sacrifices of goats, rams, and sweetmeats. They also worship the Hindu goddess Bhawâni. They make pilgrimages to the graves of martyrs (*sayyid*, a corruption of *shahíd*), and offer to them blood sacrifices and sweetmeats. Their festivals are the Îd, Baqrîd, marriage of Ghâzi Miyân, and Muharram. During the Muharram many of them get drunk. To protect children from evil spirits they put an amulet (*ta'awíz*), blessed by a Maulavi, round their necks. The ghosts of the dead are supposed to visit their friends in dreams naked and to bring disease. They observe the usual Hindu meeting and other omens.

Social life.

12. Women wear a number of silver rings in the ears and an ornament known as *patta*, nose-rings (*nathiya*), necklaces, wrist ornaments,(*chúri*, *dharkana*), arm ornaments (*jaushan*, *bâzu*), anklets (*kara*, *pairi*). They swear by the form *Râmdokâi* and by the Vindhyabâsini Devi of Bindhâchal; those more under the influence of Islâm on water and the Qurân. They employ Ojhas in cases of demoniacal possession. The effects of the Evil-eye are removed by the incantations of a Muhammadan Faqîr. They will not eat pork and will not touch a Dom or Mehtar, or the wife of a younger brother. The more circumspect are teetotallers. Those who live in cities eat beef, but villagers do not. They will eat the flesh of the horse and camel, fowls and fish, but not alligators, snakes, lizards, or rats. The men eat apart and before the women. Before eating they say a grace,

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[1] The practice of leaving articles for the use of the dead is common. See Parkman, *Jesuits in North America*, *Introduction*, para. 81. He quotes the *Times* of October 28th, 1865, describing the funeral rites of Lord Palmerston: "And as the words 'Dust to Dust, Ashes to Ashes,' were pronounced, the chief mourner, as a last precious offering to the dead, threw into the grave several diamond and gold rings."

bismillâh. They use opium, gânja, and tobacco freely. When a guest arrives the women seize his feet and weep. This is known as *bhentna*. Then they wash his feet and give him drink and tobacco. They salute in the Muhammadan form, *assalâmu 'âlaikam*, with the reply *Wâ 'alaikum assalâm*. No Hindu eats the leavings of their food except Doms and Mehtars. They will not eat food touched by a Dom, Chamâr, Dhobi or Mehtar.

Occupation.

13. They are generally petty shopkeepers, often selling pipes and tobacco and lending money. There is a colony of them in the town of Lâr in Gorakhpur, who are influential and thriving merchants, who deal largely in hides and ordinary country produce.

Distribution of the 'Irâqis according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Numbers.	District.	Numbers.
Sahâranpur . . .	10	Gorakhpur . . .	2,010
Muzaffarnagar . . .	2	Basti	139
Meerut	28	Azamgarh . . .	1,005
Agra	6	Tarâi	13
Farrukhâbâd . . .	28	Unâo	42
Etah	3	Hardoi	36
Bareilly	1	Kheri	125
Allahâbâd . . .	33	Faizâbâd	161
Jâlaun	55	Gonda	307
Benares	13	Bahraich	332
Jaunpur	641	Sultânpur . . .	1,141
Ghâzipur	2,079	Partâbgarh . . .	7
Ballia	2,560	Total .	11,677

J

Jâdon.—(Sanskrit *Yádava*). A sept of Râjputs who claim their descent and name from Yadu, son of Yayâti, the fifth monarch of the Lunar dynasty. Colonel Tod calls them "the most illustrious of all the tribes of Ind"; but in the Panjâb their name has been overshadowed by the Bhatti, the title of their dominant branch in modern times. "The only Hindu descendants of the Yaduvansi at the present day are the Jâdons of the small state of Karauli to the west of the Chambal and at Sabalgarh or Jadonvati in the Gwâlior territory east of that river; but the Musalmâns of acknowledged Jâdon descent form a very large portion of the population of Eastern Râjputâna, from Sohna and Alwar on the west to the Chambal on the east, and from the banks of the Jumna to Karauli and Sabalgarh on the south. These Jâdon Musalmâns are known as Khânzâdas and Meos. The Yaduvansi claim descent from Krishna. The first historical name is Dharma Pâla, 77th in descent from Krishna. His title Pâla has come down to the present Karauli Râjas His date is about 800 A.D. His capital was Bayâna, from which his descendants were driven out by Muhammad Ghori and Kutb-ud-dîn Aibak who took Tahangarh in 1196 A.D. After this the Jâdon Râja retired to Karauli and thence across the Jumna to Sabalgàrh, but eventually returned to Karauli."[1]

2. The tribe in these Provinces is now represented by the Râja of Awa in Pargana Jalesar of the Etah District, whose pedigree is, however, somewhat doubtful. The family in Jewar of Bulandshahr are known as Chhokarzâda, or descendants of a slave girl, and the inferior members of the tribe are called Bâgri, as a title of reproach.[2] The Barêsir of Agra are said to have been given this title, which corresponds to Bahâdur, by Akbar for their services at the siege of Chithor. They claim descent from Râja Tindpâl of Bayâna. The Jaséwat are another branch of immigrants to Agra from Jaysalmer and Jaypur. There appears to be no trace in these Provinces of the regular houses (*Kothri*) of Karauli—Hâdoti; Amargarh; Inâyati; Raontra; Bartûn; Hari Dâs; Mukund.[3] Some of the Jâdons, such as those in Mathura, allow widow marriage, and have hence

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[1] Cunningham, *Archæological Reports*, XX., 5, sqq.
[2] Raja Lachhman Sinh, *Bulandshahr Memo.* 160, sq.
[3] *Karauli Gazetteer*, 46.

fallen in estimation. The Nâra are said to be descended from a barber woman (*nâyan*) as also the Bâgri clan about Bharatpur and Banda. Several of the Jât tribes are also said to be Jâdons and the Sinsinwâl of Bharatpur are predominant among them. The Ahar also call themselves Jâdons of inferior descent.

3. They hold the Ganges in particular veneration. They are now quiet and well-conducted, and it may be noted that their asserted forefathers, the Yâdava, are called Ahinsaka, or "inoffensive," in the Veda.[1]

4. There is by one account a difference between the Jâdon and the Jâdonbansi, the latter being more respectable than the former. The Jâdons are said to be endogamous, while the Jâdonbansi ally themselves with the respectable Râjput septs; but this is, of course, denied by the wealthier members of the sept.

Distribution of the Jâdon and Jâdubansi Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Jâdon.	Jâdubansi.	Total.
Sahâranpur	...	32	32
Muzaffarnagar	...	23	23
Meerut	...	264	264
Bulandshahr	11,316	250	11,566
Aligarh	...	31,905	31,905
Mathura	14,546	984	14,530
Agra	8,530	54	8,584
FarrukhâbâAd	156	4	160
Mainpuri	1,348	55	1,403
Etâwah	832	...	832
Etah	11,015	190	11,205
Bareilly	...	446	446
Bijnor	...	23	23
Budaun	...	468	468

[1] Wilson, *Rig Veda*, I., 279.

Distribution of the Jádon and Jádubansi Rájputs according to the census of 1891.—contd.

District.	Jâdon.	Jâdubansi.	Total.
Morâdâbâd	...	21	21
Shâhjahânpur	...	19	19
Pilibhît	...	50	50
Cawnpur	596	11	607
Fatehpur	37	2	39
Hamîrpur	14	9	23
Allahâbâd	...	69	69
Jhânsi	28	30	58
Jâlaun	186	665	851
Lalitpur	4	...	4
Benares	...	3	3
Ghâzipur	2	1	3
Ballia	...	83	83
Azamgarh	...	19	19
Tarâi	...	2	2
Râé Bareli	...	16	16
Sîtapur	...	15	15
Hardoi	...	5	5
Kheri	...	73	73
Faizâbâd	...	3	3
Gonda	...	1	1
Sultânpur	...	13	13
Partâbgarh	...	32	32
Total .	48,610	35,840	84,450

Jais.—A Râjput sept found in the Central Duâb, who claim to derive their name from the old town of Jais in the Râé Bareli District. In Mathura they say that they moved from Jais to Bikâner,

and that their ancestor, Jas Râm, who first settled at Bhadanwâra after dispossessing the Kalârs, was a leper who had been cured of his disease by a pilgrimage to the sacred places at Braj ; in acknowledgment of the divine favour, he constructed the Râm Tâl at Sunrakh and made his home there. The titles in the family are Kunwar for the elder and Bâbûji for the younger branch.[1] Sir H. M. Elliot remarks that their rank may be judged by the fact that they receive in marriage the daughters of Kachhwâha, Jaiswâr and Bâchhal Râjputs.[2]

Jaiswâr.—A sub-caste of Banyas with both a Hindu and a Jaina branch. Like so many sub-divisions of other tribes, they take their name from the old town of Jais in the Râê Bareli District. Sir H. M. Elliot notes[3] that "Qasba Jais is mentioned with distinction in the early Muhammadan authors, particularly in the Lutâif-i-Ashrafi, or record of the acts and opinions of Ashraf Jahângîr. On one occasion when this sainted person visited Jais it is stated that nearly three thousand pupils came out to pay their respects. In the Imperial Register also it is mentioned as the chief town of a large Pargana; and it may be questioned if it was not even at one time the seat of a subordinate Government, for in a book published at Leyden in 1631, *De Imperio Magni Moyolis sive India Vera*, the author, Jean de Laet, divides the empire into thirty-seven provinces, of which one is Zesswal or Jesswal; and as there is no other in his list which at all corresponds with Oudh, or any other place in its neighbourhood, we may, in want of more certain information, surmise that Jais may have been intended." But the place there mentioned is said to lie east of Patna and has been identified by a recent writer with Rangpur.[4] The ancient name of Jais was Udyânnagar, said to be derived from its founder the Saint Udalik Muni. It was a Bhar stronghold and was destroyed by Sayyid Sâlâr Masaud. It has been suggested that the original name of the place meant "garden" (Sans. *udyâna*), and that the modern name is only a Persian translation of this—*Jâê'Aish*—meaning either "place of delight" or "place of an army."

2. The Jaiswâr Banyas are strongest in Aligarh and Agra.

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[1] Growse, *Mathura*, 420.

[2] *Supplementary Glossary*, s. v.

[3] *Supplemental Glossary*, s. v. *Jaiswâr*.

[4] *Calcutta Review*, 1870, p. 346; and see *Oudh Gazetteer*, II., 95; *Sultânpur Settlement Report*, 34, *sq*.

Distribution of Jaiswâr Banyas according to Census of 1891.

DISTRICTS.	Hindus.	Jainas.	TOTAL.
Bulandshahr	2	1	3
Aligarh	1,894	301	2,195
Mathura	116	41	157
Agra	710	3,312	4,02
Farrukhâbâd	6	...	6
Etah	24	265	289
Budaun	8	62	70
Morâdâbâd	...	3	3
Shâhjahânpur	3	...	3
Pilibhît	3	...	3
Cawnpur	10	...	10
Bânda	...	1	1
Allahâbâd	66	...	66
Lalitpur	...	30	30
Benares	33	...	33
Ghâzipur	68	...	68
Ballia	14	...	14
Gorakhpur	83	...	83
Azamgarh	130	...	130
Lucknow	17	...	17
Râê Bareli	7	...	7
Sîtapur	4	...	4
Bahraich	4	...	4
TOTAL	3,201	4,046	7,247

Jaiswâr.—(Residents of the old town of Jais in the Râê Bareli District).—A sept of Râjputs. The term is really only another

name for the Bhatti, or rather of one clan of the Bhatti tribe. The Bhatti are, however, considered of higher rank than the Jaiswâr, the latter having intermarried with spurious Râjputs. Many of them are now known as Gûjars. There is another sept in the Central Duâb known as Jais who do not appear in the returns of the last Census. They are said to have moved from Jais to Bikâner. In Mathura[1] they say that their ancestor was Jasrâm, who first settled at Bhadanwâra after dispossessing the Kalârs, and that he was a leper who had been cured by a pilgrimage to Braj. The titles of the family are Kunwar for the eldest, Bâbûji for the younger branch. Sir H. M. Elliot remarks that their rank may be judged by their receiving in marriage the daughters of the Kachhwâha, Jaiswâr and Bâchhal Râjputs. The rank of the sept is, however, not high, and they are said to give girls to the Bargala and Bâchhal, and to take girls from the Bargala.

Distribution of Jaiswâr Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Muzaffarnagar . . .	5	Shâhjahânpur . . .	13
Meerut	131	Pilibhît	50
Bulandshahr . . .	1,235	Hamîrpur . . .	221
Aligarh	6	Allahâbâd . . .	20
Mathura	189	Jhânsi	968
Agra	15	Lalitpur . . .	1
Farrukhâbâd . . .	354	Gorakhpur . . .	33
Mainpuri	157	Azamgarh . . .	4
Etâwah	132	Lucknow . . .	38
Etah	168	Kheri	9
Bareilly	98	Faizâbâd . . .	10
Budaun	52	Fârabanki . . .	104
		Total .	4,112

[1] Growse, *Mathura*, 420.

JALĀLI.

Jalâli.—A class of Muhammadan Faqîrs who take their name from their founder Sayyid Jalâl-ud-dîn, who was a native of Bukhâra and a pupil of Bahâwal Haqq, the Sahrwardi saint of Multân, whose shrine is at Uchh in Bahâwalpur territory. "This teacher," says Mr. Maclagan,[1] "was himself a strict follower of the law, but his followers who call themselves Jalâlis are in many ways backsliders. They pay little attention to prayer. They use large quantities of *bhang*, and are given to eating snakes and scorpions. They shave their beards, moustaches and eye-brows, and wear only a small scalp-lock (*choti*) on the right side of the head. They are branded with a special mark on the right shoulder, wear glass armlets, have a woollen cord round their necks, a cloth on their heads, and are a vagabond set with no fixed dwelling-places. There is a section of the order known as the Chahl Tan, or 'Forty Bodies,' who are said to be derived from a luckless woman who, wishing to be a mother, swallowed forty philtres instead of one, and thus produced forty children in place of one only. The Jalâlis are said to be strong in Central Asia."

Distribution of the Jalâlis according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Dehra Dûn . . .	24	Pilibhît	17
Sahâranpur . . .	421	Allahâbâd . . .	36
Muzaffarnagar . . .	596	Ghâzipur . . .	10
Meerut	478	Gorakhpur . . .	4
Bulandshahr . . .	278	Basti	1
Farrukhâbâd . . .	14	Azamgarh . . .	536
Etâwah	6	Tarâi	34
Etah	43	Lucknow	33
Bareilly	319	Sîtapur	87
Bijnor	424	Bahraich . . .	48
Morâdâbâd . . .	176	Bârabanki . . .	128
Shâhjahânpur . . .	58		
		Total .	3,771

[1] *Panjâb Census Report*, 195 *sq.*

Jangama.—(Sanskrit *jangama*, "moving.")—A Saiva order, who are also called Linga-dhâri, because they wear a miniature lingam on the breast or arm. In the Panjâb they are regarded as a class of Jogis who wear brass flowers in their ears instead of the ordinary *mundra* earrings. It is said that when Siva at his marriage desired to give alms to the Brâhmans, no Brâhman appeared; the god thereupon tore open his leg (*janga*, *jangha*) and produced therefrom a man called Jangama, to whom he gave his alms. "These Jangamas are looked on as Brâhmans, and are said to correspond with the Lingâyats[1] of Central and Southern India. They dress and live like Jogis; they beg in the bâzârs, demanding a pice from every shop; they go about ringing bells, they carry peacock feathers in their hands and sing songs in praise of Siva." [2]

2. Of the sect in the hills Mr. Atkinson writes—"They acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of Bâsava (Vrishabha), who was minister of Bijjala Deva, Kalachûri Râja of Kalyâna, and murdered his master in 1135 A. D. Bâsava wrote the Bâsava Purâna, and his nephew the Channa Bâsava Purâna, which are still the great authorities of the sect. They style themselves Puritan followers of Siva under the form of a *linga*, and all others idolators. They say that they reverence the Vedas and the writings of Sankara Achârya, but they reject the Mahâbhârata, Râmâyana and Bhâgavata as the invention of Brâhmans. They consider both Sankara Achârya and Bâsava as emanations of Siva. Bâsava himself was a Siva Brâhman and devoted himself to the worship of Siva under the form of a *linga*, as the one god approachable by all. He denounced the Brâhmans as worshippers of many gods, goddesses, deified mortals, and even of cows, monkeys, rats and snakes. He set aside the Veda as the supreme authority, and taught that all human beings are equal, and hence men of all castes, and even women, can become spiritual guides to the Jangamas. Marriage is imperative with Brâhmans, but permissive only with the followers of Bâsava. Child marriage is unknown, and betrothal in childhood unnecessary. Polygamy is permissible with the leave of a childless wife. A widow is treated with respect and may marry again, though, while she is a widow, she may not retain the jacket, perfumes, paints, black glass armlets, nose and toe rings, which form the peculiar garb of the married

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[1] Monier Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, 88.
[2] Maclagan, *Panjâb Census Report*, 116.

women. A Jangama always returns a woman's salutation, and only a breach of chastity can cause her to lose her position. They are also called Vîra Saiva, to distinguish them from the Arâdhya, another division of the worshippers of Bâsava, who call themselves descendants of Brâhmans and could not be induced to lay aside the Brâhmanical thread, the rite of assuming which requires the recital of the Gâyatri or hymn to the Sun. Hence the Jangamas regard this section as idolators and reject their assistance. Those who totally reject the assistance of Brâhmans are called Sâurânya and Viscsha. The Sâmânya or ordinary Jangama may take wine and betel and may eat in any one's house, but can marry only in his own caste. The Visesha is the Guru or spiritual preceptor of the rest. The lesser vows are addressed to the *linga*, the Guru and the Jangama brother in the faith. The *linga* represents the deity, and the Guru he who breathes the sacred spell into the ear and makes the neophyte one with the deity; hence he is reverenced above the natural parents. The *lingas* in temples are fixed there and are hence called *Sthâmira*; the *lingas* of Bâsava are called *Jangama*, or "able to move about," and the followers Jangama or living incarnations of the *linga*. The Arâdhyas retain as much of the Brâhmanical ceremonial as possible; they look down on women and admit no proselytes. They call themselves Vaidika and say that the Jangams are Vedabahyas. The latter declare that every one has a right to read the Veda for himself, and that the Arâdhyas are poor blind leaders of the blind, who have wrested the Scriptures to the destruction of themselves and others. The Jangama worships Siva as Sadasiu, the form found in Kedâr, who is invisible, but pervades all nature. By him the *linga* is worshipped as a reliquary and brings no impure thought. He abhors Mâya or Kâli, who is one with Yona, and is opposed to licentiousness in morals and manners. He aims at release from earthly lusts by restraining the passions; he attends to the rules regarding funerals, marriage, and the placing of infants in the creed, and is, as a rule, decent, sober and devout. Burial is substituted for cremation, and Brâhmans are set aside as priests."[1]

3. The Jangamas in Benares, who call themselves Vîra Saiva or Lingadhâri, profess to be the followers of VîraBhadra, the son of Mahâdeva. In this sect are found Brâhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas,

[1] *Himalayan Gazetteer*, II., 862, seq.

and Sûdras, Sannyâsis, and Achâryas. Unlike other Hindu sects, it binds all its members in a bond of brotherhood. There are ascetic as well as house-keeping members. They will not eat or drink from the hands of other castes or sects, but they avoid Doms, Chamârs and similar menials, even if they belong to the sect. On the twelfth day after a child is born one of the house-keeping (*grihastha*) Jangamas comes and worships a miniature *linga* with an offering of sandal-wood (*chandan*), washed rice (*achchhat*), flowers, and incense, and ties the *linga* round the neck of the infant. This *linga* remains with the child all its life and even accompanies him to the grave. When the child is five years old the initiation rite is done in the following way:—A holy square (*chauk*) is made on which is placed a sacred water jar (*kalas*). The Guru or Mâhant sits in the square and his feet are worshipped with an offering of sandal-wood, holy rice, flowers, a lamp and sweetmeats. The neophyte bathes and puts on a sheet of silk (*pitâmbar*), or, in default of this, a wet loin cloth, and smears his forehead with ashes. The formula of initiation—*Om namah Sivay*—is whispered into his ear. After this, if the child is intended to live a worldly life, he is kept at home; if he is intended to be an ascetic, he is made over to the Mahant, who takes him to his monastery, and for a year or two teaches the rules of the Siva *linga* worship.

4. To make him a perfect Jangama he is initiated for a second time. A week or so before the day fixed for the ceremony the Guru sends an invitation to the other members of the sect, and a special invitation is sent to the Guru of another monastery asking him to attend with Siddheswara Deota. The Guru of every monastery has an image of this deity, which is made of ashes and is regarded as the family deity. When all are present, a square is made in which the Guru sits. The neophyte is shaved by a barber and after bathing and putting on a silken robe he sits before the Guru. The worship of Siddheswara is performed in the same way as the worship of the Guru at the first initiation, and the same *mantra* is whispered again into the ear of the lad, after which he prostrates himself three times before the Guru. A feast to the brethren follows, and the ceremony ends with the presentation of money and clothes to the Guru who has brought the image of Siddheswara. After this the lad is known as *kânaka ki murti*, or "the golden image," and a full disciple of his Guru.

5. The Guru may have as many disciples as he pleases, and from

among them he chooses his successor. When a disciple is appointed successor to the Guru he is called Pati, "Lord," or Chariti, "Minister." Sometimes one, sometimes two, persons hold these two posts. When he is appointed successor of the Guru, the worship of Siddheswara is performed as at his initiation. A burnt sacrifice (*homa*) is done and all the members present, following the Mahant who brings the image of Siddheswara, mark the forehead of the candidate and offer him costly presents, and all fall down on the ground before him.

6. Jangamas are generally wealthy people, and many of them own landed property. The worldly members of the sect marry in their own caste, but only with members of the sect. Their ceremonies are performed just like those of ordinary high-class Hindus. The mendicant members dress like Sannyâsis. Some wear long locks (*jata*); others shave their heads, beards, and moustaches. They wear clothes dyed in ochre and in the ears rings (*kundal*) of Rudrâksha beads. They have a miniature *linga* round the neck. The Mahant wears usually a turban dyed in ochre, and he never wears shoes, but sandals (*kharaun*). The worldly members may dress as they please; the only mark of their sect which they carry is a miniature *linga* in a small box of gold, silver, brass, or copper, which is tied in a piece of cloth on the neck or right wrist.

7. They bury their dead in the following way:—The corpse is washed and dressed in the clothes worn during life. Then the whole is smeared over with ashes and a necklace of Rudrâksha beads tied on it. It is then seated on a stool in a sitting posture and worshipped as a form of Mahâdeva with sandal, holy rice, flowers, etc.; songs are sung before it; texts of the Scriptures recited and musical instruments played. This goes on for a whole day or more, and large sums are spent in charity. The grave is dug from north to south and is two and a half yards in length and one and a half yards broad. On the north side steps are made, and on the southern side a small room is dug with a bricked arch for a doorway leading into the grave. The corpse, with loud cries of "*Mahádeva, Mahádeva*," is brought into the side-room, seated on a sort of chair (*chauki*) and placed facing the north. It is worshipped with sandal-wood, holy rice, flowers, leaves of the *bel* tree and ashes. In this room are placed all the articles which an ascetic Jangama needs in his lifetime. The whole corpse is then covered with ashes and *bel* leaves. The room is then closed with a wooden door leaving the corpse inside and the grave is

filled up with earth. The only succeeding ceremonies are on the second and thirteenth day; on the second day the members of the sect are fed; on the thirteenth there is a second feast for members of the sect as well as for outsiders. Sayyadâna or "bed gifts," which correspond to the gifts made to a Mahâbrâhman at a Hindu funeral and intended for the use of the spirit in the other world, are among the Jangamas made to a member of the sect. Over the chamber in which the corpse is placed a mound (*samâdhi*) is raised, and on it is placed a *linga* of Mahâdeva, which is daily worshipped.

8. One of the chief duties of the members of the sect is to revere the Mahant like a deity. All orders issued by him must at any cost be obeyed. Whenever they meet him, whether the place be clean or foul, they must prostrate themselves before him. They have nothing to do with Brâhmans in their religious or domestic ceremonies. Those who beg ask only for uncooked food. They beg in the name of Mahâdeva. All of them abstain from animal food and intoxicating liquor. They do not care to look on any one who does not wear a necklace of Rudrâksha beads; if they cannot wear these beads, they mark the forehead with ashes. Almost the whole day is spent in devotion, the result of which they believe will be ultimate absorption in Sankar or Mahâdeva. They are respectable people, and particularly object to any member of the sect doing immoral acts.

Distribution of the Jangamas according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Dehra Dûn . . .	2	Cawnpur . . .	14
Muzaffarnagar . . .	38	Lalitpur	31
Meerut	29	Gorakhpur . . .	15
Bulandshahr . . .	20	Basti	3
Aligarh	677	Râé Bareli . . .	59
Agra	32		27
Mainpuri	17		
Etah		Total .	964

Janghâra.—A large and somewhat turbulent sept of Râjputs chiefly found in Rohilkhand. Their name is said to mean "worsted

in war" (*Jang-hára*), which was derived from their defeat by Râja Hirand Pâl of Bayâna or Shahâb-ud-dîn Ghori. One tradition in Rohilkhand represents them as having dispossessed the Katheriyas. In Bareilly they say that when under Râo Mahrûp Sinh they first entered Bilâspur, they expelled the Ahîrs in 1405 A. D., and in 1570 Basant Sâh drove out the Banjâras and the Bhîls.[1] The Budaun legend is that they came under the leadership of a worthy named Dhappu Dhâm, whose pugnacity is recorded in the verse –

Níchê dharti, úpar Rám;
Bích men laré Dhappu Dhám.
"Below is earth, above is Râm;
Between is fighting Dhappu Dhâm."

There are two divisions of them, the Bhûr or residents in the sandy tract, and the Tarâi, or men of the lowlands.

2. In Shâhjahânpur[2] they claim descent from the Tomar kings of Delhi, which they say they left in disgust at the accession of the Chauhâns. Five brothers led five different parties, and the youngest of the five crossed the Ganges and settled at Sambhal in the Morâdâbâd District. He had two sons, and one of them went to Bulandshahr. The other, Hansrâj, had three sons and they moved east from Sambhal. One settled on the high land east of the Râmganga, and from him are descended the Bhûr Janghâras; of the other two, who were by a second marriage, one was the ancestor of the Tarâi Janghâras, now found in Bareilly and Shâhjahânpur, and the other of the Budaun clan. Some of the Bhûr Janghâras say that the ancestors of the Tarâi Janghâras were sons of a woman of the sept, and hence their descendants hold a lower rank. This account is not admitted by the Tarâi Janghâras, but the difference in rank is not denied. Their settlement may be placed in the fifteenth century, or nearly three hundred years later than their alleged emigration from Delhi, and their genealogical tables do not support their alleged Tomar descent. One of the tribes of the Barhai claim to belong to them. In the Central Duâb they are closely connected with the Chauhâns. The Tarâi branch permit widow marriage, which probably accounts for their lower social rank.

3. In Bareilly they are reported to take brides from the Bâchhal, Gaur, Sombansi, Râthaur, Tomar, Bhatelî, Raikwâr, Panwâr, Bais,

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[1] *Settlement Report*, 19.
[2] *Settlement Report*, 50.

Nikumbh, Dhâkrê, Chandel, Janwâr, and Gautam septs ; and to give brides to the Gautam, Chauhân, Katheriya, and Râthaur.

Distribution of the Janghâra Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Sahâranpur . . .	1	Morâdâbâd . . .	124
Meerut . . .	9	Shâjahânpur . . .	5,841
Bulandshahr . . .	831	Pilibhît	1,318
Mathura . . .	870	Tarâi	1
Agra . . .	176	Sîtapur . . .	53
Farrukhâbâd . .	137	Hardoi	513
Mainpuri . . .	41	Kheri	235
Etâwah . . .	5	Bahrâich . . .	1
Etah	401		
Bareilly . . .	5,163		
Budaun . . .	9,289	Total .	24,812

Jangra.—A small caste of dyers and cloth printers found in Bundelkhand. They trace their origin to the famous fortress of Rintimbûr in the Jaypur State, Râjputâna. They are found in large numbers in the native state of Lodi Fatehpur in Central India. They follow the customs of the higher class Hindus and prohibit widow marriage. A wife may be put away for misconduct and cannot marry again. The lowest caste from which they will eat *pakki* is the Nâi. They will eat *kachchi* only if cooked by a casteman or a Brâhman.

Janwâr.—A sept of Rajputs found principally in Oudh. Of them Sir C. Elliott[1] writes :—"After the taking of Kanauj and the expulsion of the Râthaurs, the earliest colonists were the Janwârs, who settled in Pargana Bângarmau. The Janwârs came from Ballabhgarh, near Delhi, and colonised twenty-four villages, which lie partly in the north-western corner of Pargana Bângarmau and partly in the Hardoi District. Sûraj and Dâsu were their leaders, but Sûraj would not stop here and went on to the country beyond the Ghâgra, where he founded the Ikona Râj, of which the Mahârâja of Balrâmpur, through the rebellion and extinction of the elder branch, is now the head. Dâsu, the younger

[1] *Chronicles of Unao*, 32, sqq.

brother, received the title of Râwat, and when his descendants divided their twenty-four villages into four portions (*taraf*), the eldest and principal branch was called the Rautâna *taraf*, or the Râwat branch. They received six villages and an equal share fell to each of the three younger branches, who are named after Lâl, Bhân, and Sîthu, their respective heads. These four branches have this peculiarity that the estate has always descended entire to the eldest son, and the cadets are provided for by receiving a few fields for cultivation at low rent rates. This is the only instance I know of the *gaddi* or entail principle existing in a small land-holding clan. One village has been given to the Chandels as the marriage portion of a Janwâr bride, and one or two have been alienated through debts and mortgages; but each of the four branches of the family still retains the majority of their original villages, and the eldest son holds the whole of the lands belonging to his branch.

2. "Whether it was this uncommon law of primogeniture that drove out the cadets, or whether a younger son entered the Delhi service and received the tract as a Jâgîr, is doubtful; but nine generations, or about two hundred and fifty years ago a large branch of these Janwârs settled in the Pargana of Fatehpur Chaurâsi, taking the lands from the aboriginal Thatherns or Lodhas. They are divided into three branches, two of which take their name from places—Thaktaya and Sarâi,—and the third, strangely enough, either from its original head, or, as the common story goes, from the murder by two of its chiefs of the eldest son of the oldest or Sarâi branch. It is called Markaha, or 'the murderous house.' But the elder branch kept up its superiority and completely subjugated the other two divisions of the family in the end."

The Janwârs of Bahraich.

3. "The Janwârs relate that their ancestor Bariyár Sâh, a Sombansi chieftain of Pawagarh on the confines of Gujarât, had been worsted in a dispute with his father and brothers and was imprisoned by Sultân Ghiyâs-ud-dîn Balban of Delhi. He was released by Sultán Jalál-ud-din Firoz Khilji, and fearing to return to his own country, collected a band of followers and joined the Governor of Bahraich, by whom he was sent against the Bhars and Thârus settled in forests between the Râpti and the hills. I have not been able to procure any exact date; but if the names of the Delhi Emperors are correctly given, that immigration occurred, like that of the Kalhans, at the commencement of the fourteenth century. The advance of the

Janwârs was hemmed in by dense forests, peopled only by small communities of the lower castes, and it was Mâdho Sinh, the seventh in descent from the original invader, who first penetrated close to the present town of Balrâmpur and expelled Khannu Chaudhari, a carpenter by caste, the head of the former society." [1]

Other Janwâr colonies.

4. In Sîtapur they fix their home in Gujarât and have a family tree extending to thirty-three generations and 1149 years. Another family are said to take their origin from the famous Janakpur in Mithila or Tirhût.[2] Mr. Carnegy believes that some of them are of Dikhit descent.[3] In Kheri they claim to have been originally Chauhâns, and their ancestor, Jamni Bhân, was granted in A. D. 1562 the post of Chaudhari with the right of collecting two pice per *bígha* on all the cultivated land in the district.

5. In Sîtapur they are reported to give brides to the Gaur and Tomar septs, while they usually take Bâchhal girls to wife. In Unâo they generally marry their daughters to Panwârs living across the Ganges, Dikhits and Jâulonbansis, and they take brides from the Chandel, Gaur, Chauhân or Raikwâr septs.

Distribution of the Janwâr Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Agra	22	Basti	317
Mainpuri	1	Azamgarh	2
Etâwah	26	Lucknow	2,902
Bijnor	15	Unâo	3,691
Morâdâbâd	194	Râê Bareli	1,449
Shâhjahânpur	245	Sitapur	3,041
Pilibhît	15	Hardoi	2,440
Cawnpur	986	Kheri	973
Fatehpur	768	Gonda	827
Bânda	1,301	Bahrâich	1,477
Allahâbâd	3	Sultânpur	8
Jâlaun	127	Partâbgarh	17
Lalitpur	302	Bârabanki	826
Benares	2	Total	21,077

[1] *Settlement Report*, 9.
[2] *Settlement Report*, 93, 99.
[3] *Notes*, 48.

Jât.[1]—An important agricultural tribe found chiefly in the western part of the Province in the Meerut and Rohilkhand Divisions and in smaller numbers in the Central Duâb.

2. The traditions of the tribe do not throw much light on their origin. According to one story, at one time when Himâchal was performing a great sacrifice he invited all the gods to be present except his son-in-law Mahâdeva. His wife Pârvati heard of this from her husband, and was obliged to go alone. When she arrived she found that no seat and no share of the offerings had been allotted to her spouse; so she was wroth, and threw herself into the sacrificial fire, where she was consumed to ashes. When Mahâdeva heard of this he was consumed with anger, and untying his long hair (*jata*) dashed it on the ground. Instantly a powerful being arose and stood with folded hands before the god to do his bidding. Mahâdeva ordered him to go at once and destroy the sacrifice of Himâchal. He carried out the order and was named Vîrabhadra, from whom are descended the race of the Jâts, and they take their name from the matted hair (*jata*) of the lord Mahâdeva.

Origin.

3. All the Jâts of these provinces have more or less vague traditions that they originally came from the Panjâb or Rajputâna. Thus in Mathura they assert that they originally migrated from Bayâna to Hissâr and thence made their way down the Jumna. In Bijnor they fix their original home at Dhâranagar, whence they came under the leadership of Râja Jagat Deva. Others in Bijnor refer their origin to Udaypur. By another account, when Muhammad Ghori conquered Chithor, two of the fugitives escaped, one in the direction of Nepâl, and the other wandering through Ajmer, Bikâner and Delhi arrived at Mîranpura, a village in the Muzaffarnagar District. Thence he came to Jhandapur, near Bijnor, and warred with the Kalâls, who then ruled the land. They overcame him and killed his whole family, except, as is the stock incident in many tribal legends, a pregnant woman who escaped to her father's house at Dhanaura in the Rohtak District, where she gave birth to a son named Dasanda Sinh. A musician took pity on the lad and brought him to the court of the Emperor at Delhi, who sent a force with him to Bijnor and restored him to his family estates.

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[1] Based on information obtained at Sahâranpur and notes by Mr. P. J. Fagan, C. S.; M. Atma Râm, Head Master, High School, Mathura; Chaudhari Dhyân Sinh, Moradâbâd; the Deputy Inspectors of Schools, Bijnor, Bulandshahr, Meerut.

4. An attempt has been made to trace the ethnological connections of the Jâts much further than this. Thus General Cunningham[1] identifies them with the Xanthii of Strabo and the Jatti of Pliny and Ptolemy, and fixes their parent country on the banks of the Oxus between Bactria, Hyrkania and Khorasmia. In this very position there was a fertile district irrigated from the Margus river, which Pliny calls Zotale or Yothale, which he believes to have been the original seat of the Jattii or Jâts. "Their course from the Oxus to the Indus may, perhaps, be dimly traced in the Xuthi of Dionysius of Samos and the Zuthi of Ptolemy, who occupied the Karmanian desert on the frontier of Drangiana. They may have been best known in early times by the general name of their horde as Abars instead of by their tribal name as Jâts. According to this view, the main body of the Jattii would have occupied the district of Abiria and the towns of Pardabathra and Bardaxema in Sindh, while the Panjâb was principally colonised by their brethren the Meds." On this Dr. Pritchard writes—"The supposition that the Jats or Jâts of the Indus are descendants of the Yuetschi does not appear altogether preposterous, but it is supported by no proof except the very trifling one of a slight resemblance of names. The physical characters of the Jâts are very different from those attributed to the Yuetschi and the kindred tribes by the writers cited by Klaproth and Abel Remusat, who say they are of sanguine complexions with blue eyes." Others have attempted to identify them with the Kshatriya tribe of the Jâtharas; but in opposition to this Mr. Growse[2] argues that their home is always placed in the south-east quarter, while it is certain that the Jâts came from the West. By another theory they are identified with the Jarttika, who with the Bahîka and Takka are said to have been the original inhabitants of the Panjâb. They were in the time of Justin known as Aratta, *i.e.*, Arashtra, or "people without a king," and are represented by the Adraistae of Arrian, who places them on the banks of the river Ravi.[3] According to Mr. Nesfield's theory,[4] the word Jât is nothing more than the modern Hindi pronunciation of Yadu or Jâdu, the tribe in which Krishna was born, which is now represented by the modern Jâdon Râjputs.

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[1] *Archæological Reports*, II., 55.
[2] *Mathura*, 8.
[3] Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, 89.
[4] *Brief View*, II., sq.

Connection of Jâts and Râjputs.

5. The opinion of the best Indian authorities seems to be gradually turning to the belief that the connection between Jâts and Râjputs is more intimate than was formerly supposed. Thus, writing of Hissâr, Mr. P. J. Fagan says:—"It would probably require a lifetime of careful study and comparison before we could reach any satisfactory decision in the question whether Jâts and Râjputs are identical, similar or distinct races. The popular native account of the matter is simple enough; the Jâts, in common with many of the other tribes, are, according to the common opinion of the country side, Râjputs who have fallen in the social scale by infringing the rules forbidding the marriage of widows, enforcing the seclusion of women, and the like. In regard to customs, religious and social, Jâts and Râjputs are very similar; whatever differences are apparent in the latter are the very grounds assigned for their lower social position. My opinion is that we cannot properly set aside the weight of common tradition on the point, and I think we must hold that within certain limitations Jâts and Râjputs were originally one race; but that, instead of the Râjput remaining stationary and the Jât falling in the social scale, it is the Râjput who has risen, while the Jât has remained stationary or risen only slightly." And he goes on to hazard the theory that of the two sub-divisions the Sivagotra represent the non-Aryan and the Kâsib or Kasyapa *gotra* the Aryan part of the tribe.

6. To much the same effect Mr. Ibbetson writes[1]:—"It may be that the original Jât and the original Râjput entered India at different periods in its history, though to my mind the term Râjput is an occupational rather than an ethnological expression. But if they do originally represent two separate waves of immigration, it is at least exceedingly probable both from their almost identical physique and facial character, and from the close communion which has always existed between them, that they belong to one and the same ethnic stock; while, whether this be so or not, it is almost certain that they have been for many centuries, and still are, so interminglcd and so blended into one people that it is practically impossible to distinguish them as separate wholes. It is, indeed, more than probable that the process of fusion has not ended here, and that the people who thus in the main resulted from the blending

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[1] *Panjâb Ethnography*, paras. 421, 422.

of the Jât and the Râjputs, if these two were ever distinct, is by no means free from foreign elements. We have seen how the Pathân people have assimilated Sayyids, Turks and Mughals, and how it was sufficient for a Jât tribe to retain its political independence and organisation in order to be admitted into the Biloch nation; we know how a character for sanctity and exclusiveness combined will in a few generations make a Quraish or a Sayyid; and it is almost certain that the joint Jât-Râjput stock contains not a few tribes of aboriginal descent, though it is probably in the main Aryo-Skythian, if Skythians be not Aryans. The Mân, Her and Bhûlar Jâts are known as *'asl* or 'original' Jâts, because they claim no Râjput ancestry, but are supposed to be descended from the hair (*jata*) of the aboriginal god Siva; the Jâts of the south-eastern divide themselves into two sections—Sivgotri, or of the family of Siva, and Kâsibgotri, who claim connection with the Râjputs; and the names of the ancestor Bar of the Sivgotris and of his son Barbara are the very words which the ancient Brâhmans give as the marks of the barbarian aborigines. Many of the Jât tribes in the Panjâb have customs which apparently point to non-Aryan origin, and a rich and almost virgin field for investigation is here open to the ethnologist.

7. "But whether Jâts and Râjputs were or were not originally distinct, and whatever aboriginal elements may have been affiliated to their society, I think that the two now form a common stock; the distinction between Jât and Râjput being social rather than ethnic. I believe that those families of that common stock whom the tide of fortune has raised to political importance have become Râjputs almost by mere virtue of their rise; and that their descendants have retained the title and its privileges on the condition, strictly enforced, of observing the rules by which the higher are distinguished from the lower castes in the Hindu scale of precedence, of preserving their purity of blood by refusing to marry with the families of lower social rank, of rigidly abstaining from widow marriage, and of refraining from degrading occupations. Those who transgressed these rules have fallen from their high position and ceased to be Râjputs; while such families as, attaining a dominant position in their territory, began to affect social exclusiveness and to observe the rules, have become not only Râjas, but Râjputs, or 'sons of Râjas.'"

8. In addition to all this there is good reason to suspect that the modern Jât race has become under the influence of infanticide

very much intermixed. From a recent Report[1] it would seem that Jâts are much addicted to purchasing girls of low caste and passing them off among their friends as genuine girls of the tribe and then marrying them. This, of course, much weakens the force of any available evidence from anthropometry in settling the ethnological affinities of the tribe.

Physical appearance.

9. Of the tribe in Râjputâna a competent observer, Dr. Brereton, writes[2]:—"In physique the Jâts are generally of fair height, but below the average of Râjputs or other castes. Their chest measurement and weight are in fair proportion to their height; the extremities, especially the lower, are often disproportionate to their abnormal length. The women are of very strong physique, exceeding men in this respect, proportionately speaking. They are not remarkable for personal beauty, but some have very fine figures. They are most industrious and contented, work in the fields, etc., but are said to rule their husbands. The prevailing complexion is fair and the colour of the eyes dark; the hair is dark, fine, and straight; beard and moustaches scanty, and the former not usually worn. The crania are of tolerably fair size and shape, often elongated, altogether a lower type than the Brâhman skull. Their intellectual faculties are not brilliant, partaking more of shrewdness and cunning than ability. They are said to possess courage and fidelity, are industrious and persevering in their habits, and are of an agile and muscular frame."

9. In these Provinces the connection between Jâts and Râjputs is very generally asserted. Thus the Jâts of Agra consider themselves illegitimate descendants of the Yâdus of Bayâna, and have a tradition that their original home was Kandahar.[3] The Godha section claim descent from a Pramâr Thâkur, who came from Dhâr in the Dakkhin, and the Dangri section assert that they are descended from a Sisodiya Râjput of Chithor. "It is an undisputed fact," says a writer, who is himself a Râjput,[4] "that the Sinsiwâl Jâts of Bhartpur are the descendants of a Jâdon and the Thakurelê Jâts of a Chauhân; similarly there are many Jât clans who have undeniably descended from Râjputs by women of inferior stocks. Râjput princes used to admit Jât and Gûjar women into

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[1] *Infanticide Report, N. W. P.*, 1868, p. 2.
[2] *Rajputâna Gazetteer*, I., 162.
[3] Tod, *Annals*, II., 197, *Note*.
[4] Raja Lachhman Sinh, *Bulandshahr Memo.*, 171, *sq.*

their zanânas on account of their strength and graceful appearance. Some, however, do not claim Râjput descent, as the Poniya, who say that they sprung from the *jata* or matted hair of Mahâdeva at Mount Kailâsa. Hence these may be supposed of Getae descent; others refer their origin to Garh Gajni in the west, probably the Ghazni of Afghânistân. Poniya is also the name for a species of snake, and this connects them with the Nâgvansi or Takshak race. Colonel Tod in the Jaisalmer Annals shows that many of the clans are of Jâdon descent. The fact that Jâts practise widow marriage disproves the assertion that they used to intermarry with the Râjputs." This view of the case has been to some extent disproved by what has been already said.

Connection of Jâts and Gypsies.

10. It has been suggested that the Jâts were at least one of the elements out of which the Gypsy race was formed. The question is too large to be considered here;[1] but it may be noted that besides the evidence of language we have some indications of at least six westerly movements of the races of the North-Western Frontier, who are often collectively known as Jâts.[2] Thus we have a doubtful reference to a transplanting of Kerks, Sindhis, Kolis, Meds, and other West Indian tribes before the Christian era. Next we have the bringing of the Luris or Indian musicians to Persia by Bahrâm Gor about A. D. 450 and their subsequent dispersion. A body of Kerks, Sangars, and Jâts were deported from the Persian Gulf to Asia Minor. A body of Jâts is said to have been deported westward after the invasion of India by Mahmûd of Ghazni in 1025 A. D. The same results followed the conquests of the Seljuks in the twelfth century and those of Osmanli Turks in the fourteenth. Finally there was a movement westward at the close of the fourteenth century as the results of the ravages of Timûr.

Tribal organisation.

11. In these provinces the Jâts are divided into two great subdivisions, the Dê or Dhê and Helê in the Ganges-Jumna Duâb, which correspond to the Pachhâda and Deswâla of Delhi and Rohilkhand. General Cunningham,[3] assuming that the last two names mean "late" and

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[1] On this see *Edinburgh Review*, July 1878; Burton, *Sindh*, 248 sq.; Dowson's Elliot, *History*, I., 397, sq.; Rawlinson, *Seventh Monarchy*, 298; MacRitchie, *Gypsies of India*, 339.

[2] See Authorities quoted, *Bombay Gazetteer*, XIII., 714.

[3] *Archæological Survey*, II., 57.

"aboriginal," concludes that the Pachhâda or Dhê Jâts were a comparatively recent colony. "This is confirmed by the known facts in the history of Bhartpur, which owes its rise to Chûraman Jât, who after the death of Aurangzeb migrated with his followers from the banks of the Indus." The Helê or Dhê are considered the superior of the Deswâla or Pachhâda, and they almost everywhere practise female infanticide. The two sub-divisions are usually asserted by Jâts themselves to be endogamous; but this is in some places at least not the case. According to Sir H. M. Elliot,[1] the Dhê have frequently no Jâga or genealogist as the Helê have. He asserts that they never intermarried till comparatively recent times, when the Balamgarh Râja married with the Kaothal family. Another good authority[2] states that "till very recently one division did not intermarry or mess with another; but now there is very little distinction between them in the Rohilkhand Districts, and in the Duâb too there have been instances, but comparatively few, of intermarriages. As a rule the Helê have no great objection to marry the daughters of the Dhê, but they hesitate to give them their own daughters. The Dhê observe certain domestic rites which are contrary to the rites of other Hindu castes, and this is quoted by the Helê as an indication of their low origin. One of these rites is that the Dhê bridegroom wears the veil (*sehra*), while the Helê, like the Râjputs and other high castes, wear the coronet (*maur*). The Dhê, however, eat from earthen vessels, which is more a Muhammadan than a Hindu custom. The Helê are old immigrants and the Dhê new-comers. In the Upper Duâb they speak of Hariyâna as their home."

12. In connection with this Mr. Ibbetson writes[3]:—"There is an extraordinary division of the Jâts of Delhi, Rohtak, and Karnâl, and, indeed, of the other land-owning castes, who have for the most part taken the one side or the other, into two factions known as Dehiya and Haulâniya. The Dehiyas are called after a Jât tribe of that name, with its head-quarters about Bhatgânw in Surpat, having originally come from Bawâna near Delhi. The Haulâniya faction is headed by the Ghatwâl or Malak Jâts, whose head-quarters are Dherka-Ahulâna in Gohâna, and who were, owing to their successful opposition to the Râjputs, the accepted heads of the Jâts

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[1] *Supplemental Glossary*, *sv.*
[2] Râja Lachhman Sinh, *Bulandshahr Memo.*, 171, *sq.*
[3] *Panjâb Ethnography*, *loc. cit.*

in those parts. Some one of the Emperors called them to assist him in coercing the Mandahâr Râjputs, and thus the old enmity was strengthened. The Dehiya Jâts, growing powerful, became jealous of the supremacy of the Ghatwâls, and joined the Mandahârs against them. Thus the country side was divided into two factions: the Gûjars and Tagas of the tract, the Jaglân Jâts of Thapa Naultha, and the Latmâr Jâts of Rohtak joining the Dehiyas, and the Huda Jâts of Rohtak and most of the Jâts of the tract, except the Jaglâns, joining the Haulâniyas. In the Mutiny, disturbances occurred in the Rohtak District between these two factions, and the Mandahârs of the Nardak ravaged the Haulâniyas in the south of the tract. The Jâts and Râjputs seem, independently of these divisions, to consider each other, tribally speaking, as natural enemies, and I have often been assured by Jâts, though I do not believe it, that they would not dare to go into a Râjput village at night."

13. The name Dhê has by some been connected with the famous race of the Dahae, whom Virgil[1] calls *indomitæ*. They are said to have lived in juxtaposition and alliance with the Massagetæ or Yuchi. The combined tribe forced the Sakas to the south, and they overcame the Græco-Bactrian Empire. Prof. Rawlinson[2] explains the name of the Dahae as meaning *rustici*. They were at one time spread over the whole country from the Caspian to the Persian Gulf and the Tigris; they are even mentioned in Scripture[3] among the Samarian colonists, being classed with the men of Babylon and Elam. Strabo groups them with the Sakas and Massagetæ as the great Skythian tribes of Inner Asia, North of Bactriana. Justin speaks of *Dahae qui inter Oxum et Jaxartem non procul a limine maris Caspii habitant*.[4]

Exogamous groups of Jâts.

14. Besides these two great divisions of Dhê and Helê, the Jâts are split up into a vast number of exogamous sections (*gotra*, *pâl*). The last Census in these Provinces records no less than 1,791 sections of the Hindu and 106 of the Muhammadan Jâts. Along the Western frontier the most powerful of these are the Ghatwâl, who are also called Malak, a title which they are said to have obtained as follows:—"In

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[1] *Æneid*, VIII., 728.
[2] *Herodotus*, I., 413.
[3] *Ezra*, IV., 9.
[4] XII., 6; Beal, *Fah Hian*, 35, note; Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, III., 209; Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, 141, sq.

the old days of Râjput ascendancy the Râjputs would not allow the Jâts to cover their head with a turban, nor to wear any red clothes, nor to put a crown (*maur*) on the head of their bridegroom, or a jewel (*nath*) in the woman's nose. They also used to levy seignorial rights from virgin brides. Even to this day Râjputs will not allow inferior castes to wear red clothes or ample loin-cloths in their villages. The Ghatwâl obtained some success over the Râjputs, especially over the Mandahâras, and removed the obnoxious prohibition. They thus obtained the title of Malak or 'master,' and a red turban as their distinguishing mark, and to this day a Jât with a red turban is most probably a Ghatwâl." In Hissâr, according to Mr. Fagan, they claim to be descended from Siroha Râjputs and to have come from Garh Gajni, wherever that may be. They say that they originally settled in Rohtak, where they were under the heel of the Râjputs to such an extent that their women had to wear nose-rings of straw. The Jâts attacked and overcame the Kallanûr Râjputs in a dispute arising out of a marriage procession; but peace was made and both sides settled down. Subsequently the Râjputs invited the Ghatwâls to an entertainment and treacherously blew them up with gunpowder. One Ghatwâl woman, according to the stock legend, who was not present, was the sole survivor and escaped to Depâl near Hânsi. She happened to be pregnant, and her two sons founded the present sept.

15. Other powerful septs are the Jakhar, who are sprung from a Râjput tribe variously stated to be Chauhân and Udha. They take their title from an ancestor of that name. It is related of him that a Râja of Dwârika had a huge and heavy bow and arrow, and promised that whoever could lift it up should be raised in rank above a Râja. Jakhar attempted the task, but failed, and for shame left for his native country and settled in Bikâner. This story, puerile though it may seem, probably implies that the Jakhar became Jâts by degradation from the military caste of Râjputs.

16. The Sahrâwat, who take their name from Sahra, a son or grandson of Râja Anangpâl Tunwar, appear to have come originally from the neighbourhood of Delhi.

17. The Bhainiwâl, who claim to be Deswâli, appear to have been originally Chauhân Râjputs of Sâmbhar in Rajputâna, whence they spread into Hissâr through Bikâner.

18. The Deswâl must not be confounded with the Deswâli, which is a comprehensive name for all the Jât tribes dwelling in the

Hariyâna or Des of Hissâr and Rohtak. All these tribes were probably as closely connected with Rajputâna as are the present Bâgris, but the connection is more remote and less well remembered. The Deswâl, Dallâl, and Mân Jâts are all said to be related closely, being descended from one Dhanna Râo of Silauthi in Rohtak, by a Bargûjar Râjput woman, who had three sons, Dillê, Desal, and Mân, who gave their names to the three tribes of Dallâ, Deswâl, and Mân Jâts.

19. Beginning with the most Westerly Districts we find in Saharanpur that the most powerful septs are the Deswâli, Pachhâdê, and Sinmâr; in Muzaffarnagar we have the Deswâli, Baliyân, Gauthiwâra, Rathê, Sarâwat, Bodlân, Jatarni, Kankhandi, Pachhâdê, Panwâr, and Rikhbans. The Census returns give as the only septs of local importance the Daswân, Gotwâla, Malua, and Maula of Muzaffarnagar.

Septs in the North-West Provinces.

20. All through these lists sub-castes and sections are inextricably mixed up. Thus in Meerut we have the Deswâli and Hela combined with the Chauhân, Dahuna, Daiha, Pachhâdê, and Tomar.

21. In Mathura, according to the last Census, the chief sections are the Barh, Khutel, Lathor, Chhokar, Churel, Gadar, Gauthwâra, Godhi, Maini, Panwâr, Phokha, Râwat, Sakarwâr, Sangeriyân, Sarâmat, Sinsinwâra and Thenwâr. The Nohwâr and Narwâr, who are so closely related as to be prohibited from intermarriage, are also a compact and powerful body. The former take their name from their original settlement in Noh of Jalesar Pargana, now included in the Etah District. Their position in the caste may be estimated from the fact that while they take their wives from the Pachahras and other clans of the South, they only give their daughters to the Sinsinwârs and other powerful clans of the West. They, of course, claim descent from Prithivi Râja; but coming to later times they say that their ancestor lived in Jartauli of Aligarh. They may have been driven from thence when Ibrahîm Lodi attacked Jartauli for rebellion.[1] He had two sons, one of whom, Rati Râo, colonised Noh, and the other Narwâr. The children of Rati Râo gave up Noh to their family priests and founded the villages of Bhenrai and Bajna, whence they spread over the Pargana. A descendant of the brother, who founded Narwâr, settled at Barauth, from whence have sprung the hamlets which now

[1] Dowson, Elliot, *History*, V., 104.

constitute separate villages. The Pachahras founded *ta'alluqa* Aira Khera of Mahâlban and thence Dunetiya of Mât.[1]

22. The Aligarh Jâts trace their descent from Makkhan, who, at the end of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century, led a tribe of Thenwân Jâts from Rajputâna into the neighbourhood of Mursân. He there married a woman of the Khoken Jâts, who with the Brâhmans were the earliest settlers.[2] The Jâts of Eastern Aligarh are principally members of three great clans—the Khandiya in Tappal, the Thakurel in Hasangarh Pargana, and the Thenwân in Gori, Mursân, and Hâthras, and are of much more standing in the country. They date their arrival about 1046 A.D., when their ancestor Bikram Thâkur drove out the Janghâra Râjputs and Kalârs who inhabited the tract. The Khandiya Jâts of Tappal derive their name from the village of the same name in the Pargana and are of comparatively modern date.[3] Other important Aligarh clans are the Ahlâwat, Badhauniya, Bangar, Bharangar, Chang, Chhokar, Chaudhrai, Dagor, Dikkhit, Gandhor, Gûjar, Katheriya, Mahur, Pachhâda, Panwâr, Punriya, Râthaur, Sangwân, Sarâwat, and Tomar. Many of these are the names of well-known Râjput septs.

23. It is unnecessary to repeat the lists of names in the Census returns or to attempt any more detailed account of migrations and local history of these multitudinous septs.

24. These septs are, as has been said, exogamous, but there are all sorts of grades among them, and the rules of intermarriage are most intricate. If an ordinary Jât is asked about it, he merely says that he leaves all this to his family priest. As an illustration of this it may be noted that just across the border of these Provinces in the Rohtak District the Mundlâna and Ahulâna Jâts do not intermarry by reason of old feuds. The Goliya do not marry with the Dâgar or Solankhi, for while they were Brâhmans the latter were their clients (*jajmân*), and when they lost their caste, the former only of all Jâts would give them brides. The Deswâl do not intermarry with the Chaudharân, or Phogat, nor the Chîlar with the Chikâra, nor the Malak with the Dalâls of the Sampla Tahsîl, though they will intermarry with other Dalâls.[4]

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[1] *Mathura Settlement Report*, 38, sq.
[2] *Settlement Report*, 25.
[3] *Ibid.*, 32, sq.
[4] *Settlement Report*, 65.

25. The Jâts have a tribal council known as *panchâyat* which is presided over by a headman, or Chaudhari, which deals with the usual cases of violation of caste rules and customs. The eldest son of a deceased Chaudhari takes his father's place, provided he is competent to discharge the duties of the post. The usual punishment is certain compulsory entertainments to the brethren. In Sahâranpur, at least, it seems to be the rule that if an unmarried girl intrigues with a low-caste man, she is permanently expelled; but if her lover be a man of higher caste than her own, the fault is forgiven on her relations providing a feast according to the award of the council.

Tribal council.

26. Polygamy is allowed, and all Jâts agree that polyandry is abominable. But there seems reason to believe that in some cases it prevails. In Rohtak[1] it is reported that "considering the obligations laid on them by religion to marry, an extraordinarily large number of Jâts remain bachelors. It is common enough to find instances in every pedigree table where the elder of a number of brothers only is married, or perhaps one or two; and though the people would never admit it, it is most probable that in such cases a modified system of polyandry does prevail." There appears to be no well-defined rule as to the payment of a price for either bride or bridegroom. Wherever brides are scarce owing to infanticide, there seems no doubt that girls are purchased; and when the relations of the bride are poor, the bride price takes the form of a contribution given by the friends of the youth to the relations of his bride to assist in defraying the cost of the wedding feast. Among the more well-to-do members of the tribe the tendency is towards the payment of a dowry with the bride. Widow marriage and the levirate are allowed; but here too there seems to be a movement in favour of insisting that if a widow marries again, her husband should be an outsider. The general rule seems to be that when there are no brothers of the late husband, the woman takes with her to her new home her children with any movable property she can secure, and the children of the first marriage are practically adopted and supported by their step-father; on the contrary, if the brothers of the first husband be alive, they take charge of their nephews and rear them until they come of age, receiving as their remuneration for the duty of guardian-

Marriage rules.

[1] *Settlement Report*, 62.

ship the usufruct of the property during the minority of their nephew.

27. In widow marriage the rites are very simple. When the barber and the family priest have arranged the match, a day is fixed on which the bridegroom with a few friends goes to the house of the bride. He remains there for the night, and next morning the woman puts on bangles and the other ornaments which she was obliged to discontinue when her first husband died. Most of these ornaments are generally presented by the bridegroom. When he brings home his wife, he is expected to give a dinner to his brethren. When a man goes to marry a widow, he wears white clothes, not red and yellow as is the rule in a regular marriage.

Domestic rites: Birth.

28. Among the Jâts of these Provinces there is little in the domestic ritual to distinguish them from orthodox Hindus. When a woman is about to be delivered, they wave over her head a rupee and a quarter with a vow of worshipping Devi if the result is successful. If the woman recovers, this money is spent in buying cakes and sweetmeats which are offered at the shrine of the goddess. When delivery is tedious, the patient is given water over which a Faqîr has breathed, or in which has been steeped the quadrangular rupee known as Châryâri, because it bears the names of the four companions (*chár yár*) of the Prophet—Abubakr, Usmân, Umar, and Ali. In Sahâranpur the place of the midwife appears to be generally taken by a Qasâi woman. If a son is born, she gets a fee double of that for a girl, and Brâhman women are called in to sing songs of rejoicing. In delivery the mother is generally laid on a bed made of cakes of the dung of the sacred cow. The mother is bathed on the tenth day, and the whole house is plastered. On the twelfth day, the birth impurity is finally removed by a bath, and the menials are rewarded. Brâhmans and clansmen are fed, and the house is purified by a sprinkling of cow-dung and Ganges water. They do not perform the rite of *Annaprásana*, or *Kanchhedan*, in the regular way; the noses and ears of children are bored whenever it may be convenient.

Adoption.

29. Adoption is allowed. There is no regular rite except the feasting of male friends and Brâhmans, while soaked gram is distributed among the women.

Marriage rites.

30. The marriage rites are performed among the Sahâranpur Jâts as follows:—The age for betrothal is between five and twelve. The girl's father

searches for a youth, and when he has found one, his Brâhman priest and barber are sent to make the arrangements. They compare the horoscopes and make certain that the family is of pure blood and not suffering under any social stigma. When this is settled, a rupee, known as *mangani*, is paid to the youth, and this settles the engagement. Two or three years after, when the boy has attained puberty, his father sends and enquires when he may come to fetch his bride. If the bride is nubile and her friends can afford the expense, the answer is *Byáh sajha lo*—"Set the wedding in train." If he is not ready, he makes no answer, and the phrase is *dhíl de dena*. The procession starts in the usual way; but it is characteristic of Jâts that the waving done for good luck over the pair is done with a copper coin of the Emperor Aurangzeb. On the day the bridegroom starts, a wedding pavilion is put up at his house, and nine Brâhmans are fed in the name of the Naugraha or nine planets. When the procession reaches the house of the bride, her mother comes out, and, after waving the part of her robe covering her breast over his head, touches it with her lips. This is known as the *sewal* rite. The binding part of the rite is the seven-fold circumambulation of the sacred fire by the pair with their garments knotted together.

Death rites.

31. The dead are cremated in the ordinary way. That night the chief mourner, who lit the pyre, places a cup of milk on a little platform of sticks in the road to the burning ground for the use of the ghost, and on the third day he hangs a pitcher of water to a *pípal* tree, leaving a small hole in the vessel through which the water slowly drops for the refreshment of the spirit.

Religion.

32. Jâts are Hindus, Sikhs, and Muhammadans. In Sahâranpur, they, when Hindus, chiefly worship Mahâdeva and Devi, and a host of village godlings, ghosts and demons. Among local godlings the most important are Gûga, Lakhdâta, Pyârêji, and Randeo, of most of which some account has been given elsewhere.[1] In Mathura their favourite godlings are Dâûji and Girirâj; in Bijnor, Châmunda Devi is a sort of tribal goddess, and they also have much respect for what they call Gâêyon ka Devata or the "lord of cows." They also worship various Muhammadan saints, such as Zâhir Dîwân,

[1] *Introduction to Popular Religion*, 133.

Zainuddîn, and Shaikh Saddo.[1] In the direction of Rajputâna they have much respect for Mâta or the small-pox goddess; but the chief object of veneration of all the Western Jâts is Tejaji,[2] a sort of legendary hero, half deified, who is said to have died from snake-bite. The Jâts believe that if they are bitten by a snake, and tie a thread round the right foot while repeating the name of Tejaji, the poison will prove innocuous. His main temple is at Sarsara in Kishngarh. He is always represented as a man on horseback with a drawn sword, while a snake is biting his tongue. Nearly all the Western Jâts wear an amulet of silver with this device round their necks. In the Upper Ganges-Jumna Duâb three of the best known local godlings are Dharm Sinh, Sâvant Sinh, and Hazâri Sinh. Their priests are drawn from the menial tribes, such as the Mâli and Kahâr. All three are the deified ghosts of persons who have died in an unusual way or whose funeral obsequies were not duly performed. Their feast day is Sunday, and on certain occasions the godling sends his influence on his attendant (*sir par á játa*). They then "play" (*khelna*), or move their heads about in a frantic way, answer questions, and give oracles. Sâvant Sinh appears only on the night of the Anant Chaudas feast, the fourteenth of the light half of Bhâdon; the other deities deliver oracles all through the year. They are propitiated by the feeding of Brâhmans and Jogis, with offerings of flowers and sweetmeats, and lamps lighted with ghi. Another deity is Bûrha Bâba, "the old master." He was a Gadariya, or shepherd, by caste, and was noted for his proficiency in Sanskrit. When he is not duly propitiated he brings ringworm (*ganj*) on children. Some people he afflicts with boils, but he is not very malevolent, and a small offering regularly made prevents him from doing much harm. At the last Census no less than 54,849 persons in the Western Districts declared themselves votaries of Bûrha Bâba. Jâts are also much addicted to ancestor worship and have many such shrines in their villages. In Karnâl, the Sandhu Jâts worship Kâla Mehar or Kâla Pîr, their ancestor, whose chief shrine is at Thâna Satra, in Siâlkot, the head-quarters of the Sandhus; the Halâwat Jâts worship a common ancestor called Saddu Deo. They are much afraid of the ghosts of the dead. Besides the regular *srâddha*, one mode of propitiating them is to pour some water at the root of a *pîpal* tree, and

[1] *Introduction to Popular Religion*, 129, 138.
[2] *Ibid*, 135.

distribute some cloth, cotton and sesame on a Saturday in alms. The Evil Eye is avoided by wearing a blue string round the neck, making a black mark on the forehead, waving red pepper, wheat chaff, salt, and mustard round the head of the patient, and then burning them on the family hearth.

Social customs.

83. Their oaths are on the Ganges, or a bottle of its water kept for this purpose, by some the godlings, such as Gûga, Tejaji or Dâûji, on their sons' heads or by touching an idol in a Hindu temple. They eat the same food as higher class Hindus, including wild pigs and fowls; they will not eat beef or pork. They name the deity Nârâyan, when they eat, and throw a little food on the ground. They salute each other in the form *Râm! Râm!* Sikhs use the phrase *Wâh Guru ki fateh*. They are not considered strict in the matter of eating, drinking, and smoking, and, though they profess not to drink spirits, the rule does not seem to be rigidly observed.

Character and occupation.

84. The Jât takes a high rank among the cultivating races of the Province. He is simply a slave to his farm, and this absorption in rigorous out-of-door work at all seasons has had its effect on his character and physique. He never dreams of taking any service, except in the army; he is thrifty to the verge of meanness, and industrious beyond comparison; if his crops fail, it is sheer hard luck. When he is not busy in his field, he lets out his cart for hire, or busies himself in collecting manure, which he manages with great care and skill. His fault is quarrelsomeness; and, in litigation, he never knows when he is beaten. In the life of the village he is a general butt, and is noted for his rustic, boorish ways. This is reflected in the proverbial wisdom of the countryside:—

Jangal Jât na chheriyé, hatti bîch Kirâr,
Bhûkha Turk na chheriyé, ho jâé yî ka jhâr—

"Meddle not with the Jât in the wilds, or the Kirâr at his mart, nor a hungry Turk; if you do, you will risk your life."

Kabit sohé Bhât ko,
Kheti sohé Jât ko—

"Songs suit a Bhât, and husbandry a Jât."

Jât mara tab jâniyé jab terahwîn guzar jâé—

"Never be sure a Jât is dead till the days of mourning for him are over."

Distribution of Jâts according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Hindu.	Musalmân.	Sikh.	Total.
Dehra Dûn . . .	285	7	71	363
Sahâranpur . . .	12,316	364	361	13,041
Muzaffarnagar . . .	71,848	8,792	326	80,966
Meerut	148,580	4,707	2,103	155,390
Bulandshahr . . .	54,290	58	20	54,368
Aligarh	80,585	...	51	80,636
Mathura	123,101	95	732	123,928
Agra	54,943	3	319	55,265
Farrukhâbâd . . .	240	4	6	250
Mainpuri	952	13	12	977
Etâwah	294	...	13	307
Etah	204	5	9	218
Bareilly	8,876	...	...	8,876
Bijnor	57,097	...	647	57,744
Budaun	4,649	27	...	4,676
Morâdâbâd . . .	80,215	...	43	80,258
Shâhjahânpur . . .	383	...	7	390
Pîlibhît	831	...	...	831
Cawnpur	589	...	6	595
Fatehpur	115	6	...	121
Bânda	5	1	15	21
Hamirpur	45	...	1	46
Allahâbâd	564	41	...	605
Jhânsi	328	10	738	1,076
Jâlaun	102	...	1	103
Lalitpur	85	...	46	131

Distribution of Jâts according to the Census of 1891—concld.

Districts.	Hindu.	Musalmân.	Sikh.	Total.
Benares	55	6	24	85
Mirzapur	41	...	...	41
Jaunpur	85	...	...	85
Ghâzipur	8	...	8	16
Ballia	2	...	...	2
Gorakhpur	18	3	...	21
Basti	476	...	...	476
Azamgarh	4	...	...	4
Kumaun	6	...	...	6
Garhwâl	16	...	...	16
Tarâi	1,180	...	...	1,180
Lucknow	2,302	2	147	2,451
Unâo	92	...	...	92
Râê Bareli	...	1	42	43
Sîtapur	93	...	6	99
Hardoi	34	...	...	34
Kheri	793	4	18	815
Faizâbâd	45	3	138	186
Gonda	899	6	42	947
Bahraich	79	18	88	185
Sultânpur	18	14	...	32
Partâbgarh . . .	7	...	11	18
Bârabanki	79	...	7	86
TOTAL .	707,854	14,190	6,058	728,102

	Saháran-pur.	Muzaffar-nagar.	Meerut.	Buland-shahr.	Aligarh.	Mathura.	Agra.	Bareilly.	Bijnor.	Budaun.	Moráb-ábád.	Tarái.	Gonda.
Ahláwat . . .	...	...	...	...	2,020	602	...	...	...	...	217	...	...
Aujiya . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	251	...	...	...
Aujlan . . .	...	...	388	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Autal . . .	...	200	...	...	...	...	...	264	...	...	...	...	...
Baban . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	378	...	...
Bachharwá . . .	...	...	...	...	...	6,705	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Badhauniya . .	...	...	...	...	1,062	1,842	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Baliyán . . .	...	9,933	...	...	1,724	—	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bangar . . .	...	—	...	...	1,029	923	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bhangiwál . .	...	212	...	...	—	...	—	...	...	...	...	—	...
Bargújar . .	...	...	...	...	783	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Barh . . .	...	...	...	...	...	22,627	8,503	...	...	...	...	...	...
Berhwál . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	241	...	...	...	...	...	...

Distribution of the Chief Jât Sections—continued.

	Sahâranpur.	Muzaffarnagar.	Meerut.	Bulandshahr.	Aligarh.	Mathura.	Agra.	Bareilly.	Bijnor.	Budaun.	Moradâbâd.	Tarâi.	Gonda.
Bhagotar . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,580	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bhâranagar . .	...	...	...	...	...	4,358	525	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bhatti . . .	...	224	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bhîtwâna . .	...	...	...	...	481	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bhitwâr . . .	...	...	...	...	...	234	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bodiyân . . .	...	1,641	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bora . . .	...	...	...	559	478	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chamer . . .	...	...	...	...	287	1,368	9,508	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chandel . . .	...	...	...	...	480	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chang . . .	...	...	...	...	1,848	730	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chaudhari . .	...	...	...	...	3,813	...	...	...	270	...	...	...	...
Chauhân . . .	...	...	1,107	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chhokar . . .	...	...	...	...	1,111	3,422	1,399	...	...	...	...	...	...

Chhattas	...	...	...	...	828	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Churai	...	...	...	...	378	1,459	1,441	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Dagar	...	...	...	7,180	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Dagor	...	...	...	...	4,727	475	1,057	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Dahima	...	...	...	1,541	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Dahuna	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Daiha	...	...	8,562	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Dangiya	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	217	...	...	
Dangar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Deswâli	6,538	26,406	85,965	3,099	2,152	1,401	266	...	53,150	14,502	14,740	978	...		
Dhâkra	...	...	...	274	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
Dhana	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	238	...	...		
Dhanoi	...	...	...	...	538	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
Dhârhiwâl	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	338	...	...	...	...	...		
Dholphora	...	...	230	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
Dhingar	...	...	...	202	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	253		
Dholiya	...	...	...	...	370	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		

Distribution of the Chief Jât Sections—continued.

	Sahâranpur.	Muzaffarnagar.	Meerut.	Bulandshahr.	Aligarh.	Mathura.	Agra.	Bareilly.	Bijnor.	Budaun.	Moradâbâd.	Tarâi.	Gonda.
Dikhit	...	...	...	...	2,899	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dusâdh	...	...	...	...	...	620	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Faujdâr	...	...	...	...	...	631	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gadar	...	...	...	...	...	2,070	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gaharwâr	...	...	...	...	...	...	602	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gahlot	...	...	...	...	426	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gandawâl	...	929	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gandhar	...	...	...	...	...	...	303	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gandhila	...	...	...	...	627	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gandhor	...	...	...	...	2,468	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gangâs	...	...	...	222	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ganthwâra	...	11,476	...	...	...	1,205	1,976	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gaur	...	...	...	...	247	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Gillu	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	267	...	...	...	...	...
Godara	...	...	...	230	...	...	...	...	252	...	...	...	...	...
Godhi	...	...	...	...	735	2,123	453	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Goriya	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	254	...	...
Gûgar	...	...	...	...	24,013	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hela	...	...	32,761	13,904	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Henya	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,567	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Indauliya	...	...	...	...	...	237	1,876	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Jaiswâr	...	...	...	...	996	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Jakhar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	415	...	...
Jatarni	...	1,299	259	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Jatu	216	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kachhwâha	...	...	...	...	1,049	...	413	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kanchir	...	...	...	...	1,116	229	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kankhandi	...	1,040	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Katheriya	...	...	...	...	3,021	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Khokhar	...	...	442	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Distribution of the Chief Jât Sections—continued.

	Sahâranpur.	Muzaffarnagar.	Meerut.	Bulandshahr.	Aligarh.	Mathura.	Agra.	Bareilly.	Bijnor.	Budaun.	Moràdâbâd.	Tarâi.	Gonda.
Khubar . . .	...	...	...	...	198	1,524	1,191	...	...	...	...	...	...
Khunkhuniya . .	...	...	...	...	776	245	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Khutel . . .	...	...	...	...	1,389	10,906	1,936	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kistwâr . . .	...	...	...	...	...	272	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Koil . . .	...	...	...	...	592	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kunthal . . .	...	250	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lahiri . . .	...	...	...	303	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lathar . . .	...	...	...	320	...	8,974	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lohain . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	257	...	...	...	...	...
Mahor . . .	...	...	...	...	4,523	513	1,033	...	...	...	...	...	...
Maini . . .	...	...	...	...	...	3,360	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mathuriya . .	...	...	...	...	400	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mohjit . . .	...	...	...	1,729	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Mori	...	...	...	...	...	...	645	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mûndban	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	911	...	...	...	...	...
Nohwâl	...	...	...	1,594	...	...	1,051	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nanoliya	...	...	...	...	650	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pachhâdé	1,343	1,157	1,121	...	3,287	814	184	2,105	1,908	28,516	28,267	...	...	...
Padhâa	330	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Panwâr	...	...	...	...	7,277	1,509	242	...	...	...	218	...	...	...
Parihâr	...	...	...	...	...	...	498	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Phokha	...	...	...	...	...	1,228	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Puâr	...	1,528	311	1,888	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Puniya	...	...	...	306	...	393	293	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Punriya	...	...	...	...	3,254	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Purbar	...	469	...	...	1,345	1,661	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Raikwâr	...	...	...	...	385	397	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rajauriya	...	...	...	3,604	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Râna	...	...	...	...	1,302	902	828	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rânghar	...	...	...	...	379	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Distribution of the Chief Jât Sections—concluded.

	Sahâranpur.	Muzaffarnagar.	Meerut.	Bulandshahr.	Aligarh.	Mathura.	Agra.	Bareilly.	Bijnor.	Budaun.	Morâdâbâd.	Tarâi.	Gonda.
Râhtaur	...	...	...	...	2,568	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Râthi	...	2,750	351	...	...	...	...	228	...	...	...	...	...
Râwat	...	...	...	1,942	1,765	2,010	377	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rikhbans	...	927	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rora	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	366	...	...
Saigal	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	205	...	...	...
Sakarwâr	...	...	...	...	1,119	3,596	1,589	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sakel	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	273	...	...	...	...
Salaklain	...	866	494	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sangeriyân	...	...	...	...	...	11,868	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sarâmat	...	...	...	...	...	1,714	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sarâwat	...	2,106	...	...	1,775	...	3,461	...	...	206	...	...	...
Sangwân	...	...	...	718	5,194	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Sidhu	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	781	...	...	...	...	...
Sinmâr	700	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sinsinwâr	...	...	218	3,618	5,325	4,219	2,013	292	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sohron	...	...	...	...	...	476	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sugariyân	...	...	...	...	...	596	909	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Thakurela	...	...	...	5,681	28,871	826	...	...	...	...	...	304	...	...
Thenwân	...	...	...	...	7,365	3,524	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tomar	...	...	4,263	...	6,967	578	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Uriya	...	...	...	...	1,720	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Jati—(Sanskrit *Yati*, "one who has restrained his passions and abandoned the world").—A class of mendicant devotees who are the priests of the Jainas or Sarâogis. According to Mr. Sherring the term is applied also to those Gusâîns, Bairâgis, and Udâsis who practise celibacy; and another variety are akin to the Jogis; but the application of the term to any but the Jaina sect appears very unusual. The total strength of the Jainas in these Provinces, according to the returns of the last Census, was 84,785 persons, or 18 in 10,000 for the whole population. According to Mr. Baillie[1] "the sectarian divisions of the faith are little known to the majority of Jainas in these Provinces, to whom the Svetambara, though they have temples at Ajudhya and probably elsewhere, are practically unknown. The entries in the sect column were, therefore, in general the names of the principal Jinas—Adi Nâth, Ajit Nâth, Pâras Nâth, Mahavîra, or Nîm Nâth, or the word Sarâvgi, that by which a secular Jaina is distinguished from a Jati or member of an ascetic order. The total number of Svetambaras shown in the Province was 2,235. It may be assumed that the others are Digambaras. The Jaina lists show that the adherents of the religion are almost entirely Banyas: 83,976, out of the total 84,601, entered originally as Jaina in religion, being of that caste. The Agarwâla, Jaiswâr, Khandelwâl, Purwâr, Paliwâl and Oswâl sub-castes are the most important. Four hundred and fifty-one Râjputs appear, possibly converts, but more probably, as mostly shown, of the Jaiswâr sub-caste, really belonging to the trading community. There are thirty-two Brâhmans, Gaur being more numerously represented than any other sub-caste. Gaur Brâhmans, even though Hindus, are employed by Jainas as temple attendants, and sometimes join the faith of their patrons."

2. On the Jaina faith the remarks of Dr. J. Burgess[2] may be quoted:—"As their name implies, the Jainas are the followers of the Jinas, or 'vanquishers' of sins, men whom they believe to have obtained Nirvâna, or emancipation, from the continual changes of transmigration. With them 'life,' which they do not distinguish from 'soul' and its vehicle 'matter,' are both uncreated and imperishable, obeying eternal physical laws with which asceticism and religious ceremonial alone can interfere. Their ceremonial has, therefore, no real reference to a supreme personal God, and their

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[1] *Census Report, North-Western Provinces*, 184.

[2] *Indian Antiquary* II., 14, *sqq.*

doctrine excludes his Providence. This at once points to their connection with the Buddhists; indeed there can be little doubt that they are an early heretical sect of the Hinayana school of that persuasion, and owed a part of their popularity, on the decline of the purer Bauddha doctrines, to their readier admission of the worship of some of the favourite Hindu divinities into their system and their retention of the tyranny of caste customs. But much of their phraseology is of Buddha origin; thus their laity are called Srâvakas—'hearers'—the same name as among the most ancient Buddhists is applied to those 'who practise the four realities and suppress the errors of thought and sight, without being able to emancipate themselves entirely from the influence of passion and prejudice,' but 'who, occupied wholly with their own salvation, pay no regard to that of other men.' Then the Buddha is constantly spoken of as the Jina, or 'vanquisher,' his exit from existence, like that of the Jaina Tîrthankaras, is his Nirvâna; both employ the Swâstika and Sâtya as a sacred symbol; the sacred language of the Buddhists is Mâgadhi, of the Jainas Arddha Mâgadhi; the temples of both sects are Chaityas; those who have attained perfection are Arhans; and Digambaras, or naked ascetics, were a Bauddha as well as a Jaina sect.[1] Further, the Jainas indicate South Bihâr as the scene of the life and labours of nearly all their Tîrthankaras, as it was of Sakya Sinha. Buddha is often called Mahâvîra, the name of the last Tîrthankara, whose father the Jainas call Siddharta, the 'establisher of faith,' the proper name of Buddha, and both are of the race of Ikshvâku; and Mahâvîra's wife was Yasoda, as Buddha's was Yasodhara. Moreover, Mahâvîra is said to have died at Pawa, in Bihâr, about 527 B.C.; and Gautama Buddha, between Pawa and Kusinâra, in 543 B.C. These coincidences with many analogies of doctrine and practice seem to indicate that the Jainas are of Bauddha origin."

3. "The leading and distinguishing doctrines of the Jainas are—the denial of the divine origin and authority of the Vedas; reverence for the Jinas who by their austerities acquired a position superior to that even of those Hindu gods whom they reverence; and the most extreme tenderness of animal life. Life is defined to be without beginning or end—endowed with attributes of its own, agent and destroyer, conscious, subtle, proportionate to the body it

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[1] Hodgson *Illustrations of Buddhism*, 43, 213.

animates—diminishing with the gnat and expanding with the elephant; through sin it passes into animals or goes into hell; through virtue and vice combined it passes into men; and through the annihilation of both vice and virtue it obtains emancipation. The duties of a Yati, or ascetic, are ten—Patience, gentleness, integrity, disinterestedness, abstraction, mortification, truth, purity, poverty, and continence; and the Srâvakas add to their moral and religious code the practical worship of the Tîrthankaras and profound reverence for their more pious brethren. The moral obligations of the Jainas are summed up in their five *Mahâvrata*, which are almost identical with the *pancha sila* of the Bauddhas—Care not to injure life, truth, honesty, chastity, and the suppression of worldly desires. They enumerate four merits or *dharma*—Liberality, gentleness, piety, and penance; and three forms of restraint—Government of the tongue, of the mind, and of the person. Their minor instructions are, in many cases, trivial and ludicrous—such as, not to deal in soap, natron, indigo, and iron; not to eat in the open air after it begins to rain; nor in the dark, lest a fly should be swallowed; not to leave a liquid uncovered, lest an insect should be drowned; water to be thrice strained before it is drunk; and *vayukarma*, keeping out of the way of the wind, lest it should blow insects into the mouth.

4. "The Yatis, or priests, carry an *ugha*, or besom made of cotton thread, to sweep insects out of the way of harm as they enter the temples, or where they sit down, and a *mohomati*, or mouth cloth, to prevent insects entering the mouth while praying or washing the images. The proper objects of worship are the Jinas or Tîrthankaras, but they allow the existence of the Hindu gods and have admitted to a share of their worship such of them as they have connected with the tales of their saints. As, among the Bauddhas, Indra and Sukra is of frequent occurrence, the Jainas distinguishing two principal Indras—Sukra, regent of the north heaven, and Îsâna, regent of the south, besides many inferior ones; and images of Sarasvati and of Devi, or Bhawâni, are to be found in many of their temples. Nor are those of Hanumân, Bhairava, and Ganesa excluded from their sacred places. Besides, they have a pantheon of their own in which they reckon four classes of superhuman beings—Bhuvanapatis, Vyantaras, Jyotishkas, and Vaimanikas—comprising first the brood of the Asuras, Nâgas, Garuda, the Dikpâlas, etc., supposed to reside in the hells below the earth; secondly,

the Râkshasas, the Pisâchas, Bhûtas, Kinnaras, Gandharvas, etc., inhabiting mountains, forests, and lower air; thirdly, five orders of celestial luminaries; and, fourthly, gods of present and past Kalpas, of the former of which are those born in the heavens—Saudharma, Îsâna, Sanatkumâra, Mahendra, Brahma, Lâutaka, Sukra, Sahasrâra, Ânata, Pranâta, Arana, and Âchyata, etc. Each Jina, they say, has also a sort of familiar goddess of his own, called a Sâsanadevi, who executes his behests. These are perhaps analogous to the Sâktis, or Mâtris, of the Brâhmans; indeed among them we find Ambika, a name of Kaumâri, the Sâkti of Karttikeya and Chanda, and Mahâkâli, names of Bhawâni" [1].

5. The Jatis are divided into the real Jati, who wear white clothes, and the Sewara, who dresses in ochre-coloured garments. According to Mr. Sherring, the Sewaras walk about with head and feet bare, holding a red stick in the hand, and they carry with them a kind of brush made of peacocks' feathers, with which they sweep the ground before sitting down, lest they should injure a worm or an insect. Both these classes beg cooked food from the houses of Jainas or Sarâogis. By Hindus they are held in abomination and contempt, and are said to practise magic and witchcraft.

6. The last Census shows only 12 Jaina Faqîrs,—4 at Saharânpur, 1 at Muzaffarnagar, 1 at Mathura, 2 at Agra, 4 at Jalaun.

Jhamaiya.—A small sub-caste of Banyas who seem to be identical with, or an off-shoot from, the Bishnoi (*q.v.*), and to take their name from the tribal Saint Jhâmbaji. Until quite recently it is said they followed the Bishnoi custom of burying their dead. They now place them on a mat and fling them into a river [2].

Distribution of the Jhamaiya Banyas according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.
Farrukhâbâd	42
Etâwah	794
Cawnpur	1,250
Hamirpur	2
Jhânsi	2
Allahâbâd	486
TOTAL	2,576

[1] The whole question of the origin of the Jainas is elaborately discussed in two papers by Professor Lassen: *Indian Antiquary* II., 193 *sqq.*, 258 *sqq.* Also see a paper by Mr. Thomas, *Ibid* VIII., 30 *sqq.*

[2] *Census Report North-West Provinces*, 1865, *Appendix* 88.

Jhijhotiya, Jajahutiya.—A branch of the Kanaujiya Brâhmans who take their name from the country of Jejâkasukti, which is mentioned in the Madanpur inscription. Of this General Cunningham writes[1]:—"The first point deserving of notice in these two short but precious records is the name of the country, Jejâkasukti, which is clearly the Jajâhuti of Abu Rihân. The meaning of the word is doubtful, but it was certainly the name of the country, as it is coupled with *desa*. I may add, also, that there are considerable numbers of Jajahutiya Brâhmans and Jajahutiya Banyas in the old country of the Chandels or Bundelkhand. I would identify Jajahuti with the district of Sandrabatis of Ptolemy, which contained four towns, named Tamasis, Empalathra, Kuropovina and Nandubandagar. Judging from the relative positions assigned to them by Ptolemy, I think that the first, which is to the North-East of Sandrabatis, may be Darsanda, the second Mahoba, the third Khajurâho, and the fourth, which is the most Westerly, Bhander." The Jami-ut-tawârikh of Rashîd-ud-dîn[2], quoting from Abu Rihân al Birûni, mentions the Kingdom of Jajhoti as containing the cities of Gwâlior and Kalinjar, and that its capital was at Khajurâho. The popular and incorrect explanation is that they are really Yajurhota Brâhmans, because, in making burnt offerings, they followed the rules of the Yajur Veda.

2. According to a list procured at Mirzapur their *gotras* are—Awasthi; Bhareriya Tivâri; Arjariya Kot; Gautamiya of Ladhpur; Patariya of Kannaura; Pâthak of Kalyânpur; Gangelê of Matayaya; Richhatiya of Kuba or Kunwa; Tivâri of Eji; Chaubê of Kachhaura; Nâyak of Pipari; Bâjpei of Binwârê; Dikshit of Panna; Kariya Misra; Sondelê Misra. The above fifteen *gotras* intermarry on equal terms. Below these are five, which are lower and give daughters to the higher fifteen, but are not given brides by them in return. These are—Sirsa; Soti; Sonakiya; Ranaiya; Bhonreli Dûbê. This list has little resemblance to that given by Mr. Sherring[3].

The Jhijhotiya Brâhmans have but an indifferent reputation.

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[1] *Archæological Reports* X., 99, II., 413.
[2] Dowson's *Ethiot* I., 54.
[3] *Hindu Castes* I, 56.

Distribution of the Jhijhotiya Brâhmans according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Sahâranpur . . .	1	Jhânsi . . .	20,519
Agra	1	Jâlaun . . .	11,140
Etah	1	Lalitpur . . .	16,258
Bareilly	4	Ghâzipur . . .	132
Cawnpur	77	Gorakhpur . . .	3,184
Banda	734	Faizâbâd . . .	74
Hamîrpur . . .	19,497		
		TOTAL .	71,622

Jhojha.—A tribe of cultivators found hardly beyond Sahâranpur, Muzaffarnagar, and Bijnor. Of them, Sir H. M. Elliot writes[1]—"The word means literally 'the stomach' (Sanskrit *jarjara*, 'hollow'), and is the designation of an inferior class of Muhammadans. The Jhojhas of Pargana Baran of Bulandshahr represent themselves as converted Râthaurs, Chauhâns, and Tuars, but by others they are considered to be converted slaves of these tribes. In like manner those of Anupshahr are said to be the slaves of Mughals converted to Muhammadanism. They are despised by the Bargûjars and other converted Râjputs of the neighbourhood, with whom they are not suffered to intermarry; from which their servile origin may be fairly presumed. They are scattered over different parts of the Duâb and Rohilkhand, and are reported to be good cultivators.—Hence the proverb—

Jhojha hâli lekar, ghar baitho chaupar khel.

'Employ a Jhojha as a ploughman,
and you may sit at home and play backgammon.'

The complete list of their sections, as shown in the Census returns, shows that the tribe is of mixed origin. Thus, with Hindu names, like Banjâra, Benbans, Chaudhari, Chauhân, Desi, Deswâli, Kolipanwâr, Orh, Râjput, and Rori, we have later orthodox Muhammadan names, like Ghâzi, Ghori, Pathân, Shaikh and Sadîqi.

[1] *Supplementary Glossary s. v.*

"2. One of the chief causes of the value attached to their service is, that being Musalmâns, they are not restrained by Hindu observances of particular festivals. Thus, while Hindus are waiting for the Dithwan before they cut their sugarcane, the Jhojhas have already begun to press their cane and manufacture their sugar."

3. In Oudh, a branch of the tribe is said to have held Pargana Gopamau in Hardoi, and to have been conquered by the Gaur Râjputs. Mr. Butts thinks they were converted Bhars who yielded to the Muhammadans and embraced their faith. In Lucknow many forts are attributed to them, and they are considered to have been converted Bhars or Pâsis [1].

Distribution of the Jhojhas according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Dehra Dûn . . .	21	Shâhjahânpur . .	8
Sahâranpur . . .	12,867	Pilibhît . . .	4
Muzaffarnagar . . .	7,477	Cawnpur . . .	3
Meerut	3	Tarâi	133
Bulandshahr . . .	21	Sîtapur . . .	26
Agra	3	Kheri	1
Farrukhâbâd . . .	11	Faizâbâd . . .	6
Etah	1	Bahrâich . . .	3
Bijnor	5,765	Partâbgarh . . .	464
Morâdâbâd . . .	30	Total .	26,847

Jogi—(Sanskrit *Yoga*, "union"). A "term properly applied to the followers of the Yoga, or Patanjala, school of philosophy, which, among other tenets, maintained the practicability, even in life, of acquiring entire command over elementary matter by means of certain ascetic practices. The practices consist chiefly of long continued suppressions of respiration; inhaling and exhaling the breath in a peculiar manner; of sitting in eighty-four different attitudes; of fixing the eyes on the top of the nose; and endeavouring, by force of mental abstraction, to effect a union between the

[1] *Hardoi Settlement Report, 155; Lucknow Settlement Report, 126.*

portion of vital spirit residing in the body and that which pervades all Nature, and is identical with Siva considered as the Supreme Being and source and essence of all Creation" [1].

Sub-divisions of Jogis.

2. The last Census divides the Jogis into the two main classes of Aughar and Gorakhpanthi. The real founder of the sect is said to have been that mysterious Saint, Gorakhnâtha about whom so many wonderful tales are told, but whose personality and history are for the most part shrouded in legend and mystery. He is said to have had twelve disciples whose names are very uncertain, and there are several lists of them. One list is—Sat Nâth, Dharm Nâth, Kâya Nâth, Âdh Nâth, Mast Nâth, Abhapanthi, Kalepa, Dhajpanthi, Handibirang, Ramkê, Lachhmankê, Darya Nâth. According to another—Aipanthê, Ramkê, Bhartari, Sat Nâth, Kanibaki (disciples of Jâlandhar Nâth; of this branch are the Sapelas), Kapâl Muni, Lachhman Natesar, Ratan Nâth, Santokh Nâth, Dhajpanthi (followers of Hanumân), Man Nâth (followers of Râja Rasâlu). A third list gives—Sant Nâth, Râm Nâth, Abbang Nâth, Bharang Nâth, Dhar Nâth, Gangâi Nâth, Dhaja Nâth, Jâlandhar Nâth, Darpa Nâth, Kanak Nâth, Nîm Nâth, and Nâg Nâth [2]. The best known sub-divisions are the Aughar and the Kanphatas, of whom a separate account has been given. Mr. Maclagan suggests that "there are many things which point to a non-Hindu origin for the Jogis and Sannyâsis. The Hindu wears a scalp-lock, carries the sacred thread, burns his dead, and, generally speaking, abstains from flesh and wine. The Jogis too are remarkably prevalent in the Peshâwar and Kâbul direction, where Buddhism was once so strong. And the names of their twelve Nâths bear some resemblance with those of the Jaina Tîrthankaras. There are legends too which connect Gorakh Nâth in a special way with Nepâl, and the Panth of Jâlandhar Nâth is often termed Pânâth from the fact that its members in place of Nâth adopt after their names the termination *l'á*, which is the Tibetan epithet for our familiar *wála*."

Other Jogis.

3. Besides the respectable members of the sect who are contemplative ascetics, there are others who do not bear such a reputable character. Among these the Bhartari and Nandiya Jogis are Hindus, and the Bhaddar

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[1] Wilson, *Essays I*, 206.

[2] Maclagan, *Panjâb Census Report*, 114.

very often Musalmâns. They wear a beard and a long sort of coat dyed with ochre which is called *gudri*. On the shoulders they carry an alms wallet (*jholi*) dyed in ochre, and a turban of the same colour. The Bhartari Jogis carry about with them a sort of fiddle (*sârangi*) and a stick called *bairâga*. They play on the fiddle and sing songs in honour of Bhartrihari, who is said to have been the brother of Râja Vikramaditya. His shrine is in the Chunâr Fort, and he passes part of the day there and the rest in Benares. They wear round their necks a necklace (*mâla*) of *rudrâksha* beads. The Bhaddari Jogis dress in very much the same way, but do not carry a fiddle. They tell fortunes by means of palmistry and exorcise ghosts and demons.

4. The Nandiya Jogis wear the same dress, but do not carry a fiddle. They lead about with them a deformed ox, an animal with five legs, or some other malformation. He is decorated with ochre coloured rags and cowry shells. They call him Nandi or the vehicle of Mahâdeva, and receive gifts of grain from pious Hindus, half of which they put into their wallet, and give the other half to the animal. They usually carry on a more profitable business than other kinds of beggars. The ox is trained to give a blessing to the benevolent by shaking its head and raising its leg when its master receives a gift. Some of the Jogis of this class carry about with them a brush which they wave over the heads of children afflicted with the Evil Eye. These people are hereditary beggars, and keep houses and families. The boys are initiated into the order at the time when the ceremonial shaving (*mûndan*) is carried out. Then the Guru makes over a ragged garment (*gudri*) to the neophyte, with a wallet and fiddle, the implements of his trade. The Guru often receives considerable sums of money for initiating a disciple. The mendicants of the order assemble at the time of initiation, and unless the candidate is a hereditary member of the order, his friends have to give seven dinners to the brethren. They beg from both Hindus and Musalmâns, but naturally Hindus are their chief supporters. They do not take cooked food as alms, not because they are particular in matters of eating, because they can take *kachchi* from a Chamâr or any caste not inferior to his. The alms they take are money or uncooked grain, and they will also take rags and old clothes. The Bhartari Jogis sing songs in honour of Bhartrihari, Râja Gopi Chand, and Mahâdeva. They also sing songs in honour of Daya Râm (*tarkha*). The Bhaldari or Nandi Jogis hardly ever

sing; or, if they do sing, it is songs in honour of Mahâdeva. To the west of the province they sing songs to Zâhir Pir, or the love ballads of Hîra and Rânjha, or the adventures of Amar Singh Râthaur. They also work as tailors and silk-spinners, and have several *gotras* with Râjput names, such as Chauhân, Kachhwâha, Gahlot, etc. These all eat and intermarry with each other except in their own *goira*.[1]

5. Many of these Jogis have a very indifferent reputation. They wander about and make themselves acquainted with the history and antecedents of any rich family which may have lost a near or important relative, and, personating the absentee, readily obtain access to the family, which results in a general plunder of the premises and the disappearance of the swindlers. They also pretend to change copper into gold, a power which they trace to one of their order in the time of the Sultân Altitmish. Some are professional poisoners; others pretend to deal in millstones and steal cattle.[2]

6. Marco Polo mentions the Jogis under the name of Chughi, and says "they are properly Abraiman (Brâhmans), but they form a religious order devoted to the idols. They are extremely long-lived, every one of them living to one hundred and fifty or two hundred years. They eat very little, but what they do eat is good, rice and milk chiefly. And these people make use of a very strange beverage; for they make a potion of sulphur and quicksilver mixed together, and this they drink twice every month. This they say gives them long life."

Bernier [3] mentions the same custom.

Distribution of the Jogis according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Aughar.	Gorakh-panthi.	Others.	Muham-madans.	Total.
Dehra Dûn . . .	86	90	927	...	1,103
Sahâranpur . . .	...	...	13,713	21	13,734
Muzaffarnagar . . .	1,235	1,744	6,250	2,769	11,998
Meerut	1,646	1,612	8,729	1,142	13,129

[1] Râja Lachhman Sinh, *Bulandshahr Memo.* 188. *sqq.*

[2] *Report, Inspector-General Police, North-Western Provinces, 1867, p. 94: 1868, p. 5: 1869, pp. 121-125.*

[3] *Travels* II. 130.

Distribution of the Jogis according to the Census of 1891—contd.

Districts.	Aughar.	Gorakh-panthi.	Others.	Muham-madans.	Total.
Bulandshahr . . .	49	2	3,662	53	3,766
Aligarh	...	...	3,353	25	3,378
Mathura	...	...	...	128	128
Agra	32	48	2,165	758	3,003
Farrukhâbâd . . .	...	...	219	68	287
Mainpuri	...	...	815	...	815
Etâwah	...	...	642	166	808
Etah	8	22	891	159	1,080
Bareilly	...	...	738	254	992
Bijnor	821	232	923	428	2,404
Budaun	15	...	850	14	879
Morâdâbâd . . .	52	91	2,339	84	2,566
Shâhjahânpur . . .	...	...	41	730	771
Pilibhît	16	...	227	3	246
Cawnpur	...	240	704	326	1,270
Fatehpur	...	129	1,016	56	1,201
Bânda	...	1	781	3	785
Hamîrpur . . .	14	6	309	349	678
Allahâbâd	1	...	603	512	1,116
Jhânsi	2	180	1,260	3	1,445
Jâlaun	...	...	517	...	517
Lalitpur	...	...	308	...	308
Benares	186	226	7	...	419
Mirzapur	...	71	...	43	114
Jaunpur	...	...	116	940	1,056
Ghâzipur	9	30	133	5	177
Ballia	...	80	8	67	155

Distribution of the Jogis according to the Census of 1891—concld.

Districts.	Aughar.	Gorakh-panthi.	Others.	Muham-madans.	Total.
Gorakhpur . . .	...	372	521	680	1,573
Basti	...	4,106	...	1,355	5,461
Azamgarh . . .	7	...	5,757	470	6,234
Kumaun	5	3,031	...	...	3,036
Garhwâl	...	407	827	...	1,234
Tarâi	54	399	38	...	491
Lucknow	6	...	1,051	276	1,333
Unâo	1	...	25	372	398
Râé Bareli . . .	...	...	26	296	322
Sîtapur	12	14	11	471	508
Hardoi	...	...	...	368	368
Kheri	...	...	331	202	533
Faizâbâd	...	...	24	711	735
Gonda	45	...	75	1,180	1,300
Bahrâich	15	...	5	391	411
Sultânpur	...	...	...	864	864
Partâbgarh . . .	...	...	...	458	458
Bârabanki . . .	...	...	...	393	393
Total .	4,317	13,133	60,937	17,593	95,980

Johiya.—A sect of Râjputs, who, according to Sir H. M. Elliot,[1] "are by some authorities included among the thirty-six Royal races of India; by others they are considered a mere ramification of the Yadu Bhatti. In the gathering of the Râjputs to defend the Mori Prince of Chithor they are styled "Lords of Jangaldes," which included Hariyâna, Bhatner, and Nâgaur. There are, I believe, no Râjputs of this clan, except a very few in Khairagarh of Allahâbâd, and those in the Duâb, who form a Chaurâsi in the

[1] *Supplementary Glossary* S. V.

neighbourhood of Allahâbâd and Chail, and who are all converted to Muhammadanism. Colonel Tod considers the Johiyas to be totally extinct."

Joshi.[1]—A term applied to at least two very different classes of people. The proper term for the astrologer or astronomer, whose function is the preparation of horoscopes and the ascertaining of the lucky and unlucky influences which attach to particular times, is Jyotishi, which comes from the Sanskrit *Jyautishika* or "one skilled in astronomy and astrology." He is always a Brâhman, and though not holding a very high position, he is an indispensible personage in the village economy. From this Joshi is a corruption, and he, in the Plains at least, is a much less respectable practitioner. He is also known as Bhaddali from his eponymous ancestor, and Bhanreriya from his approximation to the Bhând or actor-singer caste. Bhaddali, who was a famous astrologer and the author of a well-known book on the subject known as Sagunâvali or "the interpretation of omens," is said to have been the son of the celebrated Varâha Mihira, who was one of the "nine gems" of the Court of Vikramaditya. He was the author of the Brihat Sanhita and Brihaj Jâtaka, and is said to have died in 587 A. D.

2. The birth of Bhaddali is told in this wise:—Varâha Mihira, after a life spent in the study of astrology, was on his return home. By his art he had discovered that, if he begot a son at a particular time, the child would be a profound adept in the science. On the road he was delayed and was obliged to halt at the house of a Dhobi, or, as some say, of an Ahîr. The master of the house was absent, but his lady was at home. The sage lamented to her that he was unable to meet his wife at the auspicious moment. She thought the opportunity too good to be lost for the production of a child with such a future. From their embraces she conceived, and the famous Bhaddali was the result. Next day Varâha Mihira reached home, and his wife also conceived and bore a son. Before she was delivered he gave her a ball, and told her when the child was born to throw the ball within the sacred circle in which he was engaged in the study of the stars. The result of his calculations was unfavourable, and he declared that he was not the father of the child which she bore to him. In his rage and grief he left his wife and child, and went and settled in a foreign land.

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[1] Largely based on a note contributed by Pandit Janardan Dat Joshi, Deputy Collector, Bareilly.

3. The two boys grew up and both became adepts in astrology. After a time, when they were taunted about the uncertainty of their descent, they consulted the stars, and ascertaining that Varâha Mihira was their father, started in search of him. When after a long and weary march they reached a certain city, they found a great crowd assembled. An astrologer, who was their father, Varâha Mihira, had foretold that at a certain time and place a fish would drop from the sky. The King of the land and all his subjects were assembled to see the promised miracle. When the boys made their calculations they found that the fish would certainly drop from heaven, but not at the exact time and place foretold by the astrologer, their father. Their announcement turned out correct, and they were greatly applauded, while their father was brought to shame. In his surprise he asked them to explain his mistake. They informed him that he had not made allowance for the slight movement of the earth while the fish was falling from heaven, and they added that he also failed to take account of the time which the ball had taken to fly through the air when thrown by his wife before it fell in the sacred circle. Varâha Mihira was confounded, and now confident of the virtue of his wife, returned home with his sons. The son of the low caste woman being illegitimate was not allowed to become a proficient in Sanskrit literature, but confined his studies to Hindi, in which language he wrote the famous treatise on omens, to which reference has already been made. He then, before Râja Bhoj was born, foretold the glory to which he would attain; but Munja, the uncle of the young prince, in his jealousy had him exposed in the jungle, where he was rescued by a Brâhman, and lived to ascend the throne.

4. The Joshis of the Plains are followers of the Sâma Veda, while those of the hills follow the Yajur Veda. The best known *gotras* of the former are Bharadwâja, Pachrauliya; Sikrauriya; Urauriya; Kakara; Silâchar (Sila Achârya); or Silauta; Chhibari; and Pârâsara. But the Census returns, which include no less than 451 sections, lead to the conclusion that the Joshis, at least in the Plains, are a very mixed body. We have few of the regular Brâhmanical *gotras*, and many which suggest a lower origin or connection, such as Bâgri, Bais, Bâri, Barwâr, Chamargaur, Chauhân, Gautam, Raghubansi, Râjput, Sunâri, and Tuar; with local sections such as Aharwâr, Bhojpuriya, Gujarâti, Indauriya, Hardwâri, Kanaujiya, Magarwâr, Muazzamnagariya, Saksena, and Sri-

bâstam. They are entitled to receive only three kinds of offering (*dâna*)—those made to Sanîschara or Saturn, who is universally regarded as of evil omen, and those made to Râhu and Ketu, the demons who are the cause of eclipses. Gifts to Sanîschara are made only on a Saturday from morning to noon, and consist of an iron dish (*bâlti*), one *ser* and a quarter of *urad* pulse, five *chhâtanks* of vegetable oil, and a small sum of money. The gift to Râhu Deota includes seven kinds of grain, a knife or other iron cutting instrument, a goat, and a small piece of sapphire (*nîlam*). These are given to the Joshi on a Wednesday after the recital of appropriate verses (*mantra*). The offering to Ketu includes a lamb or sheep, oil, an iron vessel, a piece of green cloth, some coral, and emerald (*cummurud*), gold, and a small sum of money. This is given to the Joshi on a Friday night, just when one or two stars are visible; to use their own phrase, it should be done in the shade of stars. The little bits of gold and precious stones used in these offerings are sold by Sunârs at a half pice each, and of course only a very minute portion is given.

5. The *gotras* already named are exogamous; a son can be married in a *gotra* lower than that of his father; but with girls the rule of hypergamy prevails, and she must be married in a superior *gotra*, if possible to a Gangaputra boy. But on the other hand, a Gangaputra will never marry his daughter to a Joshi. When the bride is brought home (*gauna*), the members of the *gotra* assemble and drink milk boiled with rice and sugar. This is known as *dûdhabhâti*, and represents a sort of formal initiation of the bride in the family of her husband. From that time the members can eat *kachchi* cooked by her. It may be noted that among Brâhmans the bride cannot cook *kachchi* for her new family until she attains puberty, and until the rite following impregnation (*garbhadhâna*) is performed. The Khasiyas of Kumaun are still more particular, and will not eat from the hand of the bride until she bears children.

6. These Joshis of the plains are worshippers of godesses rather than of gods. Next to these their most favourite deity is Mahâbîr.

7. The Mârwâri Joshis are Panch Gaur, and are divided into Adi Gaur; Jaypuri Gaur; Mâlavi Gaur and Gûjar Gaur or those of Jaypur, Mâlwa, and Gujarât. Some of them are found in Benares, and they, as well as

The Mârwâri Joshis.

the Kumaun Joshis, are quite distinct from the common Joshis of the plains. In the case of the Gûjar Gaur Joshis, the term Joshi is a title and does not represent an actual caste.

The Kumaun Joshis.

8. Of these, Mr. Atkinson[1] writes:—"The Joshis, though hardly ranked as Brâhmans in the plains, have attained in the hills, by long prescription, a claim to be considered Brâhmans, and intermarry with Pants, Pânrês, Tiwâris, and others. They are by occupation astrologers and horoscope-makers, but large numbers now affect government service or agriculture." They have several *gotras*, of which the following account is given by Pandit Janardan Joshi. The Gârgya *gotra* are said to be descended from Sushanidhi, a Chaubê Brâhman, of Jhûsi, near Allahâbâd, who is said to have accompanied Râja Som Chand to Kumaun where he was appointed his Wazir. An absurd legend tells that these Joshis take their name from Jhûsi, their original home. They are divided into various local sections, such as those of Jhijar, Shilakhola, Digoli, Kotwâlgânw, etc., none of which intermarry. The Angiras *gotra* claim descent from Nathrâj Pânrê of Khor in Kanauj, who came to Kumaun on a pilgrimage to Badarinâth, and obtained employment as an astrologer, and the village of Siren in Katayûr free of revenue. From thence they spread over Kumaun, and continued for a long time to perform simply priestly functions, but in the troubles which arose on the accession of Trimal Chand in 1626 A D., they succeeded in obtaining a share of State offices, and have never failed to be represented in Government service. Service and agriculture are the occupations of the division to the present day, and they claim the title of Dîwân. The Kausik *gotra* has a history of nineteen generations in Kumaun. They claim their origin from a place called Nadiya Santipur, whence they came and settled at Doti. Before their immigration they are alleged to have been Bâjpei Brâhmans. Of the other *gotras* Mr. Atkinson writes:—"The Joshis of the Upamanya *gotra* claim descent from a Misra Brâhman of Diptiya. They say that some of his descendants became Pânrês, and that those who devoted themselves to astrology became Joshis. Bîrbhadra of this *gotra* was the first of them to obtain any notoriety, but they have a great predilection for Government service and call themselves Dîwân. They are also known as Dauya or Dhumya Joshis from their prin-

[1] *Himalayan Gazetteer*, III, 423 *sq.*

cipal village. The Joshis of the Bhâradvâja *gotra* make their ancestor come from Jhûsi near Allahâbâd, and he settled in the village of Silagânw, whence his descendants are called Silwâls. Those that live at Chînakhân and Darhyâl are called after these villages."

9. The poorer members of the Gangoli Joshis still practise astrology, as indeed do all. Mr. Atkinson adds—"there is no real evidence that they came from the plains; but if they did they are a remarkable example of a caste hardly considered as being on the outskirts even of Brâhmans in the plains, having attained to such a respectable position in the hills which they still maintain by the intelligence and energy of their representatives. For the last two centuries they have been the master movers in all intrigues, and have monopolised to a great extent all the valuable government appointments, and possess an influence second to none, and which has to be carefully adjusted by the administration."

Distribution of the Joshis according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Dehra Dûn . . .	168	Shâhjahânpur . .	1,558
Sahâranpur . . .	797	Pilibhît . . .	609
Muzaffarnagar . .	218	Cawnpur . .	809
Bulandshahr . .	900	Fatehpur . . .	675
Aligarh . . .	1,112	Bânda	185
Mathura . . .	566	Hamirpur . . .	1,415
Agra	1,712	Allahâbâd . . .	200
Farrukhâbâd . .	2,022	Jhânsi	1,177
Mainpuri . . .	2,391	Jâlaun	1,239
Etâwah . . .	2,278	Lalitpur . . .	619
Etah	1,080	Benares . . .	2
Bareilly . . .	846	Jaunpur . . .	98
Bijnor	1,975	Ghâzipur . . .	85
Budaun . . .	1,066	Gorakhpur . . .	230
Morâdâbâd . . .	1,265	Basti	158

Distribution of the Joshis according to the Census of 1891.
—contd.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Azamgarh . . .	185	Faizâbâd . . .	212
Tarâi	199	Gonda	178
Lucknow . . .	974	Bahrâich . . .	589
Unâo	312	Sultânpur . . .	392
Rae Bareli . . .	295	Partâbgarh . . .	199
Sîtapur . . .	1,273	Bârabanki . . .	299
Hardoi	1,175		
Kheri	1,312	TOTAL .	35,049

Julâha, Jolâha—the Muhammadan weaving caste. It has been supposed that they represent some menial Hindu weaving caste who were converted wholesale to Islâm. On the other hand, it is possible that they may have grown up among the Muhammadan body. But there seems good reason to believe that they are an occupational caste recruited from diverse sources. Thus as Mr. Ibbetson remarks "we find Koli Julâhas, Chamâr Julâhas, Mochi Julâhas, Râmdâsi Julâhas, and so forth: and it is probable that after a few generations these men will drop the prefix which denotes their low origin and become Julâhas pure and simple[1]."

2. The Parsotiya Julâha of Rohilkhand is a Hindu and apparently only a variety of Kori. Julâhas at the last Census recorded themselves in 244 sections of the usual type. These seem to have no influence on marriage. Many of these suggest a connection with other tribes and sects, such as Bais, Banya, Bargûjar, Bhangi, Bhât, Bisen, Chamâr, Chauhân, Gaur, Koli, Râjput, Tamoli, Teli, Tomar. Others represent local settlements as Bahrâichiya, Chaurasiya, Faizâbâdi, Gangapâri, Haidarâbâdi, Hasanpuri, Kanaujiya, Kânhpuriya, Khairâbâdi, Mathuriya, Mirzapuri, Multâni, Purabiya, Sarwariya, Shahâbâdi and Uttarâha. Others again are of the regular Muhammadan type: Madâri, Muhammadi, Momin, Mughal, Pathân, Shaikh, Sadîqi and Sunni.

3. The word Julâha is of Persian origin (*julâh*, *julâhe*, a

[1] *Panjâb Ethnography*, para. 612.

weaver, *jula julla*, a ball of thread). Julâhas generally object to the name and call themselves Mûmin or Momin or orthodox; Nûrbâf "weavers in white." Julâhas are very clannish and usually intermarry in families with whom they have been accustomed to eat and smoke for generations. They say they are the direct descendants of Adam, who, when Satan made him realise his nakedness, taught the art of weaving to his sons. They do not profess to admit outsiders into the caste, but this undoubtedly often occurs, and, as above stated, the caste is almost certainly recruited from persons who assume the name of Julâha as an occupational title.

4. They follow the Muhammadan rules of marriage and inheritance. They are particularly careful in forbidding the intermarriage of foster children. A man cannot have two sisters to wife at the same time.[1] Many of them in the villages revere the local gods, and some worship Mâta Bhawâni. They also pay great respect to the tombs of saints and martyrs. They offer food, sweets and cakes to the sainted dead at the festivals of the Îd and Shab-i-barât and offer to them goats and rams at the Bakrîd.

Occupation and social rules.

5. The business of the Julâha has sadly decreased in consequence of the introduction of foreign cloth. Many have now taken to cultivation and various forms of labour. The Julâha generally bears the character of being cowardly, pretentious, factious and bigoted. They took a leading part in the recent Benares riots and some of the worst outrages in the Mutiny were their work. In the villages the Julâha is looked on as a fool, and a butt of the agricultural classes who are always jeering at his ignorance of crops. "The Julâha's goat and given to viciousness" (*Julâhé ki chheri markaki*). "Eight weavers quarrelling over nine pipes" (*Âth Julâha nau huqqa, jis par bhi thukkam thukka*). "The Julâha steals a reel of thread at a time, but God makes him lose all at once." (*Julâha churâvé nali nali, khuda churâvé ekke beri*). "The arrow of the weaver" (*Julâhé ka tîr*). "What the Kamboh wins the Julâha eats"

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[1] Writing of Bengal, Mr. O'Donnel says: "Although in Bengal proper the Shaikh is usually a petty cultivator, he ranks above the Jolâha or weaver. In Eastern Bengal the Shaikh young man marries at about 21 years of age, and the Jolâha two years earlier; while the Jolâha girl is married at 11 years and the Shaikh girl a month or two over 12 years. Ten per cent. of the former under ten years of age are given in marriage and less than five of the latter. Much the same state of things exists in other parts of Bengal proper; but as noticed before, the age of wedlock is lower in Western Bengal, the local practice being probably influenced by Hindu example." *Census Report*, 210.

(*Jitê Kamboh khdê Julâha.*)[1] "If you were going to turn Muhammadan you might do so in a less disreputable place than a Julâha's house" (*Turk bhay to Juldhé ke ghar*). *Juldhé ki 'aql gudé mên hoti hai.* "The Julâha's brains are in his backside." *Khet khdé gadha, maral jdé Juldha*—"The ass eats the crop and the Julâha gets thrashed." One proverb embodies a curious piece of folklore. *Juldha bhutiaile tîsi khet*—"The Julâha lost his way in a linseed field." A Julâha is supposed to have taken the linseed field covered with blue flowers for a river and tried to swim in it. As a parallel, Mr. Christian[1] quotes from Kingsley's "The Roman and the Teuton"—"A madness from God came over the Herules, and when they came to a field of flax, they took the blue flowers for water and spread out their arms to swim through and were all slaughtered defenceless." He might have added that the same tale appears in No. 149 of Grimm's German Stories.

Distribution of the Juldhas according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Dehra Dûn . . .	1,349	Moradâbâd . . .	32,401
Sahâranpur . . .	40,071	Shâhjahânpur . .	18,102
Muzaffarnagar . .	23,296	Pilibhît . . .	15,461
Meerut	25,085	Cawnpur . . .	4,347
Bulandshahr . . .	13,147	Fatehpur . . .	2,636
Aligarh	3,056	Bânda	75
Mathura . . .	36	Hamîrpur . . .	889
Agra	1,271	Allahâbâd . . .	39,944
Farrukhâbâd . . .	4,334	Jhânsi	51
Mainpuri . . .	1,326	Jâlaun . . .	377
Etâwah . . .	2,352	Lalitpur . . .	2
Etah	4,203	Benares . . .	22,496
Bareilly . . .	42,654	Mirzapur . . .	13,582
Bijnor	61,523	Jaunpur . . .	22,307
Budaun . . .	19,894	Ghâzipur . . .	28,564

[1] *Behar Proverbs*, 137.

Distribution of the Julâhas according to the Census of 1891.—contd.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Ballia	30,547	Hardoi	10,053
Gorakhpur . . .	117,891	Kheri	20,127
Basti	30,050	Fâizabâd . . .	25,473
Azamgarh . . .	53,075	Gonda	16,654
Tarâi	12,665	Bahrâich . . .	18,285
Lucknow . . .	5,966	Sultânpur . . .	10,345
Unâo	3,221	Partâbgarh . . .	9,497
Râê Bareli . . .	4,117	Bârabanki . . .	30,182
Sîtapur . . .	36,652	TOTAL .	7,80,231

Jyotishi.—(Sanskrit *Jyautishika*, root *jyut*, "to shine on, to illuminate"), a class of Brâhmans who devote themselves to fortune-telling, astrology, and the construction of horoscopes. The preparation of a horoscope is necessary for every respectable Hindu boy; hence the trade is a large one and very lucrative. But the functions of the Jyotishi are not confined to the twice-born castes, and he is ready to predict events for any person, even of low estate who can afford to pay him. This is one of the chief methods by which the casteless tribes have been brought within the Brâhmanical fold; and as a tribe of this kind tends towards Brâhmanism the Baiga or devil priest, who is invariably drawn from the aboriginal races, is replaced by the Ojha and the Jyotishi who claim to be Brâhmans. The Jyotishi is not regarded with any particular respect, and he is, of course, generally a quack and impostor.

K

Kabîr Panthi.—A Hindu sect who are followers of the Saint Kabîr. His name is from an Arabic root meaning "great". The history of the saint is very uncertain. He is believed to have been born at Benares and adopted by a Muhammadan weaver. By one account he was miraculously conceived by the virgin widow of a Brâhman, and he lived partly at Benares and partly at Magar, in the Basti District, in the reign of Sikandar Shâh Lodi, between 1488 and 1512 A.D. Owing to his connection with the weaver caste, many Julâhas are fond of calling themselves Kabîr Bansi, or Kabîr Panthi, without much reference to the special doctrines associated with the name of Kabîr. Writing of the Panjâb, Mr. Maclagan[1] remarks that the connection between weaving and religion is as interesting as that between cobbling and irreligion in England. "There are some Musalmân tribes (the Khokhars, Chughattas and Chauhâns, for instance) who are found in many parts of the Province performing indifferently the functions of the weaver and the Mulla." Kabîr is said to have been a disciple of Râmanand, and from one point of view the Kabîr Panthis are merely Râmanandis who refuse to worship idols. Kabîr, as the legend of his death shows, was a product of both Hindu and Muhammadan influence. When he died at Magar the Hindus and Muhammadans disputed as to the disposal of his body. But while they were contending the saint himself appeared and told them to look under the sheet which covered his corpse, and then immediately disappeared. When they raised the sheet they found only a heap of flowers. Of these the Hindus took half and burned them at Benares, while the Muhammadans buried the remainder at Magar, where a cenotaph was raised over them, and the saint is worshipped in both places by the followers of the rival creeds.

2. On the principles of the sect Professor Wilson[2] writes:—"The Kabîr Panthis, in consequence of their master having been a reputed disciple of Râmanand and of their paying more respect to Vishnu than the other members of the Hindu triad, are always included among the Vaishnava sects and maintain, with most of them, the Râmâwats especially, a friendly intercourse and political

[1] *Panjâb Census Report*, 142.
[2] *Essays*, I, 74.

alliance. It is no part of their faith, however, to worship any Hindu deity, or to observe any of the rites or ceremonials of the Hindus, whether orthodox or schismatical. Such of their members as are living in the world conform outwardly to all the usages of their tribes and caste, and some of them pretend even to worship the usual divinities, though this is considered as going further than is justifiable. Those, however, who have abandoned the fetters of society abstain from all the ordinary practices, and address their homage chiefly in chanting hymns exclusively to the invisible Kabîr. They use no *mantra* or fixed form of salutation, they have no peculiar mode of dress, and some of them go nearly naked, without objecting, however, to clothe themselves when clothing is considered decent or respectful. The Mahants wear a small skull cap; the frontal marks, if worn, are usually those of the Vaishnava sects, or they make a streak with sandal or Gopichandan along the ridge of the nose; a necklace and rosary of Tulasi are also worn by them, but all these outward signs are considered of no importance, and the inward man is the only essential point to be attended to."

3. It is perhaps more by his writings than by his actual teaching that the chief influence of Kabîr has been gained.[1] His doctrines and precepts are embodied in the Sukh-nidhân and the Adi-grantha of the Sikhs. Next to the Râmâyana of Tulasi Dâs there is perhaps no body of literature which is so popular among Hindus of Northern India as the Bîjak of Kabîr, and his verses and apothegms are ever on the lips of both Hindu and Musalmân.

The writings of Kabîr.

4. The sect is open to both Hindus and Musalmâns, and perhaps in consequence of this it is not a favourite with men of high caste. Most of its adherents, in these Provinces at least, are drawn from the inferior castes, as the lower Banyas, Sunârs, Lohârs, Koiris, Koris, Kâchhis, Kumhârs, Barhais, Chamârs, and Julâhas. Among the weaving castes it is, as has been said already, extremely popular. There is no regular formula of initiation (*mantra*). The introduction of a neophyte is performed in this way. A piece of ground in the monastery or in the house of the candidate is carefully cleaned and plastered. In this is placed a pitcher full of water, in the mouth of which are fixed some mango twigs (*pallo*); on the pitcher

[1] On this see Grierson, *Modern Vernacular Literature*, 7.

a lamp is lighted with ghi and an offering is made consisting of sandal, holy rice (*achchat*), and flowers and incense is burned. A garland of flowers is placed round the neck of the pitcher and the core of a cocoa-nut with some *bátáska* sweetmeats is offered. Some camphor is burnt and the neophyte sits in the holy square before the Guru, who makes him say the words :—

Satya purusha ko swáns se hriday men japo.

"Repeat the name of the true being within you with breath." The disciple then with his joined hands thrice makes obeisance to the Guru and utters thrice the words, *Bandagi Sáhib !* "My service to the Master." This is the common form, but the ritual with the more learned Mahants is of an elaborate type After this the Guru teaches the disciple the Gâyatri or Morning Prayer and the Sandhya Sumiran or evening prayer. This Gâyatri is not the usual Hindu form—*Tat savitur varenyam bhargo devasya dhímahi dhiya yo nah prachodayát.*—"Let us meditate on that excellent glory of the Divine Vivifying Sun ; may he enlighten our understandings." The KabîrPanthi Gâyatri is a song (*bání*) composed by Kabîr himself and runs as follows :—

Kabír din duni darbesha dwár salámat lekha ;
Tum rund mund men pira ;
Tum phúka, phakkar phakira ;
Tum chalo kaun ki chál ;
Tum ramo kaun ki nál ;
Tum sarbangi sahjer men, tum ko wár na pár.
Sakal nirantar tum ramo tumhárá gahar ganbhír.
Khálí khalak mujh mánín yon Guru kahain Kabír.
Satya nám ki árti nirmal bhaya sharír.
Dharm Dás loká chalá guru bahiyán milá Kabír.

"The faith of Kabîr is double mendicancy ; only bowing to the door of God is taken into account. It is thou who feelest pain in the headless body. It is thou who livest in the starving mendicant. In whose footsteps canst thou walk ? In whose stream canst thou flow ? Thou art of all forms and hast neither beginning nor end. Thou art the beginning and thou art the end. Thou art the bank of all the rivers (religious sects). Thou pervadest the entire universe. Thou art deepest of all. Saith Kabîr "Without me (God) the Universe is empty ; it is I that fill the Universe. If you light the sacred lamp of truth your body

will be free from darkness. Dharm Dâs (the slave of virtue) holds the hand of his religious guide Kabîr and ascends to heaven."

6. The Sandhya Sumiran or Evening Prayer is as follows :—

Sânjh bhae, din athûe, chakai dîna roé.
Chal chakwa ohi deswân jahân diwas rain nahîn hoé.
Rain ki bichhuri chakai aya mili prabhât.
Jo jan bichhuri nâm ke pâwai diwas nahîn rât.
Binwat honkar jori ke, sunu guru kripa nidhân.
Daya gharîbi bandagi samâta shîl karâr.
Eté gahané bhakta ke adi bhakti sringâr.
Kewal nâm kewal guru bâla pîr Kabîr.

"Evening has come and the sun has set. Then cries the Brâhmani duck. 'O mate of mine! Let us seek that land where there is no night nor day.' When the duck parts from her mate at night she meets him again at dawn; but he who parts with the True Name never finds it again either by night nor day. Generosity, humility, worship, the universal brotherhood of mankind, uniform observance of law, and morals—these are the ornaments of a devotee, and his decoration is the love of God. The True Name is the only religious guide, and his greatest prophet is Kabîr."

7. Besides these, the Guru teaches the disciple a number of hymns which he commits to memory, and sings morning and evening. The Guru visits his disciples once a year in the cold weather, and he and other mendicants of the sect are entertained by him for a couple of days. Every day the disciple washes the big toe of his Guru and drinks the water (*charanamrita*). When the Guru is leaving the disciple does obeisance, and makes him a present of money, clothes, vessels, etc., and salutes him with the words *Bandagi Sâhib*, thrice. As long as the Guru stays in his house the disciple joins the mendicants in singing songs morning and evening. When the disciple visits his Guru he is entertained by him, but gives him a present when he leaves. The Guru's influence over his disciple is altogether exercised in the interests of morality, and should he offend he is very sternly reprimanded by the Guru. One of the main principles of the sect is to submit everything in life to control of the Guru; at the same time Kabîr himself did not exact unquestioning obedience from his disciples, and encouraged them to investigate for themselves the truth of his advice and injunctions.

Distribution of the Kabîr Panthis according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Debra Dûn . . .	34	Fatehpur . . .	9
Muzaffarnagar . .	6	Hamîrpur . . .	8
Bulandshahr . . .	258	Allâhâbâd . . .	12
Aligarh	114	Jhânsi . . .	8
Agra	8	Jâlaun . . .	3
Farrukhâbâd . . .	2	Ghâzipur . . .	209
Bareilly . . .	15	Gorakhpur . . .	40
Bijnor	2	Basti . . .	8
Morâdâbâd . . .	36	Tarâi . . .	4
Shâhjahânpur . .	57	Lucknow . . .	16
Pilibhît . . .	72	Faizâbâd . . .	16
Cawnpur . . .	18		
		Total .	955

Kâchhi.[1]—The tribe of opium-growers and market gardeners. They represent in the west of the Province the Koiri and Kurmi of the eastern districts. Their name has been variously explained. Some connect it with the Sanskrit *kaksha*, "a flank or enclosure"; others with *karsha* "a furrow"; others again connect it with *kâchhna*, the term for collecting the opium from the capsules of the poppy, or with *kachhâr*, "the low rich alluvial land" which they usually cultivate. They claim, however, some connection with the Kachhwâha sept of Râjputs, who may have a totemistic relationship with the *kachhapa* or tortoise, as the Kurmi, with *kurma*, the turtle. They are also known in the extreme west of the Province as Nainaya, Sahnai, Bârahmâshi, or those who keep their lands under crops all the year round. Another name of the tribe is in some places Murâo, or growers of the radish (*mûli*);

[1] Mainly based on notes by E. Rose, Esq., C. S., Collector of Farrukhâbâd; Bâbu Sânwal Dâs, Deputy Collector, Hardoi; and the Deputy Inspector of Schools, Agra.

but in other parts of the country, as, for instance, in Râê Bareli, the two names are not quite identical. There the Murâo cultivates all kinds of vegetables, including turnips, onions and turmeric, which the Kâchhi does not. The tribe appears to be singularly devoid of local traditions. The Saksenas say they come from Sankisa and the Kananjiyas from Kanauj, which they abandoned after the defeat of Jay Chand by Shahâboddin Ghori in 1193-94. In fact, some of them ascribe their origin to this sovereign and say that he gave the name to those of his servants who grew vegetables for his court. The tribe is most probably an offshoot of the great Kurmi race, and has divided from them owing to the special occupation which they practise.

Tribal organisation.

2. The Kâchhis are divided into a number of endogamous sub-castes, which vary from district to district. The Census returns divide the Kâchhis into 560 sub-castes, of which the most important are the Chithoriya, Churela, Hardiya, Kachhwâha, Kanaujiya, Patarita, and Saksena. Among those of local importance we find the Puniya of Bulandshahr; the Amariya and Purabiya of Agra; the Amariya and Nijakotiya of Mainpuri; the Parnâmi and Sakauriya of Etâwah; the Bhadauriya and Purabiya of Shâhjahânpur; the Baheniya and Murai of Cawnpur; the Baheniya, Dangarha, and Murai of Fatehpur; the Bhagta and Sakta of Allahâbâd; the Amariya and Parnâmi of Jâlaun; the Bhadauriya and Saloriya of Lalitpur; the Dhenkuliya and Thakuriya of Lucknow; the Chauhân, Kichar, Kusha, and Thakuriya of Râê Bareli; and the Dholakiya or "drummers" and Thakuriya of Unâo. In Farrukhâbâd, where the Kâchhis are very influential, we find five sub-castes, the Hardiya or growers of turmeric (*haldi*), the Saksena, who take their name from the famous Buddhist city of Sankisa on the borders of Farrukhâbâd, and Etah; the Piyâzi or growers of onions (*piyâz*); the Kachhwâya, and the Kanaujiya from Kanauj. In Râê Bareli they name seven endogamous sub-castes—the Kachhwâha, Koiri, Murai, "radish (*mûli*) grower," Kanaujiya, Haldiha, Kabariya or huckster, who in some of the large cities like Lucknow is a Mewafarosh or fruit seller, and the Bhemua. In Agra we find five sub-castes—the Kachhwâha, Chakchainiya or Chakseniya, the Harlainiya, Murâo, and Khariha. The Singrauriya take their name from the old town of Singraur, about twenty-five miles higher up the Ganges than Allâhâbâd. The Murâos again have divisions of their own. One list divides

them into the Hardiya, Rotiya, and Kachhwâya. These last are the most numerous sub-caste in Bulandshahr and claim descent from a mother of the Mâli tribe by a father of the clan of Kachhwâha Râjputs. In Râê Bareli they again give their sub castes as Brâhmaniya, Haldiha, Kanaujiya, Kâchhi, and Kurmi, and in Hardoi as Haldiya; Dhakauliya, who take their name from the well lever (*dhenkli*) which they use; the Kanaujiya, Kachhwâha, Saksena, Bhadauriya, who, like the Râjput clan of the same name, derive their title from the Pargana of Bhadâwar in the Agra District; Thakuriya, who claim descent from the Kachhwâha clan of Thâkurs; and the Munwâr, who trace their origin to some Muni or saint of olden days. As already stated, all these sub-castes, some of which are local some eponymous, and some purely occupational, are all endogamous. They are also characterised by some peculiarities. Thus in Agra the women of the Kachhwâha sub-caste wear a foot ornament called *gujari*, which is not allowed to others. In Farrukhâbâd the Saksena women similarly wear a special bangle known as *lutua* or *lakhota*, made of brass and lac, which is particularly large and heavy. This ornament is peculiar to them.

Tribal council.

3. Like all tribes on the same grade, they have an influential tribal council (*panchâyat*). In Farrukhâbâd the chairman is known as Mahtiya or Chaudhari and the council consists of a certain number of members selected for their respectability and intelligence; but when any special business is to be decided, the attendance of at least one member of each family resident within the local jurisdiction of the council is necessary. They have power to decide all private disputes; they can expel any member for debauchery or other offence contrary to tribal usage; and they can re admit culprits to caste privileges on providing a feast to the caste, on feeding a certain number of Brâhmans, or undergoing other prescribed penance.

Rule of exogamy.

4. Within the sub-caste the rule of exogamy does not appear to be very accurately formulated. In Farrukhâbâd a man cannot have two sisters to wife at the same time, and he cannot marry in the family of his paternal aunt or uncle. Those who are more advanced show a tendency to adopt the regular Hindu rules of exogamy. In Agra they bar the family of the mother and grandmother on both sides. Among the Murâos of Hardoi a man does not marry his daughter in a family in which his own son or the son of a near

relative is married. This prohibition lasts for three or four generations, and the line of cousins is also barred. But the rule does not seem to be very definite, and each case is dealt with by the tribal council.

Marriage ceremonies.

5. Marriage ceremonies are of the usual type. In Farrukhâbâd they can be married at any age above seven, but the boy must be older than the girl. Elsewhere there is no fixed rule, and both infant and adult marriage prevails. There are the usual three standard types,—*Shádi* or *Charhana*, *Dola*, and *Dharauna*. In the first, all the ceremonies are conducted at the house of the bride, while those of *Dola* are done at the house of the bridegroom. In *Dola* the father of the bride comes to the house of the bridegroom with some clothes and ornament for his daughter on the marriage day, and washes and worships her feet and offers the presents. By *Dharauna* only widows are married, and the only ceremony is the giving of a feast to the clansmen. In the *Dola* marriage there is this much survival of marriage by capture, that the bride is taken away secretly at night. The offspring of *Dharauna* marriages, known as *Dharauniya* in Farrukhâbâd, inherit equally with children by a regular marriage. The levirate is permitted under the usual conditions, but is not compulsory on the widow. If she has very young children she usually takes them to her new home, and there they join the family of her second husband and lose all rights in their father's estate.

Birth ceremonies.

6. There is nothing special about the birth ceremonies. The *chhathi* or sixth day ceremony consists in the worship of the goddess Bihai, who whispers in the child's ear, and he smiles in his sleep if she speaks kindly and weeps if she reproves. In Farrukhâbâd the Hardiyas do not adopt formally; but a childless man keeps the son of his daughter or some other near relation as his heir. Among the other sub-castes the practice of adopting a near relation with the consent of the brethren notified at a tribal feast is becoming more common.

Disposal of the dead.

7. They burn the married and bury the unmarried dead. On the thirteenth day offerings of food and water are given to the manes. Brâhmans are fed and clothes and utensils are given to them for the soul in the other world. The son-in-law and daughter's son are also fed; this is perhaps a survival of the primitive rule of descent in the female

line. Similar offerings are also made at the anniversary of the death; but they do not perform the regular *Srâddha*.

Religion.

8. In Agra, if they can be said to follow any particular sect, they are Sâktas and their chief reverence is paid to Durga Devi, who is worshipped on the seventh day of the waning moon in the months of Chait and Âsârh, with offerings of cakes, sweetmeats, and money. These offerings are taken by a Gadhera, or donkey-keeping Kumhâr. If the day of the service fall on a Monday, Wednesday, or Friday it is considered very auspicious. This worship is done to the goddess in her form of Sîtala, who brings the small-pox. Another goddess, Birâhi, is also worshipped with an offering of cakes. Nâgar Sen is propitiated with cocoanuts, eggs, and red lead, which are given to him on a Friday and received by a Dhobin. He is one of the general disease godlings. Kuânwâ!a, "he of the well," is a sort of bogie who lies in wait for children and springs upon them when he finds them alone. To keep him quiet they pour water out of a goat-skin bag on Monday or Wednesday and lay a sweet ball (*laddu*) on the ground where two roads meet. Châmar is worshipped with cakes, sweets, incense, and red lead at the Holi and Diwâli, and sometimes on Mondays. His offerings are taken by one of the Mahaur Kolis, who are his priests. If he is not duly propitiated he stops the milk of cows and buffaloes. Lâl Mani is a household godling who receives cakes and sweets on a Monday; these are eaten by the worshipper and his family. Bhûmiya, the godling of the village site, also receives cakes and sweetmeats, which are taken by low caste beggars. Sayyid is much dreaded; people in trouble, and when there is sickness in the family, get a Musalmân Faqîr to offer some sweet cakes in his name. The Miyân of Amroha is propitiated in the same way. Sîtala and Kuânwâla are the special deities of women and children. When serious cases of disease or other misfortune occur, animal sacrifices are necessary. Devi Durga receives a young buffalo; Châmar, a ram; Nâgar Sen and Lâl Mani, a he-goat. The Devi sacrifice is done at the boundary of the village; those of other godlings at their special shrines. In Farrukhâbâd their chief reverence is paid to Madâr Sâhib of Makhanpur and to Sayyid Mard at some tomb in the village. They also pay special reverence to Bisâri or Visâli Devi, "the poisonous one," who has her shrine at Sankisa. She is supposed to inflict sore eyes on those who neglect her. Her priests can bring ophthalmia on whom they

please by lighting a fire and throwing hot coals on her image. When a person is thus afflicted he lays aside seven cowries, a piece of turmeric and charcoal, and an iron nail, as marking his vow to make a pilgrimage to her shrine. This is undertaken in the months of Chait, Âsârh, or Kuâr. The offering consists of a packet of betel, sweets, eight small cakes, and some cash. If he offers only a copper coin the offering is *kachchi*, or imperfect. If silver is given it is *pakki*, or perfect. The priests of her temple promise life-long immunity from sore eyes to those who make a "perfect" offering; those who make an "imperfect" offering are liable to a return of the disease. Those who cannot afford to make the regular pilgrimage go a mile or so in the direction of her temple and make the offering in a field which must be beyond the village boundary. This is known as *Ádha jatiya*, or "the half-pilgrimage." The Kâchhis of Râê Bareli specially worship a deity known as Brahma Gusâîn. To the west their priests are Kanaujiya or Bhaddari Brâhmans, the latter of whom are held in low estimation. Their chief festivals are the Holi and Diwâli; and though they do not pay much regard to other festivals, they perform the usual ceremonies.

Demonology and devil-possession.

9. They have the usual beliefs in demonology, and in their opinion most diseases are due to the influence of evil spirits. In such cases a sorcerer (*nauta*) is consulted, and he gives them a black thread (*ganda*) or some holy ashes (*bhabût*) as a specific. They dread the ghosts of the dead, who have a habit of appearing naked at night if proper donations of clothes are not given to Brâhmans at the obsequies. They believe in the Evil Eye, the effects of which are obviated by burning red pepper, salt, and bran in the house fire. The evil influence departs in the smoke and stench. Or they take secretly some straw from seven thatches, light it and put it into an earthen pot, which is placed upside down in a vessel of water and then waved seven times round the head of the patient. If the patient is really suffering from the Evil Eye the water rises in the upper pot and gives out a disgusting smell. When a woman is barren she tries to cut off some of the hair of a child of a large family or a shred from the mother's sheet. Hence barren women are watched, because this spell is very injurious to those on whom it is practised.

Taboos.

10. The Hardiya sub-caste will not grow sugarcane or chillies. They can give no explanation of this, except that it is not the custom. Those who have

taken the Bhagat vow will not eat with others; and it is only very close relations who will eat out of the same dish. The members of the different sub-castes will not eat together. Some will not eat the *baingan* or egg-plant in the month of Sâwan or fish or flesh in the fortnight sacred to the dead (*Kanágat*). Men and women eat apart and children with both. When they eat some put a little food in the fire or give a morsel of bread to the cow. They observe the usual naming taboo. The younger members of the family do not call seniors by their names. A daughter-in-law will not call her father-in-law by his name, but will address him as *bhái* "brother" or *bápu* "father." A husband addresses his wife as the mother of so and so his son. A son calls his father *akka* or *chacha* "uncle."

Occupation.

11. The Kâchhis are one of the best tribes of agriculturists in the Province. They are quiet, industrious, well-behaved people, who devote themselves to the cultivation of the more valuable crops, such as vegetables, opium, sugarcane, turmeric, etc.

Distribution of Kâchhis according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Chithoriya.	Churela.	Hardiya.	Kachhwâha.	Kaithiya.	Kanaujiya.	Patariha.	Saksena.	Others.	Total.
Dehra Dûn	...	...	43	81	...	...	...	202	14	340
Sahâranpur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	108	108
Muzaffarnagar	...	...	...	8	...	...	...	...	17	25
Meerut	...	...	...	...	...	17	...	...	1,181	1,198
Bulandshahr	...	...	...	1,290	...	...	...	...	372	1,662
Aligarh	...	...	...	5,206	...	...	...	...	15,363	20,569
Mathura	...	3	6	3,192	...	...	...	18	1,590	4,809
Agra	...	...	14	43,523	...	2	30	1,760	5,329	50,658
Farrukhâbâd	16	...	619	16,535	265	1,924	5	47,683	548	67,595
Mainpuri	...	...	25	9,877	435	...	...	56,682	2,904	69,923
Etâwah	...	...	96	14,770	93	...	...	34,154	2,631	51,744
Etah	...	836	664	1,490	465	15	6,891	37,426	8,908	56,195

Bareilly	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	26	...	26
Bijnor	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	258	258
Morâdâbâd	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	229	232
Shâhjahânpur	...	...	3,899	18,163	...	1,280	...	9,765	2,059	35,166
Pilibhît	...	...	...	232	...	...	...	...	...	232
Cawnpur	...	...	100	28,425	...	2,600	...	871	15,297	47,393
Fatehpur	...	...	...	5,468	...	769	...	...	3,921	10,158
Bânda	...	...	10,909	11,270	...	205	...	...	136	22,520
Hamîrpur	...	...	5	30,768	...	...	3	...	625	31,401
Allahâbâd	...	...	...	18	...	27,186	174	10,119	562	38,059
Jhânsi	...	...	38	33,271	...	6	...	...	3,327	36,642
Jâlaun	...	...	20	23,702	...	...	...	...	3,503	27,225
Lalitpur	...	...	...	26,283	...	2	25	10	1,753	28,073
Ghâzipur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
Gorakhpur	...	...	...	32	...	...	...	...	...	32
Tarâi	...	...	...	...	88	...	...	...	369	457
Lucknow	...	...	92	3,277	68	109	...	...	766	4,312

Distribution of Káchhis according to the Census of 1891—contd.

District.	Chithoriya.	Churela.	Hardiya.	Kachhwáha.	Kaithiya.	Kanaujiya.	Patariha.	Saksena.	Others.	Total.
Unáo	...	...	...	4,728	...	7,656	...	...	19,521	31,905
Ráé Bareli	...	...	4,059	1,481	...	217	...	...	2,861	8,618
Sítapur	...	...	...	310	...	2	...	8	11	331
Hardoi	...	...	9,137	35,975	...	533	...	147	1,365	47,157
Kheri	...	...	2,224	6,006	...	71	...	...	79	8,380
Faizábád	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	6
Gonda	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1
Bahráich	...	...	9	...	...	...	...	...	3	12
Partábgarh	...	...	...	...	...	44	...	...	...	44
Total	16	839	31,959	325,381	1,414	42,633	6,628	198,874	95,618	703,367

Kachhwâha.—An important Râjput sept. The popular etymology derives the name from the country of Kachh, but it is more probably connected with the Sanskrit *Kachhapa*, "relating to a tortoise," and may possibly be totemistic. The most important traditions of the sept are, of course, connected with the famous Jaypur branch.

"The accepted legend traces back their lineage to Kusa, the second son of Râma, who ruled at Ajudhya and is said to have emigrated thence to Rohtâs on the Son river, whence after several generations a second immigration brought Râja Nala westward across the Jumna to Narwar. And at Narwar the family or the sept established itself, until Dhola Râê founded the parent city of the present Jaypur State at Amber in A. D. 967. At the time the country round is said to have been all parcelled out among many petty chiefs, Râjputs of the Tuar dynasty which reigned at Delhi. After years of warfare and fluctuations of power, Dhola Râê and his Kachhwâhas are said to have absorbed and driven out the petty chiefs and to have at last founded a solid dominion with a substantial territory. The tribal sovereignty thus set up was originally known by the name of Dhûndar, from a celebrated sacred mount of that name on what is now the State's western frontier. Half a century later another chief, Hanuji, wrested Amber from the Mînas and consolidated his power, placing his head-quarters at Amber, which gave its name to the chiefship thenceforward until 1728 A. D., when the second Jay Sinh deserted it for Jaypur." [1]

Tribal organisation.

2. There are twelve chief Kachhwâha clans of which the most trustworthy list is that given by Colonel Tod. These are:—Chhattrabhujaut, Kalyânaut, Nathâwat, Balbhadraut, Khangaraut, Sultânaut, Pachhayanaut, Gugâwat, Khumbâni, Khumbhâwat, Siubaranpota, Banbîrpota. In addition to these four others are named—Rajâwat, Narûka, Bhankâwat, Parinmalot.

The Narwar and Gwâlior branch.

3. The sept in Narwar and Gwâlior became independent under Vajra Dâma, one of whose inscriptions is dated 977 A. D. His great grandson, Bhawâna Pâla, must have been reigning as an independent chief in 1021 A. D., when Mahmûd of Ghazni, in his march against Kalinjar, accepted the submission of the Râja of Gwâlior. The

[1] *Rajputâna Gazetteer*, II., 135.

Kachhwâhas continued to reign till 1129 A. D., when the last king of the race, Tejpâl or Tejkaran, lost his sovereignty through his love for the fair Maroni, whose beauty still affords a theme for the poetic skill of the bards. The Kachhwâhas of Gwâlior, Narwar, and Jaypur, all agree in the same story of the love-blind Dulha Râê, or the bridegroom prince, who was supplanted by his cousin or nephew, the Parihâr Chief Parâmal or Parâmarddi Deva.[1] The Kachhwâha dynasty of Amber obtained possession of Narwar through the marriage of their daughters with the Moghul Emperors of Delhi. The history of this dynasty commences with Râj Sinh, son of Bhîm Sinh, and grandson of Prithivi Râja, who reigned over Amber and Jaypur in the reign of Sikandar Lodi. Prithivi Râja is said to have had nineteen sons, of whom several succeeded to the throne. Râj Sinh was succeeded by his son Râmdâs. Fateh Sinh succeeded his father about 1610 A. D., but his son Amar Sinh lost Narwar in the reign of Shâhjahân, as all the members of his family declared in favour of his elder brother, Prince Khusru. Gwâlior is said to have been founded by a Kachhwâha Chief, Sûraj Sen, the petty Râja of Kuntalpuri or Kutwar. A list and history of the dynasty lasting from 925 to 1104 A. D. is given by General Cunningham. He considers the name of the clan to be derived from *kachhapa-ghâta* or tortoise-killers.[2]

The Kachhwâhas of the North-West Provinces.

4. In these Provinces the Kachhwâhas are pretty generally distributed except in the Eastern Districts. All, or nearly all, claim a Western origin from Amber or Jaypur; but the legends of their immigration are very contradictory. Thus in Faizâbâd they fix their arrival from Jaypur about six hundred years ago under Ranjît Sinh, who expelled the Bhars. In that district most of their proprietary rights have been absorbed by the Râjkumârs.[3]

Those in Sîtapur allege that they came from Jaypur in 1459 A. D. under Bahrâm Sinh and that they belonged to the Rajâwat clan, of which the present Mahârâja of Jaypur is the head[4]. In Mathura they are classed as Gaurua, which is a general term for septs degraded by widow marriage[5]. In Bulandshahr they allege

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[1] Cunningham, *Archæological Reports*, II., 312.
[2] *Ibid.*, II., 317, *s. q.*
[3] *Settlement Report*, 156.
[4] *Settlmeent Report*, 93.
[5] Growse, *Mathura*, 376.

that their forefathers emigrated from Narwar to Amber and thence to the Ganges-Jumna Duâb.[1] The Etâwah and Jâlaun branch emigrated from Gwâlior and took possession of the tract of country which from them took its name of Kachhwâhagarh; or Kachhwâhiyagarh, which is now Pargana Mâdhogarh in the Jâlaun District.[2] The few Kachhwâhas in the Eastern Districts seem to have lost all traditions of connection with Rajputâna, and have invented a ridiculous legend that they sprang from the thigh of the mythic cow Kâmadhenu.[3]

Religion.

5. The Kuladevi or family deity of the Kachhwâhas in their original home is the Jamwâhi Mahâdevi, whose temple is in the gorge of the Bân-ganga river in Jaypur teritory, not far from the south-east corner of the Alwar State. "It was here that Dhola Râê, the founder of the present Jaypur State, and subsequently his son, are said to have received miraculous aid from Mahâdevi in contending with Mînas and Bargûjars. The sons of the Alwar Chief go in state to this temple to have the ceremony of tonsure performed. Sîta and Râma are, however, naturally the deities to whom most respect is paid by Narûkas and other Kachhwâhas, since they claim descent from Râma and Sîta, whose images are carried with the army both in Alwar and in Jaypur. Sri Krishna, too, as his birth-place, Mathura, is so near, is also much reverenced by the ruling family and upper class; and Baladeva, Sri Krishna's elder brother, is in high repute. *Jay Baldeoji* and *Jay Raghunáthji* are the commonest forms of salutation.[4]"

6. By one account they claim to belong to the Kasyapa, by another to the Manava *gotra*. In Sultânpur they take brides from the Tilokchandi Bais, the Chauhâns of Mainpuri, the Bhadauriya, Râthaur, Kánhpuriya and Bandhalgoti septs; in Aligarh from the Pundîr, Jais, and Bâchhal. In Sultânpur they give brides to the Tilokchandi Bais, Mainpuri Chauhâns, Bhadauriya, and Râthaur; in Aligarh to the Pundîr, Gahlot, Solankhi, Chauhân, Panwâr, Tomar, and Janghára.

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[1] *Census Report, North-West Provinces*, 1865, I., App. 17.
[2] *Ibid.*, *App.* 85.
[3] Buchanan, *Eastern India*, II., 460.
[4] *Rajputâna Gazetteer*, III., 212.

Distribution of the Kachhwâha Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Numbers.	District.	Numbers.
Saháranpur . . .	44	Jálaun . . .	6,070
Muzaffarnagar . .	2,434	Lalitpur . . .	62
Meerut	2,228	Benares . . .	22
Bulandshahr . . .	421	Mirzapur . . .	1
Aligarh	1,056	Jaunpur . . .	16
Mathura	5,071	Ballia . . .	64
Agra	4,704	Gorakhpur . . .	39
Farrukhábád . . .	1,482	Basti	38
Mainpuri . . .	998	Azamgarh . . .	1,073
Etáwah	7,000	Tarái	56
Etah	460	Lucknow . . .	175
Bareilly	342	Unáo	900
Bijnor	54	Ráe Bareli . . .	1,196
Budáun . . .	244	Sítapur . . .	794
Moradábád . . .	397	Hardoi . . .	1,293
Sháhjahánpur . . .	341	Kheri	783
Pilibhít	130	Faizábád . . .	294
Cawnpur . . .	7,677	Gonda . . .	109
Fatehpur . . .	1,512	Bahráich . . .	166
Bánda	654	Sultánpur . . .	1,628
Hamírpur . . .	710	Partábgarh . . .	359
Allahábád . . .	216	Bárabanki . . .	110
Jhánsi	564	TOTAL .	55,286

The Rajputána Census of 1891 shows the Kachhwâhas to number 100,705.

Kadhera, Kadhâr.—(Possibly Sanskrit *Karsha-kâra*, "One who drags or ploughs.")—A caste shown in the last Census for the first time in considerable numbers in the Western Districts. Little

seems to be known about them. It is reported from Unâo, which shows them in the largest numbers, that they are really a sub-caste of Mallâh, living chiefly in the riverine parts of the district and excellent cultivators in those regions subject to floods. They seem to have almost altogether given up their proper trade of boatmen. All those shown in the Census returns are Hindus. No less than five hundred and fifty-nine sub-castes are recorded. These seem to show that the caste is probably of very mixed origin, as the list contains the names of numerous well known tribes and sub-castes such as Bâgri, Baiswâr, Bâori, Bargûjar, Bâtham (Srivâstavya), Chauhân, Dâdupanthi, Dhânuk, Dhuna, Dusâdh, Gahlot, Gamela, Gaur, Gûjar, Jâdon, Jais, Kabîrbansi, Kâchhi, Kachhwâya, Kamângar, Kânhpuriya, Katiyâr, Korchamra, Lodha, Luniya, Mallâh, Mehtariya, Naddâf, Nânakshâhi, Nuncra, Ojha, Pardesi, Pundîr, Râêdâs, Râj, Râjput, Rangsâz, Ror, Saîn, Saksena, Sânsiya, Saraswati, Socri, Solankhi, Tamoli, and Tomar.

Distribution of Kadheras according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Numbers.	District.	Numbers.
Muzaffarnagar . .	54	Pilibhît . . .	19
Meerut	2,039	Cawnpur . . .	1,270
Bulandshahr . . .	3,857	Fatehpur . . .	73
Aligarh	6,901	Bânda . . .	219
Mathura . . .	2,881	Hamîrpur . . .	1,508
Agra	4,197	Allahâbâd . . .	8
Farrukhâbâd . . .	84	Jhânsi . . .	289
Mainpuri . . .	1,219	Jâlaun . . .	1,105
Etâwah	703	Lalitpur . . .	224
Etah	2,946	Tarâi	467
Bareilly	5	Unâo	13,047
Bijnor	336	Sîtapur . . .	14
Budâun	3,658	Hardoi . . .	332
Morâdâbâd . . .	3,094	Gonda . . .	8
Shâhjahânpur . . .	301	TOTAL .	51,753

Kahâr.[1]—(Sanskrit, *Skandha-kâra*, "one who carries things on his shoulder"). A tribe who engage in cultivation, particularly in connection with growing water nuts, etc., in tanks, fishing, palanquin carrying, and domestic service. This variety of occupations renders a complete analysis of the tribe and its sub-castes very difficult. Kahârs are sometimes known as Mahra (Sanskrit *Mahila*, "a woman"), because they have the entry of the female apartments. Another name for them is Dhîmar (Sanskrit, *Dhîvara*, "a fisherman"), though some of them profess to regard it as a honorific term from Sanskrit *dhi*, or "intellect, intelligence." When they are engaged in domestic service they are often known as Behara, which is probably a corruption of the English "bearer," rather than, as one theory would represent it to be, from the Sanskrit *Vyavahâra*,[2] "business." Another name for them is Bhoi, which is a Southern Indian word (Telegu and Malayalam *boyi*, Tamil *bovi*). In the Konkan people of this class are known as Kahâr Bhui, which is the origin of the title "boy" applied by Europeans to their personal servant in Western India.[3] In parts of Bundelkhand they are known as Machhmâra, "fish killers" (Hindu *machhi-mârna*), and in other places Singhâriya, because they cultivate the Singhâra nut or water caltrop (*trapa bispinosa*).

Tribal traditions.

2. According to the Brâhmanical genealogists the Kahâr is one of the mixed castes, descended from a Brâhman father and a Nishâda or Chandâla mother. Their appearance suggests a considerable admixture of what is called non-Aryan blood. Their occupation as servants in high caste families would perhaps in some cases improve the breed; and in Bengal, according to Mr. Risley,[4] "they admit into their community Brâhmans, Râjputs, Kâyasths, Kurmis, and children of Kahâr women by men of those castes on condition of performing certain religious ceremonies and giving a feast to the heads of the caste. Instances of men born in a higher caste applying for enrollment as Kahârs are probably rare, and occur only when the applicant has been turned out of his own caste for an intrigue with a Kahâr woman." The existence of this custom of admitting outsiders to the community is distinctly denied in these Provinces and does not appear to prevail.

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[1] Based on enquiries at Mirzapur and notes by Munshi Karam Ahmad, Deputy Collector, Jhânsi, and the Deputy Inspectors, Pilibhît, Bareilly, Agra, Bijnor.

[2] By another account it is an abbreviation of the Uriya *dal behara*, "the leader of a band."

[3] See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.*

[4] *Tribes and Castes*, I., 370.

3. The Dhuriya sub-caste describe their origin as follows:—"Mahâdeva and Pârvati were returning from the house of Himâchal, the father of Pârvati, with their luggage on their heads. Seeing his spouse wearied with the burden, Mahâdeva told her to look behind and hand over her burden to the two men who were following her. These were the two ancestors of the Dhuriya Kahârs, whom Mahâdeva formed out of a handful of dust (*dhúl, dhúr*)." The Bihâr Kahârs claim descent from Jarâsandha, King of Magadha. The legend is thus told by General Cunningham.[1] When Jarâsandha was king he built a tower on the Giriyak hill in Gaya as his sitting place (*baithak*); here he would sit and lave his feet in the waters of the Panchina below. Close to his sitting place was Bhagwân's garden, which in a year of drought was nearly destroyed. Bhagwân accordingly, after fruitless efforts to keep it flourishing, caused it to be proclaimed that he would grant his daughter and half his kingdom to him who should succeed in watering his garden plentifully with Ganges water in a single night. Chandrâwat, the leader of the Kahârs, at once came forward and undertook the task; first he built the great embankment to bring the waters of the Bâwan Ganga rivulet to the foot of the hill below the garden, and then began lifting it up to successive stages by means of the common native swing basket and rope. When the work was completed Bhagwân repented of his offer and the Pipar came forward and offered to assume the form of a cock and crow while Bhagwân was to urge the Kahârs to hasten their operations. The Kahârs, hearing the cock crow, believed that night was over, and fearing the vengeance of Bhagwân, fled to the banks of the Ganges at Mokâma. Bhagwân next day sent for the Kahârs to receive their wages, but not one of them was to be found. At last he induced some of them to return and gave each of them 3½ sers of grain. Ever since that period 3½ sers of grain has been the legitimate wages for a day's work to Kahârs, and to this day they can legally claim, and as a matter of fact, actually receive the value of this amount of grain for a day's work.

4. Another legend thus accounts for their not taking Brâhmans as their spiritual guides (*guru*). As told in Bareilly, it describes how the Saint Nârada Rishi one day went to Râma in search of a Guru. He was told that he would see his appointed Guru next

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[1] *Archæological Reports*, VIII., 100.

morning. The first person he met next morning was a Dhîmar fisherman, with his net over his shoulder. So Nârada saluted him and addressed him as his Guru. But when he saw to what caste he belonged he said "How can I have a Kahâr as my spiritual guide?" Then the Kahâr cursed him with the curse that he should pass through eighty-four lakhs of lives before he attained heaven. Nârada was striken with fear and complained to Râma, who would not listen to his petition. So Nârada made eighty-four lakhs of pictures of animals, snakes, and insects on the ground and rolled his body over them by way of undergoing the required number of transmigrations. He then said to the Kahâr "Pardon me and consider yourself my Guru." From that day the Kahârs say that they are the Gurus of Brâhmans and will not take Brâhmans as their Gurus, but accept the services of Jogis instead.

Internal organisation.

5. At the last Census the Kahârs recorded themselves under fifteen sub-castes, besides a number of smaller groups which were not of sufficient numerical importance to warrant inclusion in the final returns. These sub-castes are Bathma, Bot, Dhînwar or Dhîmar, Dhuriya, Gharûk, Jaiswâr, Kamkar, Khawar, Mahar, Mallâh, Raikwâr, Rawâni, Singhariya, Turai. These illustrate the various elements out of which the present caste has been organised. Of these the Bâtham take their name from the city of Sravasti; the Bot are a well known hill tribe separately described; the origin of the Dhîmar and Dhuriya has been already given; the Gharûk, or "housemen," (*ghar*) supply many of our bearers; the Goriya are in some way according to their own explanation allied to the Gonr; the Jaiswâr take their name from the old town of Jais; the Kamkar have been described in a separate article; the etymology of Mahar has been already given. The Mallâh are a well known boating tribe and the Raikwâr a sept of Râjputs. In Mirzapur they name as usual seven endogamous sub-castes—Turâh; Bathawa; Dhuriya; Dhîmar; Rawâni or Ramâni; Kharwâr or Kharwâra; and Jaiswâr. In Bijnor they call themselves Dhanor and have five sub-castes—Narai, Pachhâdê or Western, Golê, Khâgi, and Dhanor. Of these the Golê are vagrants and wander about on the banks of rivers in search of fish, living in huts made of reeds (*sirki*). In Jhânsi they divide themselves into Raikwâr, Bathma, Dhuriya, Guriya, Noriya, Mallâh, and Turai, of which there are numerous *gotras* such as Imiliya, Ateriya, Munderiya, Dahariya, and Damraunya. A

list from Lalitpur gives the sub-castes as Goriya, Dhuriya, Mâlavi, and Gotiya. In Bareilly again ten sub-castes are recorded—Turai or Turaiya, Bathma, Goriya or Guriya, Dhuriya, Thanesara, Mahâwar, Bota, Kîra, Khadwâra, and Chander, the last two of whom are out-castes. In Agra the Turai say they are the descendants of Machharnâth or Matsyendranâtha and that Tulasi was their mother. They are servants and carry palanquins and burdens on the bahangi or bamboo laid on their shoulders. They will not kill insects (kîra), and like them are the Raikwâr, Dhuriya, and Kharagwâr. The Singhariya take service; but their chief business is growing the singhâra nut. The Chandel and Bais will eat pork. In the Eastern Districts the Gonr are stone-cutters, drawers of water, bearers of palanquins, a duty which they share with the Musahar, and cultivators. One special business they carry on is collecting the singhâra nut from tanks. The Dhîmars, who correspond to the Jhînwar of the Western Districts and the Panjâb, work as boatmen and fishermen. With these are sometimes included the Châi, who are fishermen and practise petty theft. In the hills they reckon twelve sub-divisions, which, according to Mr. Atkinson, [1] are exogamous, though in this assertion he is probably mistaken. Of these the Rawâni, Ghanik, Gariya, Kharwâra, and Nâwar are litter bearers and act as scullions and attendants; the Bathma follow the same occupations and are also grain-parchers; the Dhîmar add to these the trade of fishermen; the Mallâh that of boatmen; the Turâha and Bot that of green grocers and cultivators; and the Bâri that of basket makers.

6. The detailed Census returns give 823 sections of the Hindu and 24 of the Muhammadan branch. Of these the locally most important are the Jaliyân of Dehra Dûn, the Deswâli, Dhaunchak and Gurwal of Sahâranpur; the Ballâi, Chauhân, Gahlot, Makhanpuriya, Noiban, Ronida, Sarmodhna, and Tomar of Bulandshahr: the Bhirgudi and Râwat of Aligarh; the Deswâli of Mathura; the Kadha and Mathuriya of Agra; the Bharsiya of Farrukhâbâd; the Khâgi, Mathuriya, Matiyawâr, and Pachhâdê of Mainpuri; the Badalê and Khâgi of Bareilly; the Khâgi and Pachhâdê of Moradâbâd; the Sanauriya of Shâhjahânpur; the Nikhâd of Cawnpur; the Juriya and Kharê of Jhânsi; the Kachhwâha of Lalitpur; the Kanaujiya of Benares and Ballia; the Panwâr and Sâkta of Jaunpur; the Hardiha of Ghâzipur; the Jethwant of Gorakhpur;

[1] *Himalayan Gazetteer*, III., 510.

the Dakkhinaha and Sorahiya of Basti ; the Gond and Kananjiya of Azamgarh ; the Bhond and Nikhâd of Lucknow ; the Bhond and Khairpuriya of Unâo ; the Bhond, Dina, Ghatwariya, Jethwant, Nikhâd, and Rautiya of Râe Bareli ; the Jethwant of Sîtapur ; the Gurunâtha and Jethwant of Hardoi ; the Jethwant, Kharmorha, Luniya, Medha, Nikhâd, and Turkiya of Bahrâich ; the Dutiya, Lakhauna, Nikhâd, and Paskauta of Sultânpur ; the Paskauta or Pâsi kewats of Partâbgarh ; the Bhond, Kharmona, Morha, Nathu and Nikhâd of Bârabanki. These details will give some idea of the intricacy of the organisation of the caste as at present constituted. Everywhere we find a tendency towards the formation of distinct endogamous groups whose connection with the original stock, if there ever was one, is shadowy in the extreme.

Tribal Council.

7. The rules regarding the Tribal Council may be illustrated by the customs of Dhîmars of the Jhânsi District. The council is called Panchâyat. All the caste people attend it, as well as the so-called Panch, who have been nominated at some previous meeting. They are the spokesmen of the assembly and carry on the enquiry into the case then pending, explain the facts to the assembly, take the verdict, and pronounce the final order. The functions of the Panchâyat are,—first, in case a widow re-marries, it is for them to assess the compensation which her second husband should give to the relatives of her deceased husband ; 2ndly, in case a member commits some offence, *e.g.*, theft in his master's house, adultery, trespass, etc., it is for the council to excommunicate the offender ; 3rdly, the *panchâyat* has to decide certain disputes about property. In Jhânsi there are twelve headmen (*mukhiya*) for the twelve quarters (*pura, muhalla*) of the city. In order to form what may be called a quorum, it is necessary that some or at least one of the chief men be present ; otherwise the meeting must be postponed. When the judgment is over, the parties are obliged to draw up a regular agreement in accordance with it, and when the matter is one connected with property, this is written on stamped paper. Any disobedience is punished by excommunication and fine.

Marriage rules.

8. A man must marry within his sub-caste, but not in his own *gotra*. In Jhânsi, in addition to this, he may not marry the daughter of his uncle on the father's and mother's side, or of his father's or mother's sister. In most places, however, the simple rule is that a man does not

marry in any family as long as relationship is remembered. If after subsequent enquiry, in spite of all reasonable precaution on his part, such relationship be ascertained, it does not matter. Polygamy is recognised, but with certain restrictions. Thus in Jhânsi before a man can marry again he must obtain the permission of his first wife. If she refuses to give her consent, he can bring the case before the Council. They will go into the matter, and if he show sufficient cause, such as that his present wife is barren or diseased, they will authorise him to marry again, and, if necessary, to get rid of his first wife, should she persist in her opposition to his second marriage. Girls are, as a rule, unless they are orphans or their parents are very poor, married about the age of eight, before puberty; boys are usually married before fifteen. If there be more wives than one, the senior is known as *jethi*, and her juniors have to obey her in household matters. Concubinage is so far recognised that a man cannot keep a girl who has never been married. If he takes to himself a widow or the wife of another, he has to give a dinner to the caste and pay compensation to the relatives of the widow or to the aggrieved husband. In Jhânsi the fine for keeping a widow is ten rupees, and for living with the wife of another man sixty rupees. No bride price is paid for a virgin. A man will be permitted by the Council to put away his wife if she commits adultery or steals or misappropriates his property. When a woman is divorced in this way, she and her husband have to execute a deed of release (*ſárigh-khatti*) on stamped paper. The children of all unions recognised as valid by tribal custom rank equally for purposes of inheritance.

Widow marriage.

9. Widow marriage is recognised; the only ceremony is the notification of the fact to the Council and the provision of a dinner and spirits for the clansmen. If the younger brother of the deceased husband is adult and unmarried, he, as a matter of course, takes over the widow. In this case the levir has the right to the custody of his nephews and nieces; but the children by each husband are heirs to the goods of their respective fathers.

Marriage ritual.

10. The marriage ritual is of the usual type. Poor people marry by the *dola* form, where all the ceremonies are done at the house of the bridegroom. In a regular marriage (*byáh, charhaua*) the binding part of the ceremony is the worshipping of the feet of the bridegroom (*pair púja, páuw púja*) by the father of the bride.

11. The dead are cremated when adult; buried when unmarried or the victims of epidemic disease or snake-bite. The ordinary *srâddha* is done in their honour. As among many similar tribes, they have a special ceremony of purification in two special cases—(*a*) to remove what is called *katya* or the guilt of killing a cow, ass, or cat, (*b*) to remove the taint of a person committing suicide on account of the acts of another. In such cases the offender is sent to the Ganges to bathe, and on his return has to feed the brethren. Kahârs are orthodox Hindus and worship most of the ordinary gods. They are seldom initiated into any of the regular Hindu sects. To the east of the Province they worship Bhairon, Mahâbir, Birtiya (who is vaguely regarded as a *bîr* or dangerous demon), and the Pânchonpîr, of whom Amina Sati in the form of Amina Bhawâni is most venerated. Bhairon, Mahâbir, Amina Bhawâni, and Birtiya are worshipped on the tenth lunar day of Kuâr. To Mahâbir are offered clothes, Brâhmanical cords (*janeo*), and garlands of flowers; to Bhairon a goat and a libation of wine with *bara* or cakes made of the *urad* pulse; Amina receives a young pig and a libation of wine. The Pânchonpîr are worshipped generally in the month of Jeth with various kinds of cakes, cucumber, and sharbat. In Jhânsi they worship all the ordinary Hindu gods, and in addition Sîtala, Hardaul Lâla, and Bhûmiya, the local deity of the hamlet. In this district in the worship of Devi they are said to combine in a curious way the Hindu and Muhammadan ritual. A Musalmân and a Khatîk accompany the Dhîmar to the shrine of Devi. The Musalmân pronounces the *Kalima* when the knife is plunged into the throat of the victim, the Khatîk cleans the carcase, and then the worshipper and his friends cook and eat the meat. In Jhânsi, when they cultivate the *singhâra* or water-nut they worship a local deity known as Siloman Bâba and his brother Mâdho Bâba with the sacrifice of a goat and libations of wine. If they cultivate melons, they worship these spirits as well as another named Ghatauriya Bâba. All these have platforms (*chauntra*) erected on the banks of rivers and tanks, and are believed to be the protectors of the crop. Kâlu Kahâr, whom the Dhîmars believe to be a deceased ancestor, is invoked by them when they go out fishing or commence to carry a palanquin. On the third day after a death, in Jhânsi, the kinsmen and relatives have themselves shaved and then bathe in a tank or river. In the evening all the people of the caste are

Religion.

invited. This is called *Pun kâ bulâna* or "the invitation to the charitable act." An effigy of the dead man is made of straw and wood. All who attend touch its mouth five or seven times with a morsel of food prepared specially for the purpose. The effigy and the offerings are then laid by the roadside and the guests partake of the funeral feast.

Social customs.

12. Seven names are proposed for boys and five for girls; but the first name is used only for daily use and for ceremonial purposes. If a man's children die, the next baby is called some contemptuous name, such as Damru ("bought for a farthing"), Bâsora ("like one of the sweeper caste"). When they are sworn before the tribal council, they have to lift a vessel containing Ganges water and a leaf of the *tulasi* plant. When the water of an ordinary well is used for this purpose, it must be drawn by an unmarried girl, and she drops into it a little Ganges water and a leaf of the *tulasi* plant. Ordeals, especially that of the red-hot iron, were in use under the Marhatta Government in Jhânsi; but since the country was ceded to the British, the custom has been discontinued. They believe in the ordinary omens, and in cases of sickness the evil spirit is exercised by the Syâna or wizard. At the Akhtîj festival, held in the month of Baisâkh, the Jhânsi Dhîmars assemble at the temple of Devi near Pachkinya. The fair is attended by both sexes, and it is a favourite joke to try and make young married men and women break the taboo of mentioning the names of wife or husband. It is only the very young or inexperienced who allow themselves to be brought to ridicule in this way. When they are sowing melons, they select in particular the day on which the feast in honour of Bara Ganesa is held in the month of Mâgh. On the Akhtîj festival they take omens as to the character of the coming agricultural seasons in this way. They keep by them a pod which contains four grains of gram. Five jars (*ghaila*) are filled with water, and into four of them a grain of the gram is placed. Each represents one of the months of the rainy season—Asârh, Sâwan, Bhâdon and Kuâr. Whichever swells up indicates that there will be abundant rain in the month which it represents. On this day of the Akhtîj they commence to plant out the sprouts of the water-nut, and during the planting, constant offerings are made to Siloman Bâba and Mâdho Bâba to prosper the crop.

Occupation and social status.

13. It will have been seen from the enumeration of the sub-castes that the occupations of the Kahâr are diverse. Of the Western Kahâr Mr. Ibbetson writes:—"He is the carrier, waterman, fisherman, and basket maker of the East of the Panjâb; he carries palanquins and all such burdens as are borne by a yoke on the shoulders; and he is specially concerned with water, insomuch that the cultivation of water-nuts and the netting of water-fowl are for the most part in his hands, and he is the well-sinker of the Province. He is a true village menial, receiving customary dues and performing customary service. In this capacity he supplies all the baskets needed by the cultivator, and brings water to the men in the fields at harvest time, to the houses where the women are secluded, and at weddings and other similar occasions. His social standing is in one respect high; for all will drink at his hands, but he is still a servant, though the highest of the class." As one correspondent remarks. "This caste is so low that they clean the vessels of almost all castes except menials like the Chamâr and Dhobi, and at the same time so high that, except Kanaujiya Brâhmans, all other castes eat *pakki* and drink water from their hands." This is one of the many puzzling inconsistencies which we constantly encounter in considering the social intercourse of the various castes. Those who are engaged in personal service consider themselves superior to those who perform menial occupations such as fishing, stone-cutting or bearing of burdens, and are more exacting in arranging the marriages of their daughters. They drink liquor and eat goat's flesh and mutton; some fowls and pork. Some, according to Mr. Risley, eat field rats. But in spite of this they have some curious prohibitions of their own. Thus a Kahâr engaged in personal service with a Brâhman, Râjput, Bâbhan, Kâyasth, or Agarwâla will only eat his master's leavings so long as he is himself unmarried. They are also particular to explain that their women may not wear nose-rings or have their foreheads tattooed. In Jhânsi, the rule about eating is said to be that they can eat *pakki* touched by, and sitting side by side with, a Nâi or Kâchhi, but not food cooked by a Nâi. The lowest caste with whom they will eat *kachchi* is the Ahîr, and they will smoke with any caste except a Bhangi. To the East Banyas will eat *pakki* cooked by them and Chamârs and other menials will eat *kachchi*. They will themselves eat *kachchi* cooked

by Brâhmans and Râjputs. A curious illustration of the respect in which the caste is held is the worship in the Western Districts of the Jhiwarni or female water-bearer at the Hoi festival, which takes place eight days before the Diwâli. After the house is plastered with cow-dung, figures of a litter (*doli*) and bearers are made on the walls with four or five colours, and to them offerings with incense, lights, and flowers are given. The legend runs that at the commencement of the Kaliyuga death, famine, and pestilence devastated the land, and, though the Brâhmans fasted and prayed on the seventh day of the dark fortnight of each month, there came no relief, and being disheartened, they were about to abandon their prayers, when a Jhiwarni sat in their midst and encouraged them to further efforts. As they prayed, Châmunda Devi appeared in the form of Kâli among them, with her head in her hands, and proclaimed that these evils were due to the wickedness of mankind and prescribed the observance of the Hoi festival. The reward of the Jhiwarni has since then been to be exalted to the chief place of honour at the festival. The story, no doubt, represents some primitive form of worship, the real motive and origin of which have now been forgotten.

Distribution of Kahárs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Batham.	Bot.	Dhiwar.	Dhuriya.	Gharúk.	Goriya.	Jaiswár.	Kamkar.	Khawar.	Mahar.	Malláh.	Baikwár.	Rawáni.	Singhariya.	Turai.	Others.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Dehra Dún . .	39	64	...	27	62	56	...	...	15	1,926	...	...	...	...	...	1,379	8	3,576
Saháranpur . .	...	1,922	...	6	964	898	5	...	...	32,600	...	...	...	...	...	9,047	...	45,442
Muzaffarnagar .	...	...	1,176	...	...	...	...	...	86	42,933	...	...	...	...	131	2,330	37	46,693
Meerut . .	...	2,473	...	60	...	10	...	...	...	36,560	...	...	...	...	1,013	2,843	2	42,961
Bulandshahr .	...	8	796	220	...	60	...	...	...	2,959	...	...	...	...	9,246	4,961	4	18,276
Aligarh . .	132	46	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	11,211	14,823	...	26,212
Mathura . .	890	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	22	...	...	...	1,899	66	3,149	...	5,528
Agra . . .	2,945	...	665	26	8	88	...	...	3	25	...	5	46	83	4,371	1,877	...	10,143
Farrukhábád .	24,253	...	...	81	...	1,860	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	2,631	564	10	29,351
Mainpuri . .	16,773	...	...	...	37	43	...	...	...	426	6	...	...	58	5,968	210	...	23,521
Etáwah . .	14,433	...	28	2	...	27	...	...	56	...	...	26	...	...	520	969	1	16,069
Etah . . .	4,190	...	...	2,576	1	2	...	...	3	...	75	...	...	65	14,263	204	...	21,379
Bareilly . .	40,393	...	15	11	...	...	...	...	31	...	9	...	...	...	8,252	3,011	...	51,722
Bijnor . . .	...	...	12,559	...	...	2,569	...	...	...	27	...	...	...	1,828	...	1,164	2,841	20,388
Budáun . .	22,393	...	...	10	856	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	16,545	895	...	40,199
Moradábád . .	49	...	...	10	1,553	557	...	...	...	2,159	...	...	2	...	24,759	4,829	601	34,518

Shâhjahânpur .	87,963	9	...	364	1	765	1	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	715	...	40,044
Pilibhit . .	15,388	401	...	59	...	204	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	104	176	...	16,334
Cawnpur . .	6,407	4	34	7,163	28	1,865	1	...	10	3	...	220	64	...	163	4,860	...	20,822
Fatehpur . .	...	...	8	3,233	...	446	4	...	6	...	...	28	7	...	...	142	...	3,874
Bânda . . .	17	21	473	4,797	...	8	6	...	...	...	...	5,443	...	...	447	201	...	11,408
Hamirpur . .	1	2	99	3,574	...	7	...	...	...	...	...	7,201	...	...	...	436	...	11,620
Allahâbâd . .	14	...	169	11,030	8	4,976	185	...	121	...	...	7	96	...	12	991	75	17,634
Jhânsi . . .	99	...	596	7	...	3	...	...	...	...	5	9,525	1	...	...	497	1	10,734
Jâlaun . . .	1,077	...	41	157	...	28	...	...	17	...	...	1,006	8	...	61	1,330	...	8,722
Lalitpur . .	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	5,772	3	...	...	1,068	...	6,866
Benares . .	...	...	1,373	248	...	526	3,048	...	7,262	...	...	...	719	...	...	2,274	76	15,521
Mirzapur . .	...	477	1,891	6,319	...	217	2,385	...	4,753	...	...	...	3,805	...	...	703	12	20,090
Jaunpur . .	...	...	4,097	13,531	...	1,588	...	...	4,702	...	...	...	...	...	28	2,771	378	27,523
Ghâzipur . .	...	...	1,198	87	2	939	1,146	1,994	11,881	...	...	...	1,264	...	7	3,362	...	21,880
Ballia . . .	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	16,545	116	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,663	...	21,226
Gorakhpur . .	...	10	791	35,892	1,027	4,150	111	19,053	215	...	...	...	162	...	3,466	7,640	5	72,522
Basti . . .	806	...	181	39,121	1,884	1,016	...	469	257	...	...	...	...	...	520	2,072	705	47,030
Azamgarh . .	...	...	2,151	27,019	...	1,993	2,298	1,574	2,464	...	...	...	2	...	229	3,287	356	41,370
Kumaun . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	44	...	44
Garhwâl . .	...	...	101	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,992	...	2,095

Distribution of Kahárs according to the Census of 1891—contd.

District.	Batham.	Bot.	Dhánwar.	Dhuriya.	Gharák.	Goriya.	Jaiswár.	Kamkar.	Khawar.	Mahar.	Malláh.	Raikwár.	Rawáni.	Singhariya.	Turai.	Others.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Tarái . . .	1,980	9	4	8	...	...	...	...	...	189	...	...	...	36	2,775	477	414	5,887
Lucknow . .	374	1,392	102	10,412	1,285	214	...	...	217	10	...	3	39	4	3,673	518		18,193
Unáo . . .	899	434	...	2,502	...	4,516	...	...	...	...	56	...	8	2 188	...	3,600	...	11,703
Ráe Bareli . .	315	912	73	2,538	8	4,222	...	...	...	...	...	...	420	...	...	3,090	22	11,910
Sítapur . . .	104	161	20	14,323	30	4,362	104	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	18,932	46	33,082
Hardoi . . .	6,468	...	...	...	...	17,319	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5,004	...	28,801
Kheri . . .	3,651	2,468	311	15,702	548	7,326	3,727	...	...	20	328	...	...	...	283	123	...	34,477
Faizábád . .	...	...	...	25,460	728	7,065	...	...	384	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,735	28	37,400
Gonda . . .	...	5,569	1,835	12,825	25,866	9,386	...	19	124	...	...	...	...	...	...	264	72	55,460
Bahráich . .	...	5,134	6,527	10,146	4,559	3,663	...	...	...	...	...	...	18	...	...	17,675	121	47,888
Sultánpur . .	...	...	...	14,381	1	1,677	...	...	892	...	...	...	...	...	...	7,267	460	28,678
Partábgarh . .	...	...	48	7,410	...	2,747	...	...	405	...	...	...	4	...	...	247	123	10,984
Bárabanki . .	159	869	...	11,737	780	...	...	...	...	1,229	...	...	...	...	...	8,896	10	22,680
Total .	201,788	21,885	86,865	283,321	40,186	57,850	13,513	89,653	33,922	121,087	481	29,238	6,673	3,157	107,075	158,807	6,923	11,91,879

Kâkan.—A sept of Râjputs found in the Eastern Districts. In Ghâzipur they say they came from Mhau Aldamau, in Faizâbâd, and expelled the Bhars. In Azamgarh they say they are descended from Mayûra Bhatta, the hero of the Bisen sept, and fix their original home at a place called Kapri Kedâr, somewhere in the west, and say that they overcame the Suiris. They had a Chaurâsi of eighty-four villages.[1] The curious effects of *kodo* (*paspalum frumentaceum*) have invested it with a degree of mystery, as it causes a sort of intoxication, and the Kâkan Râjputs are said to worship it as a divinity. They never cultivate or eat *kodo*, and the reason assigned, is that while under the influence of the grain, they were set upon by some of the neighbouring tribes and lost the greater part of their once extensive possessions.[2]

Kalhans.—A sept of Râjputs in Oudh, who are said to take their name from the fact that one of their early leaders used to pet a black swan (*kâla hansa*). This may perhaps have been the tribal totem. They are now represented by the Babhnipair family of Gonda, who are the only legitimate descendants of the old Kalhans Râjas of Khurâsa, whose kingdom extended from Hisâmpur in Bahraich far into the Gorakhpur District.[3] Their leader, Sahaj Sinh, came at the head of a small force from the Narbada valley with one of the Tughlaq Emperors, and was deputed by him to bring into obedience the country between the Ghâgra and the hills. The ruler of the land was Ugrasen, the Dom, and as he dared to aspire to the hand of the daughter of the Râjput, they plied him and his followers with strong drink till they were insensible and then murdered them. The last of the race, Râja Achal Nârâyan Sinh, carried off, by force, the daughter of a Brâhman, Ratan Pânrê. He starved himself to death at the gate of the palace and cursed the family, except the descendants of the younger Râni, with ruin and blindness. He prayed to the river Sarju for vengeance on his oppressor, and in answer to his prayer, a wave from the river swept away the fort of the Râja.

2. The Kalhans do not rank with Râjputs of the bluest blood. In Râê Bareli[4] their sons marry the daughters of Chauhân (not those of Mainpuri) Bais and Amethiya girls. In Gonda they are reported

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[1] Oldham, *Memo.*, I., 12; *Azamgarh Settlement Report*, 62.
[2] Elliot, *Supplemental Glossary*, s.v. kodo.
[3] *Oudh Gazetteer*, I., 88, *sqq.*
[4] *Settlement Report*, *Appendix O.*

to marry their daughters in the Bais, Bhadauriya, Chauhân, and Bisen septs, and to accept brides of the Bais, Bisen, Bandhalgoti and other fairly respectable septs.

Distribution of the Kalhans Rájputs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Numbers.	District.	Numbers.
Sahâranpur . . .	8	Lucknow . . .	38
Meerut	3	Unâo . . .	6
Agra	5	Râê Bareli . . .	88
Bareilly . . .	20	Sîtapur . . .	74
Morâdâbâd . . .	109	Hardoi . . .	2
Pilibhît	2	Kheri . . .	14
Cawnpur . . .	1	Faizâbâd . . .	273
Fatehpur . . .	8	Gonda	14,586
Bânda	3	Bahrâich . . .	3,022
Allahâbâd . . .	2	Sultânpur . . .	48
Jhânsi	6	Partâbgarh . .	42
Gorakhpur . . .	492	Bârabanki . . .	1,293
Basti	3,611	Total .	23,756

Kâlupanthi.—A sept numbering 266,161 persons, chiefly found in the Meerut Division, and worshippers of Kâlu Kahâr, a low-caste godling, venerated chiefly by Chamârs, Sainis, Gadariyas, and other low castes.

Kalwâr.[1]—The distilling, liquor-selling, and trading caste. The name of the caste is certainly derived from Sanskrit *Kalyapâla, Kalyapâlaka*, "a distiller," and Mr. Risley's derivation from *Kalwâla*, "one who works a machine," is untenable. Mr. Nesfield regards the name as equivalent to Khairwâr or Kharwâr, "a maker

[1] Based on enquiries at Mirzapur and notes by Mr. A. B. Bruce, C. S., Ghâzipur, Munshi Bhagwân Dâs, Tahsildâr, Allahâbâd, Bâbu Badri Nâth, Deputy Collector, Kheri.

of catechu" (*khair*), and says that this "implies that the caste has sprung out of such tribes as the Châîn, Khairwâr, Musahar, etc., all of whom are skilled in making the intoxicating juice called catechu." But the latest authorities [1] give no support to the idea that catechu has any intoxicating properties; and, further, the physical appearance of the Kalwâr certainly approximates him more to the Banya than to the dark-skinned, broad-nosed Kharwâr. The caste is probably of occupational origin, and may be an offshoot from the Banya or other Vaisya tribes which has lost social position through its connection with the preparation and sale of intoxicating liquors. On this account he is known as Âbkâr.

2. The traditions of the caste do not give much help in deciding their ethnological affinities. To the east of the province they claim Kshatriya origin and call themselves Laukiya Chauhân, a term which they explain to be derived from Lauki, "the bottle gourd," the shell of which is said to have been used in early times to measure liquor. In Ghâzipur, they say that Râja Vena was killed by the Brâhmans for his impiety, and that when he was cremated, from his pyre sprang seven castes of whom the Kalwâr was one. In Oudh they say that Mahâdeva once rubbed the sweat off his body and formed a man out of it to whom he gave a cup of wine. He was the ancestor of the Kalwârs.

3. The comparatively low origin of the caste is shown by their possessing no real *gotrá* system. Some of their priests say that the richer Kalwârs belong to the Kasyapa *gotra*; but this *gotra* is the general refuge of those who do not possess this form of tribal organization.

Internal structure.

4. At the last Census the Kalwârs were recorded in seven main endogamous sub-castes—Bâtham, who take their name from the old city of Srâvasti; Golherâ; Jaiswâr, or "residents of the town of Jais;" Kanaujiya, "those of Kanauj;" Mahur; Purabiya; or "eastern"; and Sewara. The detailed Census lists give no less than 619 sub-castes of the Hindu and 12 of the Musalmân branch of the tribe. Of these those of most local importance are the Sant of Dehra-Dûn; the Chobdâr, Gond, and Tânk of Sahâranpur; the Chobdâr and Gond of Muzaffarnagar; the Mahur and Seohâra of Agra; the Gond and Tânk of Bijnor; the Dewat and Magaraha of Cawnpur;

[1] Watt's *Dictionary of Economic Products*, I., 42.

the Sochâra of Fatehpur, Bânda, Jâlaun, and Hamîrpur; the Chaurasiki and Râê of Jhânsi and Lalitpur; the Pachhwâha and Uttaráha of Mirzapur; the Byâhut and Charandha of Ballia; the Byâhut, Charandha, Dakkhinâha, Girdaha, Jaunpuri, Karandha, and Uttaráha of Gorakhpur; the Gurer of Râê Bareli, Bahrâich, and Lucknow; the Bihipuriha and Nagariha of Unâo; the Pachhwâha of Bahrâich. To the east of the province the highest in rank are the Byâhut, who rest their claims to respectability on their prohibition of widow marriage and take none but virgin brides (*byâhta*). The lowest of all are the Sûnri, who take their name from the Sanskrit *shundaka*, "a distiller" (*shunda*, "spirituous liquor"). Between these two are the Jaiswâr, who, as already stated, take their name from the old town of Jais. It is curious to observe that the Bengal Kalwârs have lost all recollection of their original head-quarters and have invented an eponymous ancestress, Jaisya, and a place called Jaispur, the exact locality of which they are unable to state, as their head-quarters.[1] Next come the Bhainswâr, who take their name from their business of carrying about goods on male buffaloes (*bhainsa*); the Gurer, whose name seems to come from Sanskrit *gudala*, "a spirituous liquor distilled from molasses" (*guda*); the Bhujkalaura, who, according to Mr. Sherring,[2] are a cross between the Bhunjas or grain-parchers and Kalwârs; the Bhojpuriya and Tânk, both of which appear to be local titles. Besides these are the Rânki or Irâqi or Kalâl, Kalâr, who are Muhammadans and are dealt with separately. It is curious, again, that these sub-castes are almost quite different from those prevailing in Bihâr, where Mr. Risley names the Banaudhiya, Byâhut, Bhojpuri, Deswâr or Ajudhyabâsi, Khalsa, and Kharidaha or "purchasers." A list from Ghâzipur gives Jaiswâr, Kharidaha, Byâhut, Sûnri, Gurer, Kalâr, and Rânchi or Rânki. From Allahâbâd we have Byâhut, Jaiswâr, Karaiya, Gurer, Sihor, Sûnri, and Rânki or Râki. In Agra we have the Mathuriya or "those 'of Mathura," who are also called Mahâjan and deal in corn, having given up the liquor trade altogether; Soharê, who may be the same as the Sûnri of the eastern distircts and distill and sell liquor; the Gulharê, who follow the same occupation; and the Sungha, who are said to be so called because they smell (*sungna*) spirits.

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[1] Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I., 385.

[2] *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, I., 303.

5. Again, in Bihâr the Kalwârs appear still to maintain an elaborate system of sections of the territorial type which give rise to a special rule of exogamy; but those further west in these provinces seem to have shed off their sections altogether, and the prohibition against intermarriage extends to members of their own family and that of cousins for three generations in the ascending line, or as long as any recollection of relationship exists. Marriage is also prohibited in a family in which a son or daughter may have been already married. In Ghâzipur the marriage law is that a man must marry in his own sub-caste and not with any ascertained relation of his father or mother. In all cases a Kalwâr may marry the younger sister of his late wife, but not her elder sister or two sisters at the same time.

The tribal council.

6. In Mirzapur, the tribal council (*panchâyat*) is presided over by a chairman (*chaudhri*), who is not a permanent official, but is selected at each meeting on grounds of respectability and aptitude for the discharge of his duties. The council deals with offences against morality and tribal usage, and the usual punishment for offences of this kind is a fine ranging from five to twenty-five rupees according to the means of the culprit, and two feasts to the brethren, one of *pakki* or cakes, etc., prepared with butter and meat, and the other *kachchi*, or ordinary bread, rice, pulse, vegetables, etc. In Allahâbâd there is no general council. Each sub-caste holds a meeting of the adult males to decide caste matters, and the penalty is a feast (*bhoj*) to the brethren; no money fines are imposed.

Marriage rules.

7. Polygamy is permitted, but in some of the sub-castes there seems to be an increasing tendency towards monogamy. Pre-nuptial immorality involves the excommunication of the girl offending. There is no regular bride price; but if the parents of the girl are poor, they sometimes receive aid in money from the friends of the bridegroom to carry out the wedding. To the east of the province the Byâhut sub-caste, who pretend to extra purity and will not eat animal food or drink spirits, usually marry their daughters in infancy; the others at the age of eight or ten; but among those who have acquired wealth there is a constant tendency to adopt infant marriage as being more respectable. Intertribal infidelity does not seem to be strictly reprobated; but a married woman detected in an intrigue can be expelled by permission of the council, and such a woman,

among some at least of the sub-castes, cannot be re-married by the *sagdi* form; while among others it seems to be allowed on condition that she amends her conduct and that her friends feed the brethren. Except in the Byâhut sub-caste, widow marriage and the levirate are allowed; but the levirate is not compulsory on the widow. The only rite in widow marriage is that the man goes to the house of the widow with a suit of clothes and ornaments for her. He eats and drinks there and remains for the night. Next morning he brings his wife home and gives a dinner, by which his marriage is recognised.

Birth rites.

8. As a rule, there are no ceremonies during pregnancy; but in some families what is known as the *korapûri* rite is done, which simply consists in placing some cakes (*pûri*) in the lap of the expectant mother. In cases of difficult labour she is given some water to drink which has been blown over by a Pandit, or Ojha, and the other women of the house vow to worship Kâlika and the Pânchonpîr if the result be satisfactory. During the twelve-days period of birth impurity the mother is bathed thrice—on the third, sixth, and twelfth day. At the second and third bathing (*nahân*) the brethren, if possible, are entertained; and at the last bath the earthen pots in use in the house are replaced; the members of the family wear clean clothes and eat choice food. During her first bath the mother listens carefully for the voice of any human being; because in popular belief the character of the child will resemble that of the person whose voice is heard by the mother on this occasion. At the age of five or seven the child's ears are bored and the hair shaved at some recognised place of pilgrimage. This marks the introduction of the child into caste, and from that time the caste rules regarding food, etc., must be observed. This custom of dedication of the hair prevailed also among the Greeks. Pausanias describes the statue of a boy on the banks of the Cephissus dedicating his hair to that river.[1]

Marriage ceremonies.

9. The marriage ceremonies are of the orthodox type; but special attention is given to the betrothal, which is known as *barraksha* or *pyâlu*, "the cup," because on this occasion the bride's father presents to the father of the bridegroom a cup with one or two rupees in it. They have the usual forms of marriage, the *charhaua* or respectable form,

[1] I., 37, and compare *Iliad*, XXIII., 185.

the *dola* where the rite is done at the house of the husband, and, lastly, the *kánkwa* or "driving," or the *pánwpújja*, "feet worship," which is the lowest of all. In the last case her father brings the girl to the house of the bridegroom, and gives him a present of one rupee or two annas. Then a vessel full of water is placed near the feet of the bridegroom, from which his father-in-law takes some water and sprinkles it upon his face. Then he makes a mark (*tíka*) with curds and rice upon the forehead of his son-in-law, telling him that as he is too poor to afford it, the rest of the ceremony must be done at a later time at the house of her husband.

Disposal of the dead.

10. The dead are cremated in the ordinary way. After the mourners' return home they make little cups of the leaves of the *ber* (*zizíphus jujuba*), fill them with spirits, and pour the contents on the ground. Those who are orthodox suspend a vessel of water (*ghant*) on a *pípal* tree for the use of the ghost during the ten days of the death rites. On the tenth day presents of vessels and the other goods of the deceased are made to the officiating Mahâbrâhman, and the chief mourner worships Gauri and Ganesa at home. They perform the *srâddha* in the orthodox way.

Religion.

11. The Kalwârs employ Brâhmans as priests, who seem to be received on an equality with those who officiate for the higher castes. To the east of the Province they chiefly worship Durga in the form of Kâlika the Pânchonpîr, Phûlmati Devi, Chausathi, and Hardiha or Har daul Lâla. Kâlika is worshipped on the first Monday in the month of Aghan with an offering of *bhang*, wine, molasses, and chaplets of flowers. The Pânchonpîr are worshipped in Sâwan with rice-milk, cakes, gram, and the sacrifice of a goat or ram. In Allahâbâd they have made an extraordinary conversion of the great saintly quintette of Islâm. According to them, they consist of Ghâzi Miyân, Parihâr, Athîlê or Hathîlê, Brahma Deota, and the Barê Purukh, who seems to be the personified ancestor of the tribe, "the old man" *par excellence*. Ghâzi Miyân is, according to their account, the martyred hero of Bahrâich; Parihâr, the son of the giant Râvana of the Râmâyana; Hathîlê, the sister's son of Ghâzi Miyân; Brahma Deota was a Brâhman who died as a follower of Ghâzi Miyân, whose spiritual guide was Barê Purukh,—a most wonderful jumble of all the mythologies. The other tribal deities are worshipped in the same way. They have, in Banjâri, a

sort of tribal goddess whose worship is carried out by general subscription. "Whether Madain, the god of wine," says Mr. Baillie,[1] "should be regarded as specially a low-caste god, or as belonging to the class of demons with whom he would be classed by most Hindus, is an open question. He is, though feared by Oudh Chamârs as far more terrible than any other god, little acknowledged as a special tutelary god, his worshippers being in general ashamed to admit that they regard him as their god, although they regard a false oath sworn by Madain as more certain to attract retribution than one by any other god in the pantheon. Madain, well known and well feared as he is, has, therefore, only 2,639 special worshippers."

12. The aonla tree is specially worshipped in the month of Kârttik by feeding Brâhmans and doing a fire offering (*homa*). They also revere the *nim* and *pîpal* tree, the former of which is said to be the abode of Devi, and, as such, women bow as they pass it, while the *pîpal* is the home of Vasudeva and the other gods. They fast on Sundays in honour of Sûraj Deota, the sun god, and they pour wine on the ground in honour of Sâiri or Sâyari Devi, of whom they can give no account, except that she was the sister of the Yakshas. Each house has a family shrine at which the household gods are worshipped. This is specially done at child-birth, and among them the god most usually worshipped in his way is Ghâzi Miyân, whose symbol, an iron spear (*sâng*), is kept near his shrine. If Kalwârs are ever initiated into any of the regular sects, it is generally the Vaishnava or Nânakshâhi.

Festivals.

13. They observe the standard festivals, the Phagua or Holi, the Naurâtra of Chait, Ghâzi Miyân kâ byâh, the Dasahra, Kajali, Tîj, Nâgpanchami Kanhaiya-ji-ki-ashtami, Anant, Bijaya, Dasmi, Diwâli, Pyâla or worship of Kâlika in Pûs, Khichari, and Basant. They also join in the Muhammadan Muharram. The seat on which they sit in the liquor shop is regarded as a sort of a fetish, and to it a burnt offering (*homa*) is made.

Social customs.

14. The women of the caste have their hands tattooed; they wear a nose-ring (*nathiya*), ear ornaments (*utarana*), bangles (*kara*, *dharkana*), arm ornaments (*bâzu*, *humel*), neck ornaments (*guriya*, *kantha*), forehead

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[1] Census Report, North-Western Provinces, 220.

ornaments (*ilka*, *handi*), anklets (*pâézeb*, *pairi*). Kalwârs swear on Ganges water, by touching the idol in a temple after bathing, on the heads of their sons, on the feet of a Brâhman, by placing the leaf of the *pîpal* tree on their heads, and by standing in running water. They believe in magic and the Evil-eye; if a child is the victim of fascination, they make a Muhammadan faqîr blow over his head. They will not touch a Dhobi, Chamâr, or Bhangi, nor the wife of a younger brother or nephew. Yudhishthira, it is said, once saw the toe of his younger brother's wife, and when he went to heaven he found that her toe was in hell. A man (*samdhi*) will not touch the *samdhin* or mother of his son's wife or daughter's husband. A man will not mention his wife by name, nor a wife her husband. They eat the flesh of goats, sheep and deer, fowls and fish, and drink spirits often to excess. They will eat *pakki* cooked by Brâhmans, Kshatriyas, and Halwâis; they eat *kachchi* only if cooked by one of their own sub-caste or by their religious guide or Guru.

15. Their occupation is distilling and selling spirituous liquor and dealing in money, grain, and various kinds of merchandise. Their connection with the liquor trade tends to lower them in popular estimation, and they hardly rank higher than the Teli. As money-lenders they are grasping and miserly. In dealing with the public excise contracts they are shrewd and enterprising and much given to combination. A popular proverb represents the Kalwâr's wife lamenting because such a quantity of good water which might be used for better purposes is flowing away in the Ganges—*Ganga baki pâé, Kalwârin chhâti pîté*; and another still more uncomplimentary says "If you have never seen a Thag, look at a publican" —*Thag na dekhé, dekhé Kalwâr.*

Occupation and social status.

Distribution of the Kalwârs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Bâtham.	Gaheré.	Jaiswâr.	Kanaujiya.	Mahur.	Purabiya.	Sewara.	Others.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Dehra Dûn . .	...	...	121	...	...	...	...	951	...	1,072
Sahâranpur . .	...	...	15	...	...	...	...	1,949	119	2,083
Muzaffarnagar . .	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	1,601	90	1,693
Meerut . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,562	124	1,686
Bulandshahr . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	230	114	344
Aligarh . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	51	26	77
Mathura . . .	...	...	7	1	74	...	67	334	27	510
Agra . . .	...	140	...	163	924	...	1,011	1,006	...	3,244
Farrukhâbâd . .	547	218	13	...	...	...	...	306	...	1,084
Mainpuri . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	40	...	40
Etâwah . . .	...	114	...	...	...	...	...	72	2	188
Etah . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	32	...	32
Bareilly . . .	...	82	688	251	...	...	...	336	...	1,357

Bijnor	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,053	415	1,468
Budâun	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	34	...	34
Morâdâbâd	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	406	419	825
Shâhjahânpur	3,052	2,232	366	117	...	51	...	653	...	6,471
Pilibhît	239	151	1,499	14	...	243	...	81	...	2,227
Cawnpur	124	1,217	5,727	...	...	75	...	2,895	6	10,044
Fatehpur	2	42	1,695	...	...	...	...	2,130	...	3,869
Bânda	...	155	1,954	...	...	...	...	4,079	...	6,188
Hamirpur	...	...	40	1	...	3	...	3,039	...	3,083
Allahâbâd	...	...	15,243	3	...	...	...	1,443	1	16,690
Jhânsi	...	20	28	...	...	...	...	2,511	...	2,559
Jâlaun	5	93	...	...	...	...	...	2,352	...	2,450
Lalitpur	...	...	33	...	...	...	...	1,299	...	1,332
Benares	...	12	14,225	125	...	217	...	3,277	...	17,856
Mirzapur	...	...	14,576	1,393	...	214	...	436	...	15,619
Jaunpur	...	249	16,843	...	...	...	...	863	...	17,955
Ghâzipur	...	...	11,913	80	...	...	...	850	...	12,843

Distribution of the Kalwârs according to the Census of 1891—contd.

District.	Bâtham.	Golherâ.	Jaiswâr.	Kanaujiya.	Mahur.	Purabiya.	Sewara.	Others.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Ballia . . .	...	...	3,090	111	...	...	...	9,669	...	12,870
Gorakhpur . . .	...	...	35,795	147	...	...	...	12,032	2	47,976
Basti . . .	...	...	12,192	81	...	...	...	1,292	...	13,565
Azamgarh . . .	...	...	10,202	457	...	...	...	7,565	1	18,225
Garhwâl . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	7
Tarâi . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	22	66	88
Lucknow . . .	176	495	3,502	3	...	130	...	1,472	...	5,778
Unâo . . .	...	...	4,116	...	...	...	...	1,646	...	5,762
Râê Bareli . .	33	...	6,404	67	...	37	...	2,476	40	9,057
Sîtapur . . .	2,020	99	6,421	...	...	...	...	1,024	...	9,564
Hardoi . . .	4,552	1,923	1,452	7	...	...	...	271	...	8,205
Kheri . . .	4,329	189	3,405	105	...	...	...	509	...	8,537
Faizâbâd . . .	...	133	12,382	72	...	...	...	207	...	12,794

Gonda . . .	...	...	15,946	...	...	...	...	675	...	16,621
Bahráich . . .	157	...	5,277	6	..	225	...	3,515	2	9,182
Sultánpur . . .	...	...	12,849	87	...	304	...	1,313	...	14,553
Partábgarh . .	...	...	9,923	3	...	73	...	712	...	10,711
Bárabanki . .	40	...	7,890	193	...	...	...	960	...	9,083
TOTAL .	15,276	7,564	235,822	8,457	906	1,574	1,078	81,238	1,454	348,491

Kamângar.—The maker of bows (*kamân*). A small occupational caste who have been apparently at the last Census included in one of the castes of wood-workers, such as Kadhera or Barhai. Closely alied to them are the Tîrgar or arrow-makers (*tîr*, an arrow), whose name is corrupted into Tîlgarh. They claim descent from Mârkandeya Rishi, who is said to have been the inventor of the art of archery. Their traditions centre round Ajudhya and a place called Isaya Balla in the Râê Bareli District. Some of the women of the Muhammadan Tîrgars act as midwives. They live by service and the making of bows and arrows, walking sticks, children's playthings and pipe stems (*nigâli*). Some do wood-painting; they work in wood, reeds, and bamboo, not in leather.

2. They eat mutton, goats' flesh, and fish; not beef, pork, or vermin. They will eat *pakki* cooked by Brâhmans, Râjputs, or Halwâis, and *kachchi* cooked by Brâhmans. Mr. Nesfield thinks they are an offshoot of the Dhânuks, but this is doubtful. The centre of the bow-making trade, which has now practically disappeared, used to be Tilhar in the Shâhjahânpur District, which was known as *kamân kâ shahr* or the city of bows.[1]

Kamboh.—An influential cultivating and land owning class found in the Meerut and Agra Divisions. The origin and ethnological affinities of the tribe have given rise to much speculation. In Jâlandhar the tradition is that "in A. D. 1654 the Panjâb was devastated by disastrous floods. To restore prosperity Jahângîr sent for Sher Shâh, a Sûbah, who took with him from the city of Sunam (possibly a mistake for Sohna in Gurgaun, a former stronghold of this tribe) Rattu and Achhra, the ancestors of the Kambohs. The latter he located near Chuniân in the Lahore District. The former settled in the neighbourhood of Tibba near Sultânpur in Kapurthala, and with his relations formed twelve villages which are still known as Bârah. Another derivation is from *wâra*, an enclosure. In Sikh times the Kambohs came from Kapurthala into Jâlandhar. The derivation of their name has not yet been ascertained. According to their account, they originally lived about Mathura and were Kshatriyas. When ParasuRâma was slaughtering the Kshatriyas, he found their ancestor Bhûp Râê armed and girt up for the fray. He, therefore, proposed slaying him; and on Rûp Râê's saying that he was not a Ksha-

[1] *Settlement*

triya, ParasuRâma replied that he was armed and redolent of the Kshatriyas (*kam bú hai; ya'ané teri bú Kshatriyonwáli hai*). Rûp Râê at once objected that he was not *qâim bú* (of any fixed odour) at all and so got off. He afterwards was known as Qaimbu, which gradually got changed into Kamboh. This ridiculous story is merely quoted on account of the bearing it may have on the traditions of some of the Bijnor Kambohs that they were of the same stock as the Khatris. The division into Qalami and Zamîndâr Kambohs—"of the pen" and "agricultural" Kambohs—is recognised. The latter only are found here. They are quiet, well-disposed people, good cultivators, and except that they pretend to be in distressed circumstances when there is nothing the matter with them, they have no bad qualities. They say they are divided into fifty-two clans; none of the names given of them is that of an important Arain clan. The names of these clans—Gorê Hândê, and Momi—are the same in both tribes. The Phillaur Kambohs, though few, have a history of their own. They were Sûrajbansi Râjputs, and came from Kâmrûp on the Brahmaputra to Delhi in the reign of Humayun (1530—1556). Thence one ancestor, Bodh Râê, migrated to the Lahore and another, Dalu Râê, to the Jâlandhar District. This tradition may have its origin in the achievements of Akbar's general, the Kamboh Shâhbâz Khân, who distinguished himself in Bengal and had nine thousand horse under his command when operating on the Brahmaputra. The Kambohs do not claim any relationship with the Arains. They practise widow marriage (*karewa*). Their women do not help in agricultural work, but bring out food to their relations in the field.[1]" In Montgomery, again, the Kambohs "claim descent from Râja Karan, but one of their ancestors had to fly to Kashmîr and married the daughter of a gardener to save his life. The Râja reproached him with contracting such a low alliance and said "*Tum ko kuchh bú khándáni kí nahín hai? Tum kam-bú-wálé ho*"—— meaning there was no trace of high family in him; hence the name. Those in Montgomery divide themselves into Lamawâla Kamboh and Tappawâla Kamboh, *lamma* meaning west or the country about Multân. Tappa, they say, is the region between the Byâs and the Satlaj."[2]

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[1] *Jálandhar Settlement Report*, 83 *sq.*

[2] *Montgomery Settlement Report*, 56.

2. The Muhammadan branch in these provinces connect their name with that of the old Kais Sovereigns of Persia. When the Kais, they say, lost the throne, they retired to India and called themselves Kai amboh or "the congregation of the Kais." There can, however, be very little doubt that, in name at least, they are the representatives of the Kambojas. They are regarded by Wilson as the people of Arachosia, and are always mentioned together with the north-west tribes, Yavanas, Sakas, and the like. They are famous for their horses, and in the Râmâyana they are said to be covered with golden lotuses, probably some ornament or embellishment of their dress. We have part of the name in the Cambistholi of Arrian, the two last syllables of which represent the Sanskrit *sthalu*, "a place or district;" and the name denotes the dwellers in the Kamba or Kambis country.[1] Sâgara, it is said, would have destroyed them, but they appealed to Vasishtha, his family priest, and he ordered Sâgara to spare them, but he put distinguishing marks upon them. It is further noted that they spoke a language similar or akin to that of the Aryans.[2]

Real origin of the name.

3. The Kambohs of these provinces have probably entered it from the Panjâb. They are a hardy independent people and do not pay much deference to the leading castes. One authority calls them "a turbulent, crafty, stiff-necked race, and as such more akin to Afghâns than any of the meek Hindu races of the plains of India wherein they have been now settled for generations."[3] They are certainly not popular with their neighbours; and the proverb is familiar all over Northern India—*Yaké Afghân, doum Kamboh, seum badzât Kashmîri*—"the Afghân is the first, the Kamboh the second, and the Kashmîri the third rascal in the land." But this verse must, as Professor Blochmann[4] shows, be very modern; for during the reigns of Akbar and Jahângîr it was certainly a distinction to belong to this tribe, and in one version of it the three rogues are the Sindi, the Jât, and the Kashmîri.[5]

Character and occupation.

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[1] Wilson, *Vishnu Purâna*, 194; Rajendra LAla Mitra, *The Yavanas of the Sanskrit writers*; *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1874, 374, *sq.*

[2] Muir, *Ancient Sanskrit Texts*, II., 355.

[3] Rajendra LAla Mitra, *Indo-Aryans*, II., 186.

[4] *Ain-i-Akbari*, I., 399.

[5] Lady Burton, *Arabian Nights*, IV., 92.

4. Their sections do not throw much light on their origin. Some are obviously designed to connect them with Râjputs, such as Chhatri, Jâdonbansi, Raghubansi, Râjput, and Sûrajbansi. Others are probably local, as Chaurâsi, Chaurâsi Goli, and Chaurâsi Kanha. Of the others, such as Bâwan and Bâwan Goli, Bel, Bendpâri, Chodsi, Dangan, Dewâsi, Dhaman, Dhani, Dholdhar, Gâdi, Ganaiti, Gatru, Hatthi, Kahoji, Kakli, Kalûri, Karai, Karâs, Karni, Khattâri, Lurkaji, Makotri Mal, Mûki, Murli, Rajwâni, Sankla, and Thapri, no intelligible account is forthcoming.

Distribution of the Kamboks according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Hindu.		Musalmân.	Total.
	Chaurasiya.	Others.		
Dehra Dûn	149	141	5	295
Sahâranpur	2,304	967	689	3,960
Muzaffarnagar	386	534	8	928
Meerut	...	760	480	1,240
Bulandshahr	...	...	11	11
Aligarh	...	...	38	38
Agra	...	...	1	1
Farrukhâbâd	...	...	67	67
Mainpuri	...	...	2	2
Etâwah	...	...	2	2
Etah	...	...	437	437
Bijnor	63	211	16	290
Budâun	...	...	11	11
Morâdabâd	...	308	294	602
Shâhjahânpur	...	...	19	19
Cawnpur	...	...	7	7
Fatehpur	...	...	62	62
Bânda	...	...	17	17
Hamirpur	...	...	2	2
Allahâbâd	...	...	50	50

Distribution of the Kamboks according to the Census of 1891—contd.

District.	Hindu.		Musal-mân.	Total.
	Chaurasiya.	Others.		
Jhânsi	...	...	24	24
Jâlaun	...	...	23	23
Ghâzipur	...	...	8	8
Gorakhpur	...	...	6	6
Basti	...	...	13	13
Tarâi	105	294	...	399
Lucknow	...	...	9	9
Sîtapur	...	...	10	10
Bahraich	...	...	2	2
Bârabanki	...	...	9	9
Total	3,007	3,215	2,322	8,544

Kamkar.[1]—A tribe found chiefly in the Eastern districts, where they take service with Hindu masters. According to one theory, the word is derived from Sanskrit *Karma-kâra*, "a workman"; according to others it is connected with Sanskrit *Ka*, *Kam*, in the sense of "water," meaning "a water-drawer." Of the ethnological affinities of the caste little appears to be known. In Western Bengal the word Kamkar is a title of Kahârs,[2] and as the occupation and status of the two tribes are very similar, it is possible that they may be allied. In Basti they claim to be descended from the celebrated Jarâsandha, King of Magadha. The Kahârs, it may be noted, have a similar tradition—a fact which goes to confirm the connection of the tribes.

2. In Basti they have two endogamous sub-castes—the Chandwâr and Nikumbh. Their rule of exogamy excludes marriage with the daughter of the maternal uncle and the paternal and maternal aunt. Marriage

Marriage rules.

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[1] Chiefly based on notes by W. H. O. N. Segrave, Esq., District Superintendent, Police, Basti.

[2] Sherring, *Tribes and Castes*, I., 339; Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I., 395.

generally takes place at the age of twelve or thirteen. Polygamy is permitted, but they have seldom more than two wives. Polyandry is prohibited. The levirate is allowed, but is not compulsory on the widow. They have the usual marriage forms—*charhaun*, the respectable form; *dola* used by poor people; and *dharauna*, for widows. A wife can be divorced for infidelity, and she can be re-married by the *dharauna* form on payment of a fine in the shape of a feast to the clansmen.

Religion.

3. They are Hindus and may belong to the Saiva, Vaishnava or Sâkta sect, but they are seldom regularly initiated. They have Brâhmans for their religious guides. They worship Mahâdeva, Durga, and Kâli. Kâli is worshipped on Fridays, and Mahâdeva at the Sivarâtri. In their domestic ceremonies and ritual they follow the example of respectable Hindus.

Occupation.

4. Their special occupation is acting as domestic servants in the families of Râjas and rich Hindus, and they bear a good reputation for activity and fidelity. Some of them hold land as cultivators with and without rights of occupancy.

Social customs.

5. They drink spirits and eat the flesh of goats and deer and fish. They will use the leavings of their religious guide. They will not eat monkeys, cow meat, pork, crocodile, jackal, etc. Those who are Bhagats will not eat meat or drink spirits. They will eat *pakki* from the hands of Kahârs, Ahîrs and Châis. They will eat *kachchi* from the hands of Brâhmans and Kshatriyas. They will drink from the hands of Koris and Kahârs. They smoke only with their own clansmen.

For the distribution of the Kamkars see under *Kahár*.

Kandêwâl; Kandêwâla.—A sub-caste of Banyas who take their name from their trade of dealing in cowdung fuel (*kanda*); which is an important industry in some of the larger towns. The Kandêwâl either purchases fuel from the neighbouring cultivators, or he takes a lease of the right to collect the manure at camping grounds and other places where oxen are kept. The caste is sometimes confounded with the Khandewâl (*q. v.*); but they appear to have no connection. They have not been separately recorded at the last Census.

Kanaujiya.—A small sub-caste of Banyas.

Distribution of the Kananjiya Banyas according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Sahâranpur . . .	1	Benares . . .	36
Agra	1	Mirzapur . . .	55
Cawnpur . . .	8	Ghâzipur . . .	7
Fatehpur . . .	21	Gorakhpur . . .	83
Bânda	8	Azamgarh . . .	5
Allahâbâd . . .	122	Sîtapur	9
Jhânsi . . .	15	Bahraich . . .	48
Jâlaun . . .	1	Sultânpur . . .	1
		Total .	416

Kanaujiya; Kanyakubja.—A local branch of Brâhmans, included in the Pancha Gauda. They take their name from the famous city of Kanauj, of which only a few ruins now remain in the Farrukhâbâd District. It is curious to remark the large number of sub-castes and sections of various tribes which derive their names from this great capital. "The vast empire," writes General Cunningham,[1] "which Harsha Vardhana raised during his long reign of forty-two years between A. D. 607 and 648 is described by Hwen Thsang as extending from the foot of the Kashmîr Hills to Assam, and from Nepâl to the Narbada river. He intimidated the Râja of Kashmîr into surrendering the tooth of Buddha, and his triumphal procession from Pataliputra to Kanauj was attended by no less than twenty tributary Râjas from Assam and Magadha on the east, to Jâlandhar on the west. In the plenitude of his power Harsha Vardhana invaded the countries to the south of the Narbada, where he was successfully opposed by Râja Pulakesi, and after many repulses was obliged to retire to his own kingdom. Kanauj was the capital of the Tomars down to the invasion of Mahmûd in A. D. 1021, immediately after

[1] *Archæological Reports*, I., 280.

the death and defeat of Râja Jaypâl. Shortly after that date the small town of Bâri to the north of Lucknow became the capital, until about 1050 A. D., when the Tomars retired to Delhi before the growing power of the Râthaurs. Once more Kanauj became the capital of a powerful kingdom, and the rival of Delhi both in extent and magnificence. Here Jaya Chandra, the last of the Râthaurs, celebrated the Aswamedha or "horse sacrifice"; and here in open day did Prithivi Râja, the daring chief of the Chauhâns, carry off the willing daughter of the Râthaur king in spite of the gallant resistance of the two Banâphar heroes, Alha and Udal. The fame of these two brothers, which is fully equal to that of Prithivi Râja himself, is still preserved in the songs and traditions of the people amongst the Chandels of Mahoba and the Râthaurs and Chandels of the Duâb. After the fall of Delhi in January 1191 A. D. Muhammad Ghori marched against Kanauj. Râja Jaya Chandra retired before him as far as Benares, where he made his last stand, but was defeated with great slaughter. The Râja escaped from the field; but was drowned in attempting to cross the Ganges. When his body was recovered by the conquerors, it was found that he had false teeth fixed with wires of gold. With Jaya Chandra ended the dynasty of the Râthaurs of the Duâb, and the wealth and importance of the far-famed capital of Kanauj."

Tribal organisation.

2. The tribal organisation of the Kanaujiya Brâhmans is very intricate. They are also known as Khatkul, (*shatakula*), or "those of the six clans." For these there is a mnemonic formula in use—*kâk, sâs, ubha*. *Kâ* expresses those who belong to the Kâtyâyana *gotra*; *ku* to the Kasyapa; *sâ* Saudilya, *sa* Sankrita; *u* Upamanyu; *bha* Bhârad-wâja. These members of the six clans are regarded as the true Kanaujiyas.

3. In their marriage rules these Khatkul Kanaujiyas have the following peculiarities. The children of a second wife can intermarry with the family of the first wife, provided the *gotra* is different, and they do not come within the other prohibited degrees. In marriage, again, what is known as the custom of *adla-badla* prevails; for instance, two men often exchange sisters in marriage. If a bride has been given to a family, the two families will not intermarry till the expiry of five generations. After this interval marriage is allowed. When a man of the Khatkul marries for the first time he takes his wife from the Khatkul; but he can-

not receive a second wife from them, and has, if he wishes to marry a second time, to marry in the lower grade or Panchâdari, described later on. The members of the Khatkul practise monogamy, and never marry a second time while the first wife is alive, whether she be barren or not.

The Panchâdari and Dhâkara Kanaujiyas.

4. Below the Khatkul come the Panchâdari and below them the Dhâkara. The former are said to have sprung originally from the Khatkul; but they emigrated to a distance at an early time, and have hence lost the status which their ancestors once enjoyed. The Panchâdari are of two kinds, the Sudha Panchâdari or "pure" Panchâdari, and secondly those who are degraded by association with the Dhâkara. The Dhâkara form the lowest grade of Kanaujiya, and have fallen in status, because they plough with their own hands and smoke. They usually marry among themselves; but sometimes they ally themselves with the poorer members of the Panchâdari group. The Panchâdari who intermarry with the Dhâkara do so only because they receive large sums for brides and are degraded by this connection and fall into the Dhâkara grade. There is a third kind of Panchâdari who rank even below the Dhâkara. They are called Bhulnihai ki Panchâdari. They too are said to have sprung originally from the Khatkul. They usually intermarry with their own group; if any of the higher grade families, for the sake of money, give them brides, they sink to their status.

The origin of the Bhulnihai Kanaujiyas.

5. The Bhulnihai Kanaujiyas are said to trace their origin to a bandit named Sîtal Prasâd Trivedi, who lived about a century ago. He, with a large body of followers, attacked the Nawâb of Lucknow, who appointed him Chakladâr. He was the son of Thâkur Prasâd, who was infatuated with the daughter of a butcher of Lucknow. She is said to have been one of the great beauties of the time. He purchased her for a large sum and took her to wife. By her he had three daughters. One day Sîtal Prasâd tauntingly said to his half-sisters, "Let me see what Mughal or Pathân I am to have as my brother-in-law!" When their mother heard the sneer she refused to eat, and when Thâkur Prasâd saw her in this state and learnt the cause of her grief, he said, "I will marry them into families higher than those into which the real sisters of Sîtal Prasâd have been married." So he sent the barber Phuljhâri and ordered him to find husbands for the girls.

6. Phuljhâri went and arranged their marriages among respectable families of Morâdâbâd, Kanauj, and Asani, which are the headquarters of the best Kanaujiyas. He betrothed one of the girls to a Misra of Morâdâbâd; a second to one of the Hira ke Bâjpei of Asani; the third to one of the Dîp ke Misra of Kanauj. When the girls were being married the relations of the husbands planned not to eat from the hands of the daughter of the butcher or her daughters. When they refused to eat with his wife and her daughters, Sîtal Prasâd threatened to blow them from his cannon, and they were obliged to give way. Since then the families who formed this connection have lost their former rank. The story is interesting, whatever be its truth, in connection with the remarks made in the article about Brâhmans, suggesting that some of the families are of mixed origin.

7. Among the Khatkul there is a section known as Bâla ke Sukla. They drink spirits and worship the goddess Chhinnamasta or Chhinnamastaka, the decapitated or headless form of Durga. They are considered one of the most respectable of the Khatkul, and their position is not lowered by their indulgence in wine. In fact the contrary is the case, and all the respectable Khatkul families intermarry with them. Bâla, after whom they are named, was a devoted worshipper of the goddess and never saluted anyone with a bow. Once a number of Kanaujiya Brâhmans made a plot to spit on him when he went to the Ganges to bathe. When he came out of his litter on the banks of the river they all spat at him. He sat down and laughingly said, "To be spat on by so many eminent Brâhmans is as good as a bath in Gangaji." So his enemies were ashamed and begged his pardon. Then he said, "The reason I bow to none is that my power is without limit, of which I will give you proof." So he bowed to a stone close by and it was broken into fragments. They were astonished, and bowing at his feet went their way.

8. There is another and similar division of Kanaujiya Brâhmans based on social status. The highest grade are known as Mahtur and are divided into Uttama or "highest," Madhyama or "middle," and Nikrishta or "debased." Lower than these are the Gohiya, who have similarly three grades – Uttama Madhyama, and Nikrishta. Lowest of all are the Dhâkara or "mongrel" already described. They have also the three grades of Uttama, Madhyama, and Nikrishta. These sections are endogamous as a

general rule. But poor families, as has already been said, lose status by selling brides to sections lower than themselves.

9. A list given below gives the classification as accurately as it can be ascertained :—

Mahtur Uttama.—Including the Bâjpei of Lucknow and Haura; the Misra of Parsu; the Tivâri of Chattu; the Pânrê of Khori; the Sukla of Fathâbâdi; the Pânrê of Gigâson; the Sukla of Bâla; the Dikshit of Srikant; the Awasthi of Madhu; the Misra of Bîr.

Mahtur Madhyama.—Bâjpei of Unchê Lucknow, Haura, Bisa; Misra of Majhgânw, Ankini, Kanauj; Sukla of Bâla; Pânrê of Khori; Misra of Parasu; Dikshit of Srikant; Sukla of Nabhel; Awasthi of Madhu, Prabhâkar; Misra of Sothiyâya, Bîr; Sukla of Chhangê; Pânrê of Gingâso; Tivâri of Chattu; Dikshit of Kangu, Bireswar.

Mahtur Nikrishta.—Bâjpei of Unchê Lucknow, Bateswar, Deva Sarma; Misra of Akini, Sothiyâya; Misra of Hemkar; Trivedi of Hari; Sukla of Peku, Keshu, Nabhel; Dûbê of Gharbas; Misra of Kanauj; Pânrê of Khori.

Gohiya Uttama.—Bâjpei of Dhanni, Târa; Sukla of Nayâya Bâghsa; Misra of Gopinâth Dhobiha; Sukla of Sandat; Pânrê of Lucknow; Bâjpei of Sinsarma, Pitha; Awasthi of Barê; Tivâri of Dama; Sukla of Nabhel; Dikshit of Bâbu; Misra of Kanauj; Pânrê of Khori and Dodarê.

Gohiya Madhyama.—Misra of Baijgânw, Badarka, Kanauj; Sukla of Nabhel, Bhandat; Awasthi of Gopâl; Misra of Gopinâth; Dûbê of Kapitânrê; Tivâri of Gopâl; Bâjpei of Kâsirâm, Manirâm; Bâjpei of Mathura Gopi; Misra of Banwâri.

Gohiya Nikrishta.—Misra of Pasikhera, Gopi, Lalkar; Sukla of Durgadâs, Nabhel; Bâjpei of Tirmal; Trivedi of Prayâg; Tivâri of Ghagh; Dikshit of Antor; Sukla of Hari; Bâjpei of Gopi.

Dhâkara Uttama.—Agnihotri; Pâthaka; Chaubê; Upâdhyâya; Adhurja.

Dhâkara Madhyama.—Sabarni; Thakuriha; Mairha; Râwat.

Occupation.

10. The Kanaujiya Brâhman, besides his priestly functions, takes readily to agriculture, soldiering, and service. He furnished and still furnishes many recruits to what used to be known as the Pânrê regiments, the numbers of which have been in recent years much reduced. He is less a stickler for his dignity than the Sarwariya, and

while the latter invariably does his farming through a ploughman the former may often be seen driving his plough himself. Both will stand on the harrow (*henga*) with which the clods are broken.

Distribution of Kanaujiya Brâhmans according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Dehra Dûn . . .	372	Lalitpur . . .	742
Sahâranpur . . .	387	Benares . . .	8,104
Muzaffarnagar . .	111	Mirzapur . . .	9,499
Meerut . . .	1,003	Jaunpur . . .	1,845
Bulandshahr . .	329	Ghâzipur . . .	28,004
Aligarh . . .	942	Ballia	86,382
Mathura . . .	793	Gorakhpur . . .	4,406
Agra	2,663	Basti	2,177
Farrukhâbâd . .	67,025	Azamgarh . . .	1,593
Mainpuri . . .	10,092	Kumaun . . .	1,603
Etâwah . . .	51,910	Garhwâl . . .	497
Etah	1,220	Tarâi	1,413
Bareilly . . .	5,910	Lucknow . . .	39,428
Bijnor . . .	701	Unâo	120,301
Budâun . . .	1,043	Râê Bâreli . . .	83,284
Morâdâbâd . . .	915	Sîtapur	98,766
Shâhjahânpur . .	43,545	Hardoi . . .	110,358
Pilibhît . . .	11,823	Kheri	64,237
Cawnpur . . .	168,360	Faizâbâd . . .	2,965
Fatehpur . . .	60,553	Gonda	21,549
Bânda . . .	38,963	Bahraich . . .	27,799
Hamîrpur . . .	24,269	Sultânpur . . .	3,260
Allahâbâd . . .	12,548	Partâbgarh . . .	587
Jhânsi . . .	2,119	Bârabanki . . .	57,083
Jâlaun . . .	20,185	Total .	1,303,348

Kându.[1]—(Sanskrit *Kandayika*, "a baker;" *Kandu*, "an iron cooking vessel.") A tribe usually classed, as at the last Census, as a sub-caste of Banyas. Mr. Risley treats them in Bengal as equivalent to Bharbhûnja, Bhujâri, and Gonr, and calls them "the grain-parching caste of Bihâr and Bengal, supposed to be descended from a Kahâr father and a Sûdra mother, and ranking among the mixed castes."[2] Writing of Gorakhpur, Dr. Buchanan says[3]:—"The Kândus are reckoned among the Vaisyas, although a great part of them are mere farmers, nor do their women parch grain; but many keep shops, and the term Vaisya here seems merely to imply merchant, and is almost unconnected with caste. The Kândus are considered on a level with the lower Banyas." Mr. Sherring seems to have thought them to be a sub-caste of Bharbhûnjas. In Ballia the name seems to be synonymous with the Halwâi. The fact appears to be that the Kându practises many allied occupations in connection with the preparation and selling of the minor articles of food, and his exact status is not very easily determined. In Bengal and Bihâr they have, according to Mr. Risley, ten sub-castes—Madhesiya; Magahiya; Bantariya or Bharbhûnja; Kanaujiya; Gonr; Koranch; Dhuriya; Rawâni; Ballamtiriya; and Thather or Thathera. In Ballia they name three sub-castes—Kanaujiya; Madhesiya or "residents of the middle kingdom" (*Madhyadesa*), who are also known as Guninâthi and Tanchara or Tachara. These again are divided into a number of sections (*mûl*, *kuri*), some of which are Khula, Ganga-pâni, Belwâr, Khopadiha, and Dahkaich, all of which are different from any in Mr. Risley's lists, and thus illustrate the remarkable fertility with which these sections are developed. In Mirzapur Madhesiya appears to be the only sub-caste except the Gonr. In Gorakhpur Dr. Buchanan found the Madhyadesiya, Kanaujiya, Gonr, and Chanchara.

2. There is also a certain difference of function between these sub-castes. In the Eastern Districts the Kanaujiya and Madhesiya seem chiefly to parch grain, while many of the Gonr, at least in Mirzapur, work at stone-cutting. Further east, according to Mr. Risley, the Madhesiya and Bantariya adhere strictly to their hereditary profession of parching grain and selling sweetmeats;

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[1] Based on enquiries at Mirzapur and notes by Bâbu Padam Deonârâyan Sinh of Ballia and Munshi Râmsaran Dâs of Faizâbâd.

[2] *Tribes and Castes*, I., 414.

[3] *Eastern India*, II., 465.

the Kanaujiya sub-caste are said to make saltpetre; while the Madhesiya Guriya are cultivators, personal servants, and thatchers of houses; the Gour cut and dress stones, sell sweetmeats, or act as personal servants in the houses of zamîndârs. Grain-parching, building mud walls, brick-laying, and thatching are the characteristic occupations of the Koranch, while the Dhuriya and Rawâni carry palanquins and make sweetmeats. All the sub-castes, or at any rate their women, practise grain-parching more or less; and the separation of each group from the main body seems to have been due either to geographical position or to the circumstance of the males of the group adopting other occupations in addition to their hereditary profession. The Dhuriya and Rawâni rank lowest of all, owing either to their having taken up the comparatively menial profession of palanquin-bearing, or to their being branches of the Kalwâr caste, who went in for grain-parching and thus came to be associated with the Kândus. These two inter-marry with each other. All the other sub-castes are endogamous.

3. The rule of exogamy of the Kândus is thus stated in Ballia: they marry within their own sub-caste, but not within their own section (*mûl*, *kuri*); they do not marry in their own family, or in that of their maternal uncle, or in that of their father's maternal uncle. Some are more scrupulous still, and do not marry in the family of their mother's or grandfather's maternal uncle. They cannot marry the children of their mother's sister. They may marry two sisters; but the elder must be married before the younger. In Mirzapur they state the rule in this form: they do not marry in their own family, in the family of their maternal uncle and father's sister, till three generations have passed. According to Mr. Risley the rules of exogamy in Bihâr are not very well defined. In Faizâbâd they cannot marry within seven degrees on the father's and mother's side.

Rule of exogamy.

4. Marriage is both infant and adult, but the former is more respectable and more common. Sexual license before marriage is neither recognised nor tolerated. In Mirzapur they say that a man can take a second wife in the lifetime of the first, only with her consent; in Faizâbâd polygamy is allowed with a limit of three wives at the same time. Marriage is of the usual three forms—*charhaua* or *shâdi*, of which the binding part is the giving away of the bride (*kanyâdân*) by her father and the marking of the parting of her hair with red-lead

Marriage rules.

(*sindurdán*) by the bridegroom; the *dola* marriage, in which all the ceremonies are done at the house of the bridegroom, is used only by poor people; widows are married by the *sagái* or *dharewa* form, in which the only ceremony is that the man applies red-lead to the parting of the woman's hair and feasts the clansmen. The levirate prevails under the usual condition that it is only the younger brother of the deceased who can take his widow. The woman can, however, marry an outsider, usually a widower, if she pleases. There is no regular tribal law of divorce; but a man can turn out his wife for infidelity; if her paramour be a man of another caste, she is permanently expelled; if he be a clansman, she can be restored to caste privileges on her parents paying a fine, which is spent on entertaining the tribal council.

Religion.

5. The Kândus are all Hindus: some are professedly Vaishnavas and some Sâktas; but few are regularly initiated into any sect. They regard themselves in Ballia as the descendants of a saint named Gunināth, and all fines for breaches of caste discipline are realised in his name. They do not appear to have any definite traditions regarding this worthy. Some of them worship the Pânchonpîr and two goddesses—Sati and Bandi Mâi. In Bihâr, according to Mr. Risley, "the Gonr sub-caste worship once a month a small silver image of Bandi Mâi; and on the tenth day of the Dasahara festival they wash the chisel, hammer and T-square, which they use for stone-cutting, and worship these tools with libations of butter. The Koranch also worship Bandi, but make her image of cloth, like a doll." In Ballia they also worship Mahâbîr and the sun godling—Sûraj Nârâyan. In Mirzapur some get themselves initiated into the Râmanandi and Kabîrpanthi sects, and worship in addition Chausati, the Pânchonpîr, Hanumân, Bhâgawati, and Singursâl. The worship of the Pânchonpîr is done in the usual way. To Hanumân they offer sweetmeats, sacred threads (*janeu*) and pieces of cloth on a Tuesday in the month of Sáwan. To Chausati they present flowers, cakes, sweets (*halwa*), and occasionally in time of trouble they sacrifice a young pig. To Singursâl they give two cakes, some *halwa* sweetmeat, and a young pig at the completion of a marriage and at the birth of a son.

Occupation.

6. As already said, their occupations are varied. In Faizâbâd they make sugar and sugar-candy, parch grain, and work as masons and agriculturists. In

Ballia they make and sell sweetmeats, parch grain, and go about the villages buying up corn, which they carry to market on oxen. They also keep grain and grocery shops. Some are landlords and some cultivators. In Mirzapur they deal in grain and flour, etc., make and sell sweetmeats, and act as money-changers. The Gonr sub-caste cut and sell stone.

Social rules.

7. Those who become initiated in one of the Vaishnava sects do not eat meat or drink spirits; those who are not initiated eat goat's flesh, mutton, and fish, and drink spirits. They will eat *kachchi* cooked by a Brâhman or clansman, and drink water from the hands of a Kahâr or Bâri. To the east of the Province they employ Sarwariya Brâhmans as their priests, and these are received on terms of equality by other Brâhmans.

Distribution of Kándus according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Bulandshahr . . .	1	Ghâzipur . . .	24,585
Mathura . . .	4	Ballia	35,935
Agra	27	Gorakhpur . . .	49,715
Farrukhâbâd . . .	2	Basti	11,460
Bareilly . . .	3	Azamgarh . . .	18,815
Cawnpur . . .	28	Lucknow . . .	31
Fatehpur . . .	16	Hardoi . . .	1
Bânda . . .	3	Kheri	938
Jhânsi . . .	1	Faizâbâd . . .	3,857
Benares . . .	4,155	Gonda . . .	3,690
Mirzapur . . .	1,002	Bahrâich . . .	4,927
Jaunpur . . .	4,741	Sultânpur . . .	113
		Total .	169,049

Kanet.—A sept of Râjputs found in considerable numbers in Dehra Dûn. Of the Kanets Mr. Ibbetson writes:[1]—"The Kanets are the low caste cultivating class of all the Eastern Himalayas of the Panjâb and the Hills at their base, as far west as Kulu and the eastern portion of the Kângra District, throughout which tract they form a very large proportion of the total population. The country they inhabit is held or governed by Hill Râjputs of

[1] *Panjâb Ethnography*, 268.

pre-historic ancestry, the greater part of whom are far too proud to cultivate with their own hands, and who employ the Kanets as husbandmen. The Kanets claim to be of impure Râjput origin, but there is little doubt that they are really of aboriginal stock. The whole question of their origin is elaborately discussed by General Cunningham.[1] He identifies them with the Kunindas or Kulindas of the Sanskrit classics and of Ptolemy, and is of opinion that they belong to that great Khasa race which, before the Aryan invasion, occupied the whole sub-Himalayan tract from the Indus to the Brahmaputra, and which, driven up to the Hills by the advancing wave of immigration, now separates the Aryans of India from the Turanians of Tibet. But the Kanets are divided into two great tribes, the Khasiya and the Râo, and it is probable the Khasiyas are really descended from intercourse between the Aryan immigrants and the women of the Hills. The process by which the Khas tribe of Nepâl thus grew up is admirably described by Mr. Hodgson in his Essay on the military tribes of that country, which is quoted at some length by General Cunningham. The distinction between Khasiya and Râo is still sufficiently well marked —a Khasiya observes the period of impurity after the death of a relation prescribed for a twice-born man; the Râo that prescribed for an outcast. The Khasiya wears the sacred thread, while the Râo does not. But the distinction is apparently breaking down, at least in Kulu, where the two tribes freely eat together and intermarry, though the Khasiya, if asked, will deny the fact."

Kânhpuriya.—A Râjput sept in Oudh who were portions of the same wave of Hindu immigration as the Bais about the middle of the sixteenth Century. They trace their descent from the celebrated Rishi Bhâradwaja, and the birth of their eponymous hero Kânh is thus told[2]:—The Saint Sudh lived at Manikpur in the reign of Mânik Chand, whose only daughter he married. She appears in many legends, contracted many alliances, and by each transmitted the Râj and the Gaharwâr blood. By this marriage two sons were born, one of whom turned Brâhman and the other Chhatri. The Chhatri was Kânh, who married a Bais girl, abandoned Mânikpur, and founded the village of Kânhpur, on the road between Salon and Partâbgarh, whence the sept takes its name. The tribe deity of the clan is the Mahesa Râkshasa, or buffalo demon, to whom they offer one buffalo at every third Bijay Dasmîn feast, and another for every wedding

[1] *Archæological Reports*, XIV., 125, *sqq.*
[2] Benett, *Clans of Réé Bareli*, 9; *Oudh Gazetteer*, I., 56.

or birth which has occurred since the last sacrifice. The importance of this legend lies in the fact that all the leading tribes, of whose immigration there can be no doubt, retain distinct legends of their former home. Here it is admitted that the founder of the tribe in these parts was also the first of his people who was admitted into the Hindu caste system, as his father the Rishi and his anchorite ancestors were, of course, of no caste at all. By another account[1] the sept is sprung from one Chuchu Pânrê, who was a devotee of the Rishi Bhâradwaja at Allahâbâd. The great Gaharwâr Râja Mânik Chand had no sons, though he had tried to win one by marrying at his own expense the daughters of thousands of indigent Brâhmans. So at last he gave his adopted daughter, whom his Râni had picked up at the Mânikpur Ghât on the Ganges, to Chuchu Pânrê, and her son was Kânh, the founder of the sept. Their legend is also involved with that of the so-called Bhar Râjas Tiloki and Biloki, who, as has been shown in connection with the Bhars, had no historical existence.

2. In Sultânpur they are reported to take brides from the Bilkhariya, Tashaiya, Chandauriya, Kath Bais, Bhâlê Sultân, Raghubansi, Râjkumâr, Bachgoti, and Bandhalgoti; to give brides to the Tilokchandi Bais, Chauhâns of Mainpuri, Sûrajbansi of Mahul, Gautam of Nagar, and Bisen of Majhauli. They claim to belong to the Bhâradwaja *gotra*.

Distribution of the Kânhpuriya Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Dehra Dûn . . .	37	Azamgarh . . .	20
Sahâranpur . . .	2	Lucknow . . .	62
Farrukhâbâd . . .	5	Unâo	72
Mainpuri . . .	8	Râê Bareli . . .	7,834
Etâwah . . .	4	Sîtapur . . .	94
Cawnpur . . .	70	Hardoi . . .	5
Bânda	3	Khori	10
Allahâbâd . . .	517	Faizâbâd . . .	188
Lalitpur . . .	7	Bahrâich . . .	74
Benares . . .	36	Sultânpur . . .	4,515
Jaunpur . . .	383	Partâbgarh . . .	5,724
Gorakhpur . . .	73		
Basti	1	Total .	19,734

[1] Carnegy, *Notes*, 40.

Kanjar.[1]—A name applied to an aggregate of vagrant tribes of a gypsy character, and probably Dravidian origin, which are found generally distributed throughout the Province. The name has been derived from the Sanskrit *kánana-chara*, in the sense of a "wanderer in the jungle;" but it is perhaps quite as likely that it does not come from any Aryan root. There can be little doubt that the Kanjars are a branch of the great nomadic race which includes the Sânsiya, Hâbûra, Beriya, Bhâtu and more distant kindred, such as the Nat, Banjâra, Baheliya. This appears to be clear from their sub-castes. One correspondent, giving the popular native idea of the affiliation of these gypsy tribes, classes them in twelve divisions :—

(*a*) Kuchbandiya, who make the *kúnch*, or brush used by weavers for cleaning thread, the *sirki* or roofing mat, dig the *khas-khas* grass used for making *tattis*, twist rope, hunt wolves, and catch vermin.

(*b*) Nat, who is a tumbler and gymnast, dances on a rope, or walks on stilts.

(*c*) Turkata, who takes his name from the *tur*, or weaver's brush, and is a quack doctor, and sells herbs and drugs, which he collects in the jungle.

(*d*) Beriya, who prostitutes his women and trains them to sing and dance.

(*e*) Beldâr, who wanders about and works at digging tanks and building mud walls.

(*f*) Chamarmangta, who cleans the wax out of ears, does cupping, and extracts carious teeth.

(*g*) Sânsiya, who begs and, when occasion serves, commits theft and dakâiti.

(*h*) Dom, who kills dogs, acts as a scavenger and executioner.

(*i*) Bhâtu, who lives by stealing and thieving cattle.

(*j*) Qalandar, who trains monkeys and bears to dance, and makes articles of tin for sale.

(*k*) Baheliya, who is a fowler and hunter.

(*l*) Jogi, who is a snake-charmer and blows the *tomri*, or gourd pipe.

It would perhaps be too much to say that the ethnological

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[1] Based on enquiries at Mirzapur and notes by Bâbu J. G. Banerji, RÂ Bareli, and the Deputy Inspectors of Schools, Agra, Shâhjahânpur, Budâun, Pilibhit, Bijnor, and in particular Munshi Maidayâl Sinh of Aligarh.

identity of these tribes is fully established; but that they are all pretty much of the same social grade, and that they approximate to a large degree in occupation and function, is quite certain.

Tribal legends.

2. There is not much in their tribal legends, so far as they have been recorded, which throws light on their history or origin. They trace their descent to their deified ancestor Mâna, who is known as Mâna Guru, and his wife Nathiya Kanjarin, who used to live in the jungle, and made their living by hunting and plunder. Mandohar was the mother of Mâna, but further than this his origin is a blank. One story runs that Mâna once went to Delhi to practise his trade of a brush-maker. The Emperor of Delhi had at that time two famous wrestlers, Kallu and Mallu, who were the champions of the world. They were particularly noted for their skill in swinging the athletes' chain bow (*lesam*). Mâna happened to pass by and, taking the bow, plunged it so deep in the ground that no one could withdraw it. When the Emperor heard of this, he sent for Mâna and made him wrestle with his champions. He defeated them easily and was dismissed with a great reward.

Tribal organisation.

3. The tribal organisation of the Kanjars is, as might have been expected, complex. The last Census divides them into four main sub-castes—Jallâd or "executioners;" Kûnchband or "brush-makers;" Pattharkat or "stone-cutters," which, according to Mr. Nesfield, connects them with the Age of Stone; and Râchhband or "makers of the weaver's comb." All these divisions are thus purely occupational. Mr. Nesfield in his interesting account of the tribe[1] says that they profess to have seven clans, of whom five are well established, and four can be explained by their crafts—Maraiya or "worshippers of Mari;" Bhains, "buffalo-keepers;" Sankat, "stone-cutters" (the Pattharkat of the Census enumeration); Gohar, "catchers of the iguana" (*goh*); and Soda. The enumeration given by a correspondent from Aligarh seems to be the most accurate and complete. He divides them into two main branches—Kûnchband and Jallâd or Sûpwâla, "makers of sieves." Of the Kûnchband there are nine sections—Maraiya, "worshippers of Mari;" Bhains, "buffalo-men;" Sankat, "stone-cutters;" Soda; Kâra; Lakarhâr or "woodmen;" Gohar, "iguana-catchers;" Sonra; and Untwâr or "camel-

[1] *Calcutta Review*, LXXVII., 368, *sqq.*

men." Most of these names are found in lists received from other parts of the Province. Thus from Etâwah we have Maraiya, Sonra, Sonrasen, Bhains, and Gohera; from Shâhjahânpur, Maraiya, Soda, Goher, Untwâr, Lohiya or "iron-men," and Lakarha or "wood-men;" from Mirzapur one list gives Kanaujiya, Sankat, Sonra, Bhanes, Maraiya, and Baid or "physician." Another gives Kanaujiya, Bhains, Son, Maraiya, Ekthauliya Bhains, and Khatâniya; a third shows Untwâr, Bhains, Kanaujiya, Sonra, who say they take their name from *soa*, dill or fennel, Maraiya, Sankat, and Barâriya or "immigrants from Barâr." From Agra we get a list which mixes up occupational names of allied castes—Kûnchband; Singiwâla or "cuppers by means of a cow horn (*singi*);" Kanghiwâla "comb-makers," who, when they become rich, call themselves Banjâra and deal in oxen; Kabûtarwâla or Brajbâsi, who are really rope-dancing Nats; Baddhik; Hâbûra; Nat; and Barua, who catch and exhibit snakes. In Bijnor there are two sections—the true Kanjars and the Adhela Kanjars, who are of mixed descent. It is significant that the Bhains section of Budâun have changed their name into Baiswâr, and are beginning to claim a connection with the Bais Râjputs. In short the caste is, at present, in a transitional stage and is breaking up into functional groups, as they gradually become settled and shed off their old gypsy habits and mode of life.

4. In Aligarh, again, we have another and quite separate subdivision, with whom the more respectable, or Kûnchband Kanjars, admit no connection. These Jallâd or Sâpwâla Kanjars have eleven sections—Dhobibans, "of washerman race;" Sirkiband, "makers of roof mats;" Jhijhotiya, who take their name from Jhijhoti, the old name for Bundelkhand; Chanâl or Chandâl, "outcasts;" Kedâr, probably from Kidârnâth; Ghamra, "lazy, stupid;" Mattu, "earth-men;" Ghussar, "intruders"; Bhâru, "carriers"; Pattari, "leaf-men"; Bohat, "sowers." These are their own explanations, and must, of course, be accepted with caution. These people are said to speak a Panjâbi dialect, and they are, as we shall see, followers of Nânak. With them the Kûnchband Kanjars deny all connection.

5. The 106 section names of the Hindu and 6 of the Muhammadan branch recorded in the Census returns are of the ordinary type. Many of them suggest connection with other tribes, such as Bais, Banjâra, Bhangiwâla, Bind, Chauhân, Hâbûra, Jâdonbansi, Kachhwâha, Lâlbegi, Lodha, Luniya, Mewâti, Râjbansi, Râj-

kumâr, Râjput, Râikwâra, Râmjani, Râthaur, Sûrajbansi, and Thâkur. Many, again, are of local origin, such as Agarwâl, Ajudhyabâsi, Allahâbâdi, Bâtham from Srâvasti as well as Sribâsta Bihârwâla, Bangâli, Gangwâr, Jaiswâr, Kanaujiya, Karnâtak, Mainpuriya, Nizâmâbâdi, Panjâbi, Saksena, Sarwariya. We find, again, many occupational titles, Jallâd, "executioner;" Kûnchbandh, "brush-maker;" Kusbandhiya, "collector of sacred grass;" Pahalwân, "athlete;" Pattharkat, "stone-cutter;" Phânswâr, "strangler;" Sapera, "snake-man;" and Sirkiwâla, "he that lives under a mat."

Marriage rules.

The two great Aligarh sub-castes, Kûnchband and Jallâd or Sûpwâla, are endogamous, and the sections are exogamous. All the sub-castes mentioned in the Agra and Bijnor lists are also endogamous. Among the exogamous sections there is also the additional law, which is not very clearly defined, which bars the marriage of near cognates. Among the more civilised Kanjars adult marriage appears to be the general rule. In Mirzapur they have a custom of what is known as "womb betrothal," in which two fathers engage their children still unborn; this is known as *pet manganiya*. Widow marriage and the levirate are both allowed, the latter under the usual restriction that the widow may marry the younger, not the elder, brother of her late husband.

Marriage ritual.

7. Writing of the vagrant branch of the tribe Mr. Nesfield says:—"Their marriage customs are quite distinct from those of Hindus. There is no betrothal in childhood; no selection of auspicious days; and no elaborate ceremonies or ritual. The father, or other near relatives of the youth, goes to the father of the girl, and after winning his favour with a pot of toddy, and gaining his consent to the marriage of his daughter, he seals the bargain with a gift of money or some tool or animal which Kanjars love. The girl selected is never a blood relation to the intended husband, and she is almost always of some other encampment or gang.[1] A few days after the bargain has been made the youth goes with his father and as many other men as he can collect, all in their best attire and armed with their best weapons, and demands the girl in tones which imply that he is ready to seize her by force if she is refused. The girl is always

[1] On this see Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 332, *sqq*.

peacefully surrendered in virtue of the previous compact, and this demonstration of force is a mere form—a survival of the primitive world-wide custom of marriage by capture.[1] On the arrival of the Kanjar bride at the encampment of her intended mate, a few simple ceremonies are performed. A pole is fixed in a mound of earth, and on the top of the pole is tied a bunch of the *khaskhas* root, or anything else that may be equally fitted to serve as an emblem of the Kanjar industries. The bridegroom takes the girl by the hand, and leads her several times round the pole in the presence of the spectators. A sacrifice of roast pig or goat, with libations of toddy, is then offered to Mâna, as the ancestral hero of the tribe, and songs are sung in his honour. When this is finished, there is a general feast and dance, in which every one at last gets drunk. The father of the bride does not give away his daughter without a dowry. This consists in a patch of forest supposed to be his own, which becomes thenceforth the property of the bridegroom, so long as the encampment remains near the place or whenever it may return to it. No one without the bridegroom's consent will be authorised to use this piece of forest for hunting, trapping, digging roots of *khaskhas*, etc." [2]

8. A Kanjar marriage was thus described by a number of members of the tribe at Mirzapur:—As circumstances require, either the father of the girl or the boy arranges the match. They do not go on this mission themselves, but depute one of their relations. When the preliminary arrangements are complete, the fathers on both sides go and inspect the boy and girl to make sure that there is no physical defect in either. Next follows the betrothal, when the boy's father with two or three friends goes to the house of the bride and the two fathers embrace with the salutation *Râm! Râm!* Then, contrary to the ordinary Hindu custom, the father of the youth pays for a dinner of pork, rice, pulse, and liquor for his companions and the friends of the bride. All of them then join in singing, and this constitutes the betrothal (*mangani*). Next morning the youth's father returns home with his friends, and then the marriage follows as soon as may be convenient.

9. The fathers on both sides get their village Brâhman to fix a lucky hour for commencing the preparations. One of the friends

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[1] Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 383, sqq.

[2] *Cf. Korwa*, para. 10.

conveys an invitation to the guests. When the youth's party goes to the girl's house, it is accompanied by all the women and children of the family—another violation of Hindu custom. There is no wave ceremony (*parachhan*) at the bride's door. When the party has arrived, the Brâhman is again asked to fix an auspicious hour for the marriage. Both the fathers each arrange a separate marriage shed before the house of the bride. These consist of four bamboos, one at each corner, with a bamboo and a plough beam set up in the centre, a wooden representation of parrots, and a vessel of water, over which are laid some mango leaves and *kusa* grass On the top of this they place a saucer full of *urad* pulse, and upon it a lamp is lighted. A grindstone and rice-pounder are also placed in the pavilion. The boy's father shoots an arrow into the air, and from the spot on which it falls the women bring some earth, which is placed in the shed, and not used, as among other castes, for making the fire-place on which the wedding dinner is cooked. When the lucky hour comes, the youth goes into the girl's pavilion, and the women of her family bring out the bride. The pair are bathed in the pavilion, and the girl is dressed in a white sheet, and the boy in a new suit, coat, turban, and drawers, all white. These clothes must be of unwashed cloth. The boy sits on a piece of *sirki* mat facing west, and the girl on another mat opposite him, facing east. He then rubs red-lead seven times on the parting of her hair and the bride's sister knots their clothes together, and they move round seven times, the youth in front, and the girl behind. This ceremony is generally done at such a late hour of night that none but the immediate friends of the parties are witnesses; it is considered very unlucky for a stranger to be present. Then his sister takes off the boy's marriage crown (*maur*) and places it in a sieve, which she lays in the shed, and all present are supposed to put a small contribution in it. Out of this liquor is purchased, and all present drink and sing until the morning.

10. Next morning the bride and bridegroom sit down and make cakes (*púri*) together. The girl cooks those the boy kneads, and *vice versâ*. Each makes seven cakes in this way. Then the women of the family take the pair to worship Ganga Mâi, and the cakes which they have made are offered to her. When the Ganges is far off, any tank or stream answers for the worship. When this is done the pair return to the pavilion and gamble there. Some rings and cowries are put into a jar, and the boy and girl

plunge their hands in; whichever succeeds in getting the most, will rule the other during their married life. They are then taken to the retiring room (*kohabar*), a rite which, as elsewhere explained, implies the immediate consummation of the marriage. The walls of this room are decorated with various marks, the significance of which is now lost. These marks the pair worship by rubbing them with a little ghi. Then the bride feeds her husband seven times with curds and molasses, and he does the same for her. They have nothing corresponding to the Hindu *gauna* ceremony. The bride is sent home at once with her husband. As she is going away her father gives her whatever dowry he can afford. All the marriage ceremonies are performed by the clansmen, and no Brâhman is employed. In Aligarh there is a curious ceremony which appears to be symbolical of marriage by capture. After the marriage, the pair are taken to a neighbouring tank and the bride strikes her husband with a small whip specially made of cloth for this purpose. In Aligarh the widow marriage rite takes a very simple form. There is no betrothal, and when the match is arranged, the brethren are assembled and the bride's father or some kinsman knots the clothes of the pair together and the bride is invested with a set of green glass bangles (*chúri*), which are provided by the person who ties the marriage knot. The Kûnchband Kanjars make the women on this occasion wear a loin-cloth (*dhoti*) and not a petticoat (*lahnga*); among the Jallâd or Sûpwâla Kanjars, on the contrary, the bangles for the bride are provided by the bridegroom, and he supplies the marriage feast; besides this, the Jallâd bride wears a petticoat and not a loin-cloth. At all their marriages the *gadaila* or digging implement with which they dig *khaskhas* and kill wolves or vermin is placed in the marriage pavilion during the ceremony. From Etah it is reported that when the match is finally arranged, the wedding day is fixed. The bride's father sends for the bridegroom when all the arrangements are complete. No Brâhmans are employed. First what is known as the *darwâza* or door rite is performed, most of which consists in the waving of a tray on which some milk, ghi, and a lamp are placed over the head of the youth by the mother of the girl. Then the *bhânwar* or circumambulation rite is done. This is always done by the sister of the bride, her husband, or daughter, in which we may possibly see a survival of the matriarchate.

Birth ceremonies.

11. The mother during delivery lies on the ground with her feet to the north and her head to the south. The sweeper midwife cuts the cord, and the mother is then attended by the women of her own family. No ceremonies are performed during pregnancy. Among the Kûnchband Kanjars, when a child is born, the brethren are assembled, and treacle and rice are distributed by the father. This is known as *bihâi*, and is intended as a propitiation of the goddess of that name who rules the fate of the infant. Then some old man of the family or some connection by marriage (*mân*) names the child. On the sixth day (*chhathi*) the women assemble and sing songs and dance in the room in which the child was born. At the dinner, which is usually given on this occasion, the males are fed on wheaten cakes and the women on rice. Among the Etah Kanjars the mother and child are bathed on the third day and the child is named by an old man of the tribe.

Death rites.

12. Speaking of the vagrant branch of the tribe Mr. Nesfield says—"There are three different modes in which Kanjars dispose of their dead—submersion in deep water by fastening a stone to the corpse, cremation, and burial. Each clan disposes of its dead according to its own hereditary and special rites. The first method is the least common; the next may have been borrowed from the Hindu rite, which was itself imported by the Aryan tribes from Persia; the last is the one most frequently practised as well as most highly esteemed. A man who has acted as a spirit medium to Mâna is invariably buried in the earth, to whatever clan he may have belonged. Mâna himself was so buried at Kâra (as some Kanjars relate) in the Allahâbâd District, not far from the Ganges, and facing the old fort of Mânikpur on the opposite bank. Three days after the corpse has been disposed of, there is a feast of vegetables and milk, but no meat; and a similar feast is held on the seventh day. A third banquet is afterwards given on any day which may be found convenient, and at the banquet flesh and wine are freely consumed. When both the parents of a man have died, a fourth feast is given in their joint honour. In all these feasts it is the soul of the dead which is fed, or meant to be fed, rather than the bodies of the living." In Mirzapur they invariably bury their dead. A cloth is spread over the corpse, and the brethren attend and drink spirits. Then it is removed to the grave. After the burial they bathe, eat molasses,

and come home. Beyond the distribution of spirits and molasses to the mourners by the relatives of the deceased, there is no feast on the day of the funeral. On the tenth day the brethren are fed and treated to liquor. No sacred balls (*pinda*) are offered, and no Brâhmans are entertained. On the anniversary of the death, the brethren are fed and treated to spirits. On this day one *pinda* is offered by the chief mourner. They observe the fortnight of the dead (*pitra-paksha*), not like ordinary Hindus on the first, but in the second fortnight of Kuâr, which Hindus call the "fortnight of the gods" (*deva-paksha*). In Aligarh they usually bury their dead, but sometimes expose the corpse in the jungle. In burial the corpse is laid with the feet to the north and the head to the south. It is first washed by the eldest male member of the family and shrouded in a white sheet. A bier is made of bamboos tied together with red thread (*kalâwa*), and four of the brethren take it to the burial ground. On the way, it is once laid on the ground and each man puts a little earth near the head of the corpse. This is known as the "stage" (*manzil*). After the grave is dug, the son of the deceased, or, in his absence, some other chief mourner, burns the left thumb of the dead man with fire, and then the body is interred. On returning, bread and sugar are served out to the mourners, and on the third day (*tîja*) they have a dinner of cakes and pulse. The Jallâd Kanjars dispose of their dead in the same way except that they do not burn the thumb of the corpse. The Kûnchband Kanjars offer water to the manes during the nine days of Kuâr, known as the Naurâtri; this the Jallâds do not do. In Etah they are in the intermediate stage between burial and cremation, and both practices prevail. Some bury only the unmarried dead. On the funeral day the brethren are fed, and also on the third and seventh, and on the anniversary. They have no *terahwîn* or thirteenth day rite.

Religion.

13. Writing of the vagrant Kanjars Mr. Nesfield says—"The religion of the Kanjars, so far as we have been able to learn, is quite what we should expect among a primitive and uncultivated people. It is a religion without idols, without temples, and without a priesthood. They live in constant dread of evil spirits, the souls of the departed, who are said to enter the bodies of the living as a punishment for past misdeeds or neglect of burial rites, and to produce most of the ills to which flesh is heir. In this creed they stand on

the same intellectual level with their more civilised kinsfolk, the Hindus, among whom it is universally believed that the air is peopled with *bhûts*, malignant spirits, who haunt grave-yards, lurk in trees, re-animate corpses, devour living men, or attack them with madness, epilepsy, cramp, etc. They have no belief in natural death, except as the effect of old age. All deaths, but those caused by natural decay or violence, are ascribed to the agency of evil spirits. The dead are buried five or six feet deep, lest a wild beast should tear up the carcase, and, by disturbing the body, send forth its attendant soul to vex and persecute the living. When a patient is possessed, they employ an exorcist or spirit medium, whom they call Nyotiya, to compel the spirit to declare what his grievance is, so that satisfaction may be given him, and he may thus be induced to leave his victim in peace. The spirit medium has power, they say, to transport the goblin into the body of some living person, and to make that person his mouth-piece for declaring its will.

14. "The man-god whom the Kanjars worship is Mâna, a name which does not appear in the lists of Hindu deities. He is something more than what Mitthu Bhukhiya is to the Banjâra, Manjha to the Riwâri, Alha and Udal to the Bundela, Râê Dâs to the Chamâr, Lâl Guru to the Bhangi or Nânak to the Sikh. Mâna is worshipped with more ceremony in the rainy season, when the tribe is less migratory, than in the dry months of the year. On such occasions, if sufficient notice is circulated, several encampments unite temporarily to pay honour to their common ancestor. No altar is raised, no image is erected. The worshippers collect near a tree, under which they sacrifice a pig, a goat, a sheep, a fowl, make an offering of roasted flesh and spirituous liquor. Formerly, it is said, they used to sacrifice a child, having first made it insensible with fermented palm-juice or toddy. They dance round the tree in honour of Mâna, and sing the customary songs in commemoration of his wisdom and deeds of valour." There is then a funeral feast at which most of the banqueters get drunk, and occasionally one of them declares himself to be under the special influence of the god and delivers oracles. The Kanjar goddesses are Mari, Parbha, and Bhuiyân. Mari, the goddess of death, is also known as Mahârâni Devi, and is supreme, and appears to be worshipped as the animating and sustaining principle of nature. Parbha or Prabha, meaning "light," is the goddess of health, and more particularly of the health

of cattle. She is also worshipped by Ahîrs and similar tribes. Bhuiyân, also known as Bhawâni, is the earth goddess.

15. In Mirzapur the Kanjars seem to depend most on the worship of their deceased ancestors. They say that their dead are more kindly than those of other low castes, because they do not require an annual worship, and are satisfied if at marriages and other festive occasions a leaf platter of food is placed on their graves. Their clan deities are Dhâmin Deva and Mâna, the Pahlwân or wrestler. The graves of these worthies, who are the deified ancestors of the tribe, are at Mânikpur, and there they make occasional pilgrimages, and offer the sacrifice of a pig and an oblation of spirits. They are very careful about the disposal of the offering. It is eaten in secresy and silence by the male worshippers, and no woman or stranger to the tribe is allowed to be present or share in the meal. In Mirzapur, like the Hindus around them, they also pay reverence to the Vindhyabâsini Devi of Bindhâchal, and have their children's heads shaved at her shrine. They also revere the Pânchonpîr with the sacrifice of a cock. In Aligarh the Kûnchband Kanjars call themselves Sâktas, and have a preference for the worship of Devi; while the Jallâd or Sûpwâla call themselves Nânakpanthis and worship Nânak Guru. At Bijaygarh in the Aligarh District the Kûnchband Kanjars have a platform (*chabûtra*) raised in honour of Mâna and Nathiya, the deified ancestors of the tribe. Their feast day is the sixth of the light half of Bhâdon, when they make an offering of spirits, one rupee four annas in cash, a young pig, and an *usar-sânda* lizard to these deities. They have another, whom they call Deota or "the godling." His shrine is at Dhanipur, close to Aligarh, and he is worshipped on a Sunday or Tuesday in the month of Asârh with an offering of cakes. Like many of the low castes in their neighbourhood, they also worship Jakhiya. His shrine is at Karas in the Aligarh District. His feast day is the sixth of the dark half of Mâgh, when a pig and some sweetmeats (*batâsha*) are offered to him. These are consumed by the worshippers themselves, a part being given to the Panda or sweeper priest who tends the shrine. The Jallâd or Sûpwâla Kanjars in the Aligarh District are Nânakshâhis, and make pilgrimages to his shrine at Amritsar. On the night of the Diwâli they cook the *halwa* sweetmeat and distribute it among their friends. Before they distribute it they cover the vessel with a cloth and offer it to Nânak with the words *Shukr hui tera ki baras din râsi khushi se gusra; aur*

tujh sedgé ko yahi ummed hai—"Praise be to thee who has preserved us in happiness for a year! We hope the same favour in the future." They will not uncover the vessel till all its contents are distributed, because they believe that it increases by the supernatural power (*máya*) of Guru Nânak. The priests of the Kûnchband Kanjars are their *mán* or relations on the female side, apparently a survival of the matriarchate; the priest of the Jallâds is called *masand*, which, according to one explanation, is a corruption of *masnad*, "the royal seat," and is selected for his knowledge of Gurmukhi. The offerings of the Kûnchband Kanjars are these—to Nathiya, a pig; to Mâna Guru, an *ûsar-sánda* lizard; to Devi, a goat; to Jakhiya, a pig; to Madâr, a fowl. The Jallâds give a goat to Nânak. The Kûnchbands sometimes offer the hair of an infant to Mâna.

Festivals.

16. The Kûnchband observe the Holi, Diwâli, Dasahra, and Janamashtami. At the Holi they drink, smoke *bhang* and *charas*, and sprinkle coloured powder about like Hindus. At the Diwâli they drink and gamble and their women make some figures on the walls of the house and at night offer boiled rice (*khíl*) and sweets (*batáska*) to them. They have no special observance of the Dasahra and Janamashtami, except that they consider them to be holidays. On the ninth of the light half of Kuâr they make a present of food to the *mán* or relative on the female side who acts as their priest. This is done in the belief that the food thus offered passes through him to their deceased ancestors. They have a survival of grove worship in their worship of Nathiya, which is always done under some trees in which she is supposed to reside. The Jâllads make an offering to Kâli in the same way.

Demonology.

17. In cases of disease or trouble a Syâna or wizard is called in to settle the appropriate offering to the particular ghost which is the cause of the trouble. If a goat is to be offered its forehead is first marked with a *tíka*. The *imli* or tamarind tree is in particular believed to be the residence of the sacred dead. When the Kûnchband bury the dead they place a pice with the corpse as a viaticum; the Jallâds place two wheaten cakes with the same object. The technical name for this is *tonka*, which means "provisions for a journey." When a man is attacked by an evil spirit the Syâna first makes an offering to Devi, consisting of treacle, ghi, cloves, and incense, with some red-lead, which are

thrown into a fire (*aggâri*). The Devi then "comes on the head" of the Syâna and he names the evil spirit who is afflicting the patient. Then a cup of spirits is placed under the head of the sick man and afterwards moved four times round his head (a process known as *uldra* or "removing"), when it is drunk by the Syâna, who is supposed in this way to remove the evil influence from the patient. Finally he describes the sacrifice which it is advisable to offer. In some more serious cases the Syâna fills a saucer with cooked rice, some cloves, *bulâsha* sweetmeat and an egg, and places it where four roads meet; meanwhile the friends of the sick man sing and beat a brass tray over his head to scare the spirit. The disease is supposed to be communicated to some passer-by. The Churel or ghost of a woman who dies during her menses or at her confinement is much dreaded; children who die before the age of twelve return in the form of an evil spirit known as Masân. Those who die of snake-bite or any other form of unnatural death become an Aût, or a person for whom there is none to make the water oblation. All these have the same attributes, except Masân, which is dangerous only to children. The Kûnchband Kanjars offer water to the Pitri or sainted dead on the eight or ninth of the light half of Kuâr; this is done by the Jallâds on the Holi and Diwâli.

Totemism, omens, etc.

18. The Bhains and Untwâr sub-castes are probably of totemistic origin; these will not kill or eat the buffalo or camel respectively. They respect the *imli* or tamarind tree as the abode of spirits. The *khas* grass is a sort of tribal totem and it and the leaves of the mango are fixed upon the marriage shed. The Kûnchbands believe Saturday to be an unlucky day. The Jallâds have the same idea about Tuesday. As regards omens, a fox, tiger, wolf, *sâsar-sânda* lizard, tortoise, and the *goh* lizard or the *sâras* crane are lucky if they cross the road from right to left; if from left to right it is an evil omen. So with a cat, jackal, or cobra passing from the right to the left. Their women do not wear a nose-ring; to the East they wear brass bangles (*sâkhi*) and heavy anklets (*pairi*). The Jallâd women do not wear any gold ornaments. Their chief oaths are to stand in a river up to the neck; the man who stays longest in the water is believed. They also swear on the Ganges and on the *pîpal* tree, or by touching the head or arm of a son or other close relation. The Kûnchband Kanjars swear also by Mâna and Nathiya; the Jallâds by Guru Nânak. Some of them by the use of appropriate spells (*mantra*) obtain the

power of controlling evil spirits. These are recited at night in burial-grounds, and specially on the night of the Holi or Diwâli. On such occasions a burnt offering (*agyâri*) is made with treacle, ghi, cloves, and incense.

Occupation and social status.

19. The Kanjars, in their occupations and mode of life, closely approximate to the European gypsy. Of the vagrant branch of the tribe Mr. Nesfield writes—"Their natural home is the forest, where they subsist by hunting wolves, hares, and any kind of animal they can kill or catch, by gathering such roots and vegetable products as require no cultivation, and by extracting juice from the palm tree, which, after it has become fermented, is the favourite beverage of almost all the wandering and low-caste tribes of India. They are clever at trapping birds and squirrels, and any other kind of vermin which chance may throw in their way, all of which they eat indiscriminately. They are never seen in groups of more than twenty or forty persons of all ages at a time, and the number is sometimes even less.[1] These little groups may unite sometimes for special and temporary objects; but large groups are never permanently formed. Among the Kanjars there are some groups or clans which make a habit of keeping within easy reach of towns and villages, while others seldom or never leave the forest. But even among the former it is not merely the proximity of settled communities which prevents the formation of larger groups. For even in wide forest tracts, where there is ample space and no impediment from higher races, the same law of petty, non associative hordes prevails, and it would be a rare thing to find an encampment of more than, or even as many as, fifty persons."

20. "The arts of the Kanjar are making mats of the *sirki* reed baskets of wattled cane, fans of palm leaves, and rattles of plaited straw, the last of which are now sold to Hindu children as toys, though originally they were used by the Kanjars themselves (if we are to trust to the analogies of other backward races) as sacred and mysterious instruments. From the stalks of the *mûnj* grass and from the roots of the *palâsa* tree they make ropes, which are sold or bartered to villagers in exchange for grain, milk, pigs, etc. They prepare the skins out of which drums are made, and sell them to Hindu musicians, though probably, as in the case of the rattle,

[1] On this see Spencer's *Principles of Sociology*, I., 482.

the drum was originally used by the Kanjars themselves and worshipped as a fetish: for even the Aryan tribes, who are said to have been far more advanced than the indigenous races, sung hymns in honour of the drum or *dundubhi* as if it were something sacred. They make plates of broad leaves which are ingeniously stitched together by the stalks; and plates of this kind are very widely used by the inferior Indian castes and by confectioners and sellers of sweetmeats. The mats of *sirki* reed, with which they cover their own temporary sheds, are largely used by cart-drivers to protect their goods and themselves against rain. The toddy or juice of the palm tree, which they extract and ferment by methods of their own, and partly for their own use, finds a ready sale among low-caste Hindus in villages and market towns. They are among the chief stone-cutters of Upper India, especially in the manufacture of the grinding-stone, which is largely used. They gather the white wool-like fibre which grows in the pods of the *salmali* or Indian cotton tree, and twist it into thread for the use of weavers. In the manufacture of brushes for the cleaning of cotton yarn, they enjoy an almost entire monopoly, and another complete or almost complete monopoly enjoyed by Kanjars is the collection and sale of the roots of *khaskhas* grass, which are afterwards made up by others into door screens and used as refrigerators during the hottest months of the year. The roots of this wild grass, which grows in most abundance on the outskirts of forests or near the banks of rivers, are dug out of the earth by an instrument called *khanti*. The same implement serves as a dagger or short spear for killing wolves and jackals, as a tool for carving a secret entrance through the clay wall of a villager's hut in which a burglary is meditated, as a spade or hoe for digging snakes, field mice, lizards, etc., out of their holes, and edible roots out of the earth, and as a hatchet for chopping wood." Mr. Nesfield sees in these arts and industries the germs of many functions which have now become hereditary in the Baheliya, Bâri, Behna or Dhuniya, Chamâr, Kori, Kalwâr and others. But we know too little of the evolution of Indian handicrafts to accept such ingenious speculations with perfect confidence.

21. In his diet the Kanjar is catholic to a degree. He will eat almost anything, except beef, monkeys, crocodiles, and snakes. The Kûnchband Kanjar will not eat, drink or smoke with any caste but his own; but he will eat *kachchi* cooked by a Chamâr. The Jallâds eat *kachchi*, drink and smoke with sweepers. To

quote Mr. Nesfield again—"Whatever a Kanjar kills, from a wolf to a reptile, he eats. The weapon with which they kill little birds is nothing but a pole pointed with a thin, sharp piece of iron. The man lies motionless on a patch of ground which he has first sprinkled with grain, and as the birds come hopping round him to pick up the grain, he fascinates one of them with the pole, by giving it a serpent-like motion, and then spikes it through the body. Kanjars seldom or never use the bow and arrow, but they use the pellet-bow, which requires much greater skill. The pellet is nothing but a little clay marble dried in the sun. With this they not infrequently shoot a bird flying. The *khanti* or short spear is merely used in close combat, but is thrown with almost unerring effect against wolves and jackals as they run. For catching a wolf in the earth they place a net and a light at one end of the hole and commence digging at the other end. The wolf, attracted by the light, runs into the net, and the Kanjar batters his head with a club and kills it."

22. At the same time many Kanjars are now taking to a more settled life: some are cultivators and field labourers; others live in towns and make door-screens, baskets, sieves, and the like, and some of them in this way have considerably raised their social status.

Kanjars are particularly careful to protect any member of the tribe from being assaulted without reason by another clansman or have his goods robbed. Such cases form the subject of a most elaborate enquiry. The tribal council sits at least fifteen days in succession, and the guilty person has to pay the whole cost of their entertainment. The offender is excommunicated until he pays a fine and the whole expenses of the proceedings. When, in Etah, a woman is accused of immorality, she is subjected to the ordeal of holding a hot iron weeding spud in her hand. If the skin is not burnt, she is acquitted.

Distribution of Kanjars according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Jallâd.	Kânch-band.	Patt-harkat.	Kachh-band.	Others.	Muham-madans.	Total.
Dehra Dûn . . .	...	...	...	...	12	.	12
Saháranpur . .	...	55	...	...	100	...	154
Muzaffarnagar . .	...	55	...	...	26	1	82

Distribution of Kanjars according to the Census of 1891—contd.

District.	Jallâd.	Kûnch-band.	Patt-harkat.	Râchh-band.	Others.	Muham-madans.	Total.
Meerut . .	...	...	...	...	497	...	497
Bulandshahr . . .	42	140	...	...	327	...	509
Aligarh . . .	...	...	...	...	806	...	806
Mathura . . .	...	53	9	...	220	...	282
Agra	...	355	...	...	559	1	915
Farrukhâbâd . .	33	92	...	...	310	5	440
Mainpuri . . .	...	206	...	...	252	1	459
Etâwah . . .	...	102	...	...	103	...	205
Etah	...	260	...	...	209	...	469
Bareilly . . .	228	...	...	...	141	...	369
Bijnor	...	...	...	...	205	...	205
Budâun . . .	...	61	...	...	372	...	433
Morâdâbâd . . .	28	...	...	...	545	...	573
Shâhjahânpur . .	...	71	...	34	170	...	275
Pilibhît . . .	23	83	...	...	167	141	414
Cawnpur . . .	48	1,234	...	3	477	...	1,762
Fatehpur . . .	...	143	...	...	370	...	513
Banda	...	321	...	...	...	...	321
Hamîrpur . . .	...	99	...	...	2	...	101
Allahâbâd . . .	...	51	4	...	192	25	272
Jhânsi	...	108	2	5	48	...	163
Jâlaun	...	100	...	15	36	...	151
Lalitpur . . .	...	...	66	5	...	...	71
Benares . . .	...	...	...	...	27	...	27
Mirzapur . . .	...	...	..	...	69	5	74
Jaunpur . . .	...	8	...	...	7	...	15
Ghâzipur . . .	...	60	...	...	21	...	81
Ballia	...	64	...	...	...	...	64

Distribution of Kanjars according to the Census of 1891—concld.

District.	Jallâd.	Kûnch-band.	Patt-harkat.	Râchh-band.	Others	Muham-madans.	Total.
Gorakhpur . . .	...	87	85	...	201	...	373
Basti	...	...	417	...	848	...	1,265
Azamgarh . . .	...	2	...	...	41	28	71
Tarâi	...	85	...	20	58	1	164
Lucknow . . .	...	284	...	...	31	13	328
Unâo	...	35	...	...	138	...	173
Râê Bareli . . .	...	43	30	...	10	..	83
Sîtapur . . .	...	595	...	...	...	...	593
Hardoi . . .	...	90	...	...	197	...	287
Kheri	...	424	...	...	251	...	675
Faizâbâd . . .	...	73	...	...	54	...	127
Gonda	...	332	250	295	...	...	877
Bahrâich . . .	...	512	103	67	831	...	1,543
Sultânpur . . .	...	...	...	...	196	1	197
Partâbgarh . . .	9	...	...	...	75	...	84
Bârabanki . . .	...	104	55	...	115	35	309
Total .	411	6,416	1,021	444	9,316	257	17,865

Kanphata (*kân*, "ear;" *phata*, "torn").—A class of Jogis, known also as Gorakhnâthi from the name of their founder or Darshani, because they wear a special earring. Of Gorakhnâth numerous legends are told. By one account he was a contemporary of the famous Bhartrihari, who is said to have been the brother of Vikramaditya. The Kanphatas themselves say that their sect existed before this world of ours came into existence. When Vishnu came out of the lotus at the creation of all things, Gorakhnâth was in Patâla or the lower regions. Vishnu, terrified at the waste of waters, went to Patâla, and implored the aid of Gorakhnâth, who, in pity for the deity, gave him a handful of ashes from his eternal fire (*dhuni*), and told him that if he sprinkled the dust over the water,

he could create the world. It happened as he promised, and then Brahma, Vishnu and Siva became the first disciples of the Saint. By another story Bhartrihari happened to go into a forest where Gorakhnâth was practising austerities; but he knew not that the Saint was there. Soon after the disciples of Gorakhnâth met him and asked him to become a disciple of their master. He answered, "What do I care for Gorakhnâth? If he wishes to learn the ways of the Almighty, let him come and learn from me." Finally Gorakhnâth said to Bhartrihari—"If you give me a handful of patience (*santosh*), I will become your disciple." So Bhartrihari, in search of patience, came to the gods, but they could not supply it. At last he went to Vishnu, who said—"I cannot supply you with patience. If you want it you must go to Gorakhnâth who is the greatest of saints." Thus convinced, Bhartrihari accepted Gorakhnâth as his Guru.

Sub-divisions of the Kanphatas.

2. There are said to be twelve sections of the sect who take their name from the twelve disciples of Gorakhnâth, but none of them can even pretend to give a complete list of them. Ordinary Kanphatas know of only four: Brahma; Râma; Lakshmana and Kapilâni. A list from the Panjâb[1] gives them as follows:—Mathesri, founded by Lakshmana, a disciple of Gorakhnâth; Satnâth, who are said to follow Brahma, which is more than doubtful; Satnâth, said to be followers of Râma Chandra; Bhartrinâth, followers of Bhartrihari; Papankh; Kâmdhaj, of Dhrudhuwâra, near Jaypur; Hethjhauli, of Gorakhpur; Dhajpanth, said to be in Lanka or Ceylon; Chandbharag, in Kachh, near Dwârika; Dâs Gopâl in Jodhpur; Mastnâth, at Dhauli Momrhi, near Delhi; and Aryapanth, at Bor Bosan, near Kâbapîr Thaneswar.

The Western Kanphatas.

3. The seat of the Western Kanphatas is at Dhinodhar on the edge of the Ran of Cutch (Kachh). Of them we learn[2] that "the Dhinodhar monks, endowed by more than one of the Râos, are a rich body, living in a large, comfortably fortified and fenced monastery on a wooded knoll overlooking a little lake at the foot of Dhinodhar Hill, with temples, dwelling-houses, and the tombs of their headmen (*pîr*). Among the buildings, Dharmnâth's shrine, before which a lamp

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[1] *Panjâb Notes and Queries*, II, 45.

[2] *Bombay Gazetteer*, V, 86: also see *ibid*, VIII., 155, sq.; 447.

always burns, is a prominent object. Except for their huge horn, agate or glass earrings, about 2½ ounces in weight, which make their ear lobes ugly and almost painful to look at, the Kanphatas wear the ordinary Hindu dress, a coat and waist-cloth generally of a red ochre colour.[1] The head of the monastery is, on succession, invested by the Râo with a gold-bordered silk turban, a sacred woollen neck thread (*sheli*), a scanty waist-band, white waist-cloth, a red or brick-coloured scarf, and wooden pattens. His ornaments are very old and rich. The earrings, the same in shape as those worn by his disciples, are gilt and inlaid with gems. From his neck hangs a rhinoceros'-horn whistle, which it is one of his chief privileges to blow when he worships the gods. Their ordinary food is millets and pulse. Worshippers of Siva, they have a special ritual for their god, the head repeating a hymn in his honour on the second of every month. Their worship is a form of abstraction (*yoga*), the special tenets of their founder having long been forgotten. As they are bound to celibacy, the sect is kept up by recruiting. New-comers generally belong to one of two classes: orphans or the children of destitute persons who enter as boys, or lazy or disheartened men who are taken in sometimes at an advanced age. The novice starts as the disciple of some member of the sect, who becomes his spiritual guide (*guru*). On joining, his guide gives him a black woollen thread, tied round the neck with a *rudra* knot, from which hangs a two-inch horn or speaking-trumpet (*sringinâd*), and through it he is made to repeat the words *omkâr*, *upadesâ*, *adesa*, or the mystic *om*. His conduct is closely watched for eight months. Then if he has behaved well, he is taken before the god Bhairava and has the cartilage of his ears slit by one of the devotees. In the slit a stick of *nim* is stuck, and the wound cured by a dressing of *nim* oil. When the ear is well again, agate, glass or bone rings are thrust into the slit, the hair, beard and mustaches are shaved, and by the guide the rule (*upadesa mantra*) of the sect—'Be wise, pious, and useful'—is whispered into the disciple's ear, and he is called by a new name ending in Nâth. He

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[1] The appearance of the ears of many of the statues at Elephanta recalls the Arab traveller Sulaimâni's remark that the Balhara, perhaps the Selhara, king of the Konkan was prince of the men who have their ears pierced (Dowson's *Elliot*, I., 3). In 1583 the English traveller Fitch noticed that the ears of the women of Ormus were so stretched by the weight of their earrings that a man could put three of his fingers in the holes in the lobes (Harris *Voyages*, I., 207). See other references collected in *Bombay Gazetteer*, XIV., 83.

is now a regular devotee, repeating the name of the founder of the sect, serving his guide; and doing any duty he may be set to. Devotees of this sort are buried, and, on the twelfth day after death, a feast is given and alms distributed by the oldest disciple who succeeds to his guide's place. On the death of the head of the monastery the guides choose one of their number to succeed. The position of head is one of much local honour. The Râo invests him with a dress, pays him a visit, and is received by the holy man seated. In former times, when oppression was threatened, the Kanphatas, like the Bhâts and Châraṇs, used to commit *trâga* by sacrificing one of their number, so that the guilt of his blood might be on their oppressor's head."

4. In other parts of Bombay the rule of celibacy imposed upon the Mahant appears to be relaxed, and, failing issue, he is allowed to adopt a disciple who succeeds to his office. The special earrings worn by the sect are regarded as a sort of a fetish, and if once lost cannot be replaced. Sir G. Jacob notes a case where the companion of a Kanphata had been killed by outlaws and the abbot tried to persuade him to allow his wounded ear to be sewn up and a new earring supplied; he refused, saying that he would die with his brother, and he soon after died, and they were buried in the same grave. He also notes that "except that the cow is held sacred and the hog unclean, they eat freely of fish, flesh, and fowl. Travellers are freely received and fed, hospitality being part of their religion. Their religion otherwise appears to consist in worshipping their idol, morning and evening. The rest of the day is passed in amusement or in indolence, except at stated times for meals, when they meet together to feast with such strangers as wish to join them. Twice every day provisions are distributed to all who may ask for them. When the provisions are cooked, a servant of the abbot's goes to the bank of the Saraswati and calls twice with a loud voice—'Whoever is hungry, come, the abbot's table is spread.' Whoever comes gets a meal."

The Kanphatas of the North-West Provinces and Oudh.

5. The chief seat of the Kanphatas of these Provinces is Gorakhpur, where they say Gorakhnâth was buried, and where his grave (*samâdhi*) is an object of veneration. Brâhmans, Vaisyas, Kshatriyas and Sûdras can all join the sect. The initiation is done in this way: The barber first shaves the head, beard, and mustache of the candidate. He is then seated before the Guru facing the

north, and the Guru puts round his neck a thread, known as *nâd jânew*, made of sheep's wool. To this is attached a small whistle (*nâd*) made of deer's horn. Then the whole body of the neophyte is smeared with ashes. This constitutes the first initiation which entitles the disciple to begin to serve his religious guide. This is not done by the chief priest of a monastery, but by some of his mendicant disciples. When his Guru is satisfied with the conduct of the disciple after a period of probation, which lasts a half year or more, the second stage of the initiation comes off. The disciple bathes and puts on a narrow loin-cloth (*nigoti*), ties a string of *mûnj* grass or a brass or iron chain round his waist, and smears his body with ashes. The upper part of his person he covers with a cloth (*anchala*) dyed in ochre.

Then he appears before two disciples of the head Guru, and they make him sit facing the north. One of them holds his hands and the other pierces the lobes of his ears with a knife. Two plugs (*kundal*) are placed in the gashes, and the treatment of the wounds occupies forty days, during which they are daily bathed with pure water. When a cure has been effected the next stage comes on. The neophyte bathes and assumes the *nâd janew* as before, and with his body smeared with ashes appears before the chief Guru. He puts in his ears rings (*kundali*) made of earthen ware and weighing about a quarter of a pound. On this occasion the formula used is — *Om, soham*, "Om, that I am;" when the ears are being pierced the *mantra* is *Siva Gorakh*. Then the Guru distributes sweetmeats among the members of the sect present. This rite is known as *tyâga* or "the abandonment of the world." Next follows the worship of the goddess Bâla Sundari, who is for the occasion represented by a twisted thread wick, which is fixed in a ball of dough and set alight. This is placed in a holy square made on the ground with lines of flour, and by it is placed a water jar (*kalas*). The light is worshipped with an offering of flowers, *halwa*-sweetmeat, cakes and a cocoanut. The cocoanut is split with a knife before being offered,—a rite which is an evident substitute for a human sacrifice. This worship of Bâla Sundari is annually performed. She is said to be merely a representation of Gorakhnâth; but the form of her worship seems to show that she is more probably some form of Kâli.

6. Kanphatas also worship Bhaironnâth on every Sunday and Tuesday. To him are offered cakes made of the *urad* pulse, known

as *bara*, flesh, wine, chaplets of flowers and *ladda* sweetmeats. These offerings are consumed by the worshippers.

7. The ordinary dress of the Kanphata consists of a girdle (*kardhan*) made of *múnj* fibre, iron or brass, a narrow waist-cloth dyed in ochre. The body is smeared with ashes, the hair long and matted or wholly shaved, as well as the beard and mustache. He carries in his hand a cocoanut bowl (*khappar*), and wears an upper sheet dyed with ochre, a woollen sacred cord (*janeu*) round the waist, not as Brâhmans wear it over the shoulder, and to this is attached a deer-horn whistle (*nâd*).

8. They live by begging and by selling a woollen string amulet (*ganda*), which is put round the necks of children to protect them from the Evil Eye. They beg only from Hindus, and use the cry *Alakh !* "The invisible one." They take money as well as food. They will eat from the hands of Brâhmans, Kshatriyas, and the higher Vaisyas; but not from the lower castes, from whose hands respectable Hindus will not eat. They eat meat, not beef or pork, and take intoxicants freely. They do not sing as they beg.

9. They bury their dead. The corpse is first bathed, and dressed in the usual garments of every-day life. The begging bowl (*khappar*) is filled with milk, and put in a wallet, which is hung on the shoulders of the corpse or laid by its side to serve as food for the spirit. If the dead man was the disciple of a Guru who possessed landed property, it is buried in a sitting posture with the head to the north; if he be a disciple of a man without landed property it is thrown into a river. After the burial sweetmeats (*laddu*) are distributed among the mourners, and, on the third day, cakes, rice and milk are laid on the tomb (*samádh*), and the members of the sect eat them. There is no ceremonial impurity after death. A masonry monument is afterwards erected, and a (*lingam*) placed upon it. At this worship is done and periodical offerings are made.

10. In the Hills [1] the Kanphatas follow the Tantrika ritual which is distinguished for its licentiousness. Both the *linga* and *yoni* are worshipped by them, and they declare that it is unnecessary

The Kanphatas of the Hills.

Atkinson, *Himalayan Gazetteer*, II., 865, *sq.* Wright, *History of Nepál*, 140; 152.

to restrain the passions to arrive at release from metamorphosis. They are the great priests of the lower Sâkti form of Bhairava and even of the village gods. They eat flesh and drink wine and indulge in the orgies of the left-handed sect. Departing from the original idea of the female being only the personified energy of the male, she is made herself the entire manifestation, and, as in the case of Durga, receives personal worship to which that of the corresponding male deity is almost always subordinate. They trace their origin to Dharmanâtha, who is said to have been one of the twenty-two disciples of Machhendranâtha or Matsyendranâtha, among whom was Gorakhnâtha, one of the most celebrated of the nine *nâtha* or ascetics of ancient India. Dr. Buchanan [1] alleges that they are really the same as the Kapâlikas, who were so called because they used to drink out of human skulls (*kapâla*). Hiouen Thsang, and, before him, Varaha Mihira, who lived in the sixth century, show that they had a knowledge of this sect, who they allege were so called because they wore about their persons a death's-head, which they used as a drinking vessel.[2]

Distribution of the Kanphata or Gorakhnâthi Jogis according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Dehra Dûn . . .	90	Jhânsi . . .	180
Muzaffarnagar . .	1,744	Benares . . .	226
Meerut . . .	1,612	Mirzapur . . .	71
Bulandshahr . . .	2	Ghâzipur . . .	30
Agra	48	Ballia . . .	80
Etah	22	Gorakhpur . . .	372
Bijnor	232	Basti	4,106
Morâdâbâd . . .	91	Kumaun . . .	3,031
Cawnpur . . .	240	Garhwâl . . .	407
Fatehpur . . .	129	Tarâi	390
Bandâ	1	Sitapur . . .	14
Hamirpur . . .	6	Total .	13,133

[1] *Eastern India*, II., 484, *sq.*

[2] Barth, *Religions of India*, 214.

Kanyûri.—(Known also as Khandûri.)—A class of Hill Brâhmans who belong to the Saunaka *gotra* and Madhandhiniya *sâkha*. "They are so called after the parent village of Kanyûra in Pargana Châudpur. Though ranked as Brâhmans, they are called Pahâri or Hill Kâyasths, and carry on the duties of clerks. Their *gotra* is the same as that of the Râja of Garhwâl, who has several in his employ, and a few families exist in Dehra Dûn."[1]

Kapariya, Khapariya.[2]—A tribe of beggars and pedlars found in various parts of the Provinces, who have not been separately enumerated at the last census. There is some difference of opinion as to the proper spelling of the name. They call themselves Kapariya, which they say means "sellers of the old clothes" (*kapra*) which they get in alms. Another story is that they were created last of all the castes from the head (*kapâl*) of Siva and Pârvati, or from the perspiration that fell from their foreheads when they were wearied with the work of creation. Those who call them Khapariya adopt the skull legend and derive the name from *Khapar*, *Khappar*, which means either "a skull" or "the gourd cup" carried by mendicants.

Tribal organisation.

2. They have seven exogamous septs—Sirmaur, which they say means a "crown on the head" and is superior to the others; Chandel, who are so called because their ancestors lived among that tribe of Râjputs; Banchhor, who take this name because their ancestors abandoned their forest life; Gautam, who trace their origin to the Rishi Gotama; Samudraphen, whose ancestor was born from the foam of the sea; Chaudhari, whose forefathers lived among the Kurmis. The Fatehpur lists add Khetgariyâr and Patlê.

Exogamy.

3. No one can marry in his own sept and in addition the usual formula—*chachera*, *mamera*, *phupheia*, *mausera*,—which bars the line of the paternal uncle, maternal uncle, paternal aunt, and maternal aunt, is adopted.

Tribal council.

4. They have a tribal council (*panchâyat*) of which the chairman (*mukhiya*) is a hereditary officer. If the chairman be a minor, his nearest competent relation acts for him until he is fit to perform the duty. Offenders are usually punished with fine which ranges from one rupee and

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[1] Atkinson, *Himalayan Gazetteer*, III., 270.

[2] Based on information collected at Mirzapur and notes by Munshi Gurdayâl Sinh, Deputy Inspector of Schools, Fatehpur.

a quarter to five rupees, and the money thus collected is spent in drinking.

Marriage.

5. The boy's father has to pay at least one hundred rupees to the father of the girl, and the marriage cannot be performed until this is paid. The age for betrothal is seven or eight and for marriage fifteen or sixteen. Infidelity is so far condoned that a woman is reprimanded three times before she is finally excommunicated for misconduct. Widow marriage and the levirate are both allowed, but there seems to be a tendency to reform about this, and some of the tribe at Mirzapur deny that they allow widows to re-marry. Concubinage is prohibited.

Birth.

6. There are no ceremonies during pregnancy; but on the day after the child is born a Brâhman astrologer is called in to decide whether the day of birth is lucky or not; but no regular horoscope is prepared. On the ninth day rice and pulse cakes (*bara*) are cooked and eaten only by the women and girls of the family and their friends. After the house is purified and the dirty clothes and old earthen vessels removed, the mother and infant are bathed at an auspicious time fixed by the Pandit. Then the mother sits in the court-yard or in the kitchen with a dish before her of the following food, in quantity sufficient for five women: boiled pulse (*dâl*), boiled rice (*bhât*), wheat cakes fried in butter (*púri*), cakes of *urad* pulse (*bara*), large soft pulse cakes (*phulauri*), curry, curds, sweets (*batâsha*) and a plantain. These things are eaten by her five nearest relations, and afterwards the clansmen are fed. She cannot look after household affairs till the twelfth day, when she is again bathed and has to worship the village well. She bathes, puts on a garment dyed yellow with turmeric and goes to the nearest well, where she plasters a piece of ground, makes a burnt offering (*hom*), and offers to the well treacle, red-lead, ochre, butter and sugar. She then bows down to the well and prays for the welfare of her child, household and herself.

Marriage ceremonies.

7. Marriage ceremonies are of the usual high-class type. As the bride makes the first six circuits round the sacred fire she says: *Pahli bhaunriya jo phirai, bâba, abhin tumhâr*—"While I make the first circuit I am still thine, O father!" This she says at each of the circuits till the last, when she says:—"*Sátwán bhaunriya jo phirai, bâba, ab bhai parai*—"After making the seventh circuit, O father! now I belong

to another." These revolutions round the sacred fire form the binding part of the ceremony.

Disposal of the dead.

8. The more respectable members of the tribe burn their dead; poorer people only scorch the face of the corpse and throw it into some river. They very rarely take the ashes to the Ganges. The person who fired the pyre lives apart for nine days. On that day all the clansmen shave, and after bathing return to the house of the deceased, where the heir makes presents to the Mahâpâtras and feeds the clansmen. After three fortnights they again give a feast and place food for the dead outside the village. This is done again in the sixth and twelfth month. At the Pitrapaksha, or fortnight sacred to the dead, a Mâli woman spreads flowers at the door, and if they can afford it food is given to Brâhmans.

Religion.

9. Kapariyas are Hindus and worship Kâli, Durga, Parameswar and Mahâdeva. To Kâli-Durga they offer goats, cakes, pottage (*lapsi*) and spirits at the Naurâtra of Chait and Kuâr. To Mahâdeva and Parameswar they make no offering, but only do reverence to them. They reverence the *pîpal*, *tulasi* plant, and banyan (*bar*), if they have made a pilgrimage to Gaya.

Social rules.

10. Women who have lost children abstain from eating the egg-plant (*baingan*) until the child grows up. Then the father gives a feast, of which the egg-plant forms a part, and the mother shares in it. They will not eat food touched by a Bhangi, Dhobi, Chamâr, Muhammadan, Kumhâr, Teli, Darzi, Patwa, Koli, Mâli or Khatîk. They will eat *kachchi* and *pakki* from Brâhmans and Kshatriyas. To the east of the Province no caste except Chamârs and other menials will eat from their hands, and even Chamârs are now beginning to refuse to do so. The men wear their hair long, and both men and women wear round their necks the seeds of the *ghungchi* (*abrus precatorius*).

Occupation.

11. The men wander all over the country begging and selling ponies and goats. They have been suspected of illicit coining and passing bad money. The women do not beg or go to strange houses. Unmarried girls do not cover the head, and busy themselves milking the goats which they take about with them. At Fatehpur, their head-quarters, they do not cultivate. They say that when they were first created Siva

told them to sow gram, but in their ignorance they split each grain before sowing, and since then they have been ordered to live by begging. They are always on the move, except in the rains, and carry about small tents. On the whole they bear an indifferent character, and have been caught committing petty thefts and practising various forms of swindling.

Karnâta.—One of the local groups of Brâhmans included among the Pancha Drâvida. They are Brâhmans who inhabit the Karnâtak, or tract of country where the Canarese language is spoken. They are, of course, exotic in this part of India, and most of them are found in Benares, where they have a high reputation for piety and learning. Mr. Sherring's[1] informant divides them into eight sub-divisions—Haiga, Kwâta, Shivelri, Barginâra, Kandawa Karnâta, Maisûr Karnâta, and Sirnâd.

Distribution of Karnâta Brâhmans according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.
Mathura	24
Morâdâbâd	6
Benares	403
Kumaun	112
Tarâi	23
Faizâbâd	16
Total	584

Kasarwâni, Kasarbâni.—A sub-caste of Banyas found in considerable numbers in Allahâbâd, Mirzapur, Benares, Ballia, and Partâbgarh. They take their name from *Kánsya-kára-vanij*, "a seller of brass vessels." To the east of the Province they have two endogamous sub-divisions—Purabiya or eastern and Pachhiwâha or western. Besides this they have a large number of sections. According to Mr. Risley[2] there are as many as ninety-six in Bihâr. "A man must not marry in his own section and must also

[1] *Hindu Castes*, I., 96.
[2] *Tribes and Castes*, I., 429.

observe the standard formula of prohibited degrees reckoned to the fifth generation in the descending line." To the east they say that they emigrated from Kara Mânikpur only some two or three generations ago. They practise infant marriage and cannot take a second wife in the life-time of the first without her consent. Widows can marry again by the *sagâi* form, and the levirate is recognised but not compulsory on the widow. They have no regular divorce, but a man can discard his wife for adultery.

2. Many of them are initiated into the Râmanandi sect, and to the east of the Province they specially worship the Pânchonpîr and Mahâbîr. Their family priests are Sarwariya Brâhmans. They are usually grocers, and sell flour, grain, salt, tobacco, and other articles of food. It is said that some, who are Pachpiriyas, eat meat, but the worshippers of Mahâbîr totally abstain from it. Brâhmans and Kshatriyas will not eat either *pakki* or *kachchi* cooked by them; other Banyas will eat *pakki* but not *kachchi*, and they will eat *kachchi* only if cooked by one of their own sub-castes. Kahârs and Nâis will eat *kachchi* cooked by them.

Distribution of Kasarwâni Banyas according to the census of 1891.

District.	Number.
Dehra Dûn	4
Sahâranpur	4
Farrukhâbâd	76
Mainpuri	1
Etâwah	146
Cawnpur	550
Fatehpur	1,231
Banda	3,441
Hamîrpur	1
Allahâbâd	34,036
Jhânsi	1

Distribution of Kasarwan Banyas according to the Census of 1891—continued.

District.	Number.
Benares	5,936
Mirzapur	8,717
Jaunpur	805
Ghâzipur	1,141
Ballia	3,566
Gorakhpur	641
Basti	84
Azamgarh	47
Lucknow	683
Sîtapur	33
Faizâbâd	219
Gonda	123
Sultânpur	93
Partâbgarh	4,246
Total	65,625

Kasaundhan.—(*Kânsa*, "bell metal"; *dhana*, "wealth.")—A sub-caste of Banyas found throughout the Province, except the Meerut, Agra, and Rohilkhand Divisions. According to the Benares tradition they have come there from Lucknow. In Benares they have two sections, the Purbiya or Purabiya or "eastern" and the Pachhaiyan or "western." In Mirzapur their sections are Khara or "faithful," who prohibit widow marriage, and the Dûsra or "second," who allow it. Those of the Khara section take wives from the Dûsra, but do not give them girls. The Dûsra are consequently obliged to find brides among themselves. They fix their head-quarters at Jaunpur, and say they emigrated to Mirzapur some two or three generations ago.

Marriage.

2. Marriage usually takes place at the age of five or six. The Dûsra section allow widow marriage according to the usual *sagâi* or *dharewa* form. A woman can be discarded for infidelity with the consent of the village council.

Religion.

3. To the east of the Province they worship Mahâbîr and the Pânchonpîr. Sarwariya Brâhmans are their family priests. According to Dr. Buchanan,[1] in Gorakhpur and Bihâr their family priests are mostly Kanaujiya and Sakadwîpi Brâhmans, and they follow the Nânakpanthi sect. In Mirzapur they are usually Râmanandis.

Occupation.

4. They make their living by money-changing (*sarrâfi*), dealing in grain and other articles of food and matting (*tât*).

Social rules.

5. They abstain from meat and spirits. They will eat *kachchi* prepared only by themselves. Their family priests, but not ordinary Brâhmans, eat *pakki* cooked by them. This is allowed to any other caste except Kshatriyas. Low castes such as Nâis and Kahârs eat *kachchi* cooked by them.

Distribution of Kasaundhan Banyas according to the census of 1891.

District.	Number.
Dehra Dûn	85
Bulandshahr	1
Farrukhâbâd	17
Bareilly	2
Budâun	50
Morâdâbâd	1
Shâhjahânpur	11
Fatehpur	483
Bânda	3,508

[1] *Eastern India*, I., 161.

Distribution of Kasaundhan Banyas according to the Census of 1891—contd.

District.	Number.
Hamírpur	611
Allahábád	268
Jhánsi	2
Benares	963
Mirzapur	164
Jaunpur	669
Gházipur	491
Gorakhpur	15,983
Básti	18,149
Azamgarh	346
Lucknow	2,014
Unáo	69
Ráé Bareli	4,842
Sítapur	253
Kheri	86
Faizábád	12,122
Gonda	22,489
Bahráich	4,645
Sultánpur	3,893
Partábgarh	67
Bárabanki	5,468
Total	97,741

Kasera.—(Sanskrit *kánsya kára*, "a worker in bell metal.")[1] The brass founding caste. According to Mr. Risley,[2] they are

[1] But on the suffix *era* see Hœrnle, *Comparative Grammer of the Gaudian Languages*, para. 240, *sqq*.

[2] *Tribes and Castes*, I., 429.

"probably an offshoot from one of the higher mercantile castes, which was separated from the parent group by adopting this special profession. The fact that the Kaseras have a well-defined set of exogamous sections and pride themselves on their purity of descent seems to indicate that the caste is a homogeneous one, and is not, like many of the functional castes, a collection of men from several different groups held together merely by the bond of a common occupation." In Mirzapur, which is one of the head-quarters of the caste, they call themselves Kshatriyas, and assert that they were driven to adopt their present occupation when Parasurâma made a general massacre of the Kshatriya race.[1]

Internal structure.

2 In Benares they name seven endogamous sub-castes—Purbiya or Purbiha (Eastern), Pachhâwan or Pachhiwâhan (Western), Gorakhpuri (from Gorakhpur), Tânk (either connected with the Râjput clan of that name or, as Mr. Sherring supposes, from the principality of Tânk (Tonk), Tanchara, Bhariya, and Golar. Of these the Purbiya or Purabiya, Pachhiwâhan, and Golar are found in Mirzapur. The Purabiya and Pachhiwâhan sub-castes are divided into a number of exogamous sections (*al*). The following are the sections of the Purabiya in Mirzapur:—Baikata, Barwâr, Paigiha, Belkatha, Chorkat, Chûrîhâr, Ganreriya, Ghorcharha, Gurteliya, Hardiha, Kardhaniyator Mahobiya, Kharmarauriya, Lohâr, Mahobiya, Qalaigar, Tamaha, Teliya. The sections of the Pachhiwâhan are:—Bâri, Bapdahka, Berwâr, Belkata, Budhmaniya, Chilimâra, Chûrîhâra, Dhumel, Ghoraha, Ghamela, Ghumila, Hardiha, Jarsethi, Jhamaiya, Katha, Khutaha, Koraiya, Mahalwâr, Paitiha, Rahilaha, Sirbhaiyân, Songar. The Golar are few in numbers in Mirzapur, and do not appear to have any well-recognized sections. They are a separate sub-caste of Kaseras who have been permanently excommunicated for some violation of caste rules and form an endogamous sub-caste of their own. These three sub-castes are endogamous and do not eat together. As to the origin of these sections—some are obviously the names of existing castes such as the Teliya, Lohâr, Ganreriya, Chûrîhâr, Qalaigar, and Bâri. Others like the Mahobiya and Kardhaniyator Mahobiya ("those who break the

[1] In Mirzapur they represent themselves as descended from the ancient Kshatriya Rájas—Tamar, Mordhuja, Tânchardhuja, and Haihaya. Mordhuja is possibly Moradhwaj (Cunningham, *Archæological Survey*, VI., 227; XVII., 96). Haihaya was the name of the Kala Chûri dynasty of Chedi (*ibid.*, IX., 77).

waist string") are of local origin (from Mahoba in the Hamîrpur District). It illustrates the fertility with which these sections are produced that none in these Mirzapur lists correspond with those given by Mr. Risley for Bihâr.[1] In the hills the Kasera is represented by the Tamota or Tamta, who is a Dom. The complete lists show 53 sections of the usual type. Some are territorial such, as Ajhudhyabâsi, Brij, Jamnapâri, Jaunpuri, Kanaujiya, Mainpuriya, Pachhiwâhan, Purabiya; others are taken from tribes with which they imply some connection, such as Ahîrbansi, Chhatri, Paribais Chhatri, Tûnk, and Sombansi. They practise a strict rule of exogamy. No man may marry a woman of his own section, and the tendency among the more respectable Kaseras appears to be to extend this prohibition so as to prevent not only persons of the same section from intermarrying, but to bar intermarriages between persons whose fathers, mothers, grandfathers and grandmothers belong to the same section. They have in addition a rule of exogamy based on geographical position. Thus the Mirzapur Kaseras intermarry only with those resident in Benares and Jaunpur, not with those of Bihar.

Marriage rules.

3. Infant marriage is the rule with all the more respectable Kaseras, but ordinary people marry their daughters at ten or twelve. Inter-tribal fornication in the cases of unmarried people or widows and widowers seems to be lightly regarded. The offenders are not excommunicated, only fined. In Bihar[2] it would seem that polygamy is allowed only if the first wife is barren: here, as far as can be ascertained, a man may marry as many wives as he can afford to keep. They have the ordinary forms of marriage,—*charhawa*, the respectable form, and *dola*, used by poor people. Widows can marry by *sagái*, but they profess this to be a modern institution. She may marry the younger brother of her late husband or an outsider as she pleases. A husband can put away his wife for adultery with a member of another caste, and a wife can leave her husband if he does not support her, or abandons his religion. Divorced women cannot re-marry within the tribe.

Religion.

4. Kaseras generally follow the Vaishnava or Nânakpanthi sect. Their clan deities are the Pânchonpîr, Durga, and Bandi Devi. The first are

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[1] *Tribes and Castes*, II., *Appendix*, 71.
[2] Risley, *loc cit.*, I., 430.

worshipped in the month of Jeth on a Sunday or Wednesday, with offerings of pulse cakes (*phulauri*) and bread. Durga is worshipped on 15th Chait with an offering of cakes (*púri*), rice milk (*khír*), and sweetmeats. Bandi Devi is honoured with an offering of pepper and sugar dissolved in water (*mirchwán*) at the full moon of Sâwan. When a person recovers from small-pox a yellow cloth and some flowers are dedicated to Sitâla Mâta. All these offerings are, after dedication, consumed by the worshippers. Their priests are Tiwâri Brâhmans, who are received on terms of equality by other Brâhmans. The dead are cremated in the ordinary way, and balls (*pinda*) are offered to them on the 15th of any month which falls on a Wednesday, and also in the first fortnight of Kuâr. On such occasions uncooked grain (*sídha*) is given to Brâhmans. People who die in a distant land or who have died a violent death are thrown into running water and cremated in effigy, with the usual ceremonies, within six months of death.

Occupation and social status.

5. There is some difference of opinion as to their occupation. According to Mr. Nesfield[1]: "The Kasera's speciality lies in mixing the softer metals (zinc, copper, and tin) and moulding the alloy into various shapes, such as cups, bowls, plates, etc. The Thathera's art consists in polishing and engraving the utensils which the Kasera supplies." On the other hand Mr. Hoey[2] says that at Lucknow the manufacturer of brass vessels is called indifferently Thathera, Kasera, or Bhariya. In Mirzapur it appears that the name Kasera is confined to the moulder of vessels in brass or alloy and to the man who beats out trays out of metal sheets, while the Thathera makes and sells ornaments made of alloy (*phál*). A workman akin to him is the Dhaliya or Dhalnewâla of Lucknow, who makes ornaments (*hansli*, *kara*, *tariya*) of zinc (*jasta*), others from pewter (*rángа*), and who moulds in lead moulds for other artizans.[3] The Kaseras pretend that they were originally landowners like the Kshatriyas. Kaseras all wear the sacred thread (*janeo*), and are very punctilious in matters of caste. They eat the flesh of goats and sheep and fish. They do not drink spirits. They eat *pakki* cooked

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[1] *Brief View*, 29.

[2] *Monograph*, 198.

[3] *Ibid.*, 102. Dr Buchanan (*Eastern India*, II., 260) says: "In some places these two professions are considered distinct, the makers and menders of vessels being called Kasera, and the makers of ornaments being called Thathera, but in others the terms are used as synonymous."

by all Brâhmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas, except Kalwârs, Kâyasths, Nâis, Bâris, and Ahîrs. They eat *kachchi* cooked by their own tribesmen or priests. It is said that all Brâhmans, except Sarwariyas, will eat *pakki* cooked by them, and Nâis, Bâris and Kahârs eat *kachchi* prepared by them. A full account of the Kasera's craft will appear in the forthcoming Monograph on the brass metal trade of the Province and need not be repeated here.

Distribution of Kaseras according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.
Mathura	3
Cawnpur	14
Allahâbâd	43
Benares	1,607
Mirzapur	2,475
Jaunpur	174
Ghâzipur	7
Ballia	253
Gorakhpur	493
Basti	751
Azamgarh	141
Lucknow	114
Unâo	155
Râê Bareli	9
Sitapur	67
Hardoi	8
Faizâbâd	57
Gonda	461
Bahrâich	319
Partâbgarh	32
Total	7,273

Kashmîri.—(Residents of Kashmîr.)—A small sub-caste of Banyas, found in small numbers in Bareilly and Pilibhît.

Kâsip.—(Sanskrit, *kashyapa*, "tortoise," which may have been the tribal totem.)—A sept of Râjputs most numerous in Shâhjahânpur, who are low in the social scale, though claiming to be an offshoot of the Kachhwâhas. Their tradition is that they are immigrants from Kashmîr, the Râja of which they claim as a member of the clan, and allege that he recently recognised the fact.[1] He is usually called a Dogra Râjput; but Dogar is only another name for Jammu, and Dogra is a general term for any Kashmîri Râjput.

Distribution of the Kâsip Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.
Muzaffarnagar	1
Bulandshahr	7
Mainpuri	17
Etah	1
Bareilly	125
Budâun	44
Shâhjahânpur	2,330
Pilibhît	178
Jhânsi	3
Azamgarh	1
Lucknow	8
Sîtapur	9
Hardoi	35
Kheri	180
Total	2,939

Kathak, Kathik.—(Sanskrit *kathika*, "a professional story-teller.")[2]—A caste of story-tellers, singers, and musicians.

[1] *Settlement Report*, 24: 59.

[2] Based on enquiries at Mirzapur, and a note by Munshi Bhagwân Dîn, Tahsildâr, Allahâbâd.

Traditions of origin.

2. According to one story they are really Gaur Brâhmans, who used originally to sing and dance in the temples of the gods, and a certain Muhammadan Emperor of Delhi once heard them and was so pleased with their skill that he ordered them in future to perform in public. Another story connects them with King Prithu, "who was son of Vena, son of Anga. He was the first king, and from him the earth received her name Prithivi. The Vishnu Purâna says that the Rishis 'inaugurated Vena monarch of the earth,' but he was wicked by nature and prohibited worship and sacrifices. Incensed at the decay of religion, pious sages beat Vena to death with blades of holy grass. In the absence of a king, robbery and anarchy arose, and the Munis, after consultation, proceeded to rub the thigh of the dead king in order to produce a son. There came forth a man like a charred log with flat face and extremely short. This man became a Nishâda, and with him came out the sins of the departed king. The Brâhmans then rubbed the right arm of the corpse and from it sprang the majestic Prithu, Vena's son, resplendent in body, glowing like the manifested Agni. At his birth all creatures rejoiced; and through the birth of this virtuous son, Vena, delivered from the hell called Put, ascended to heaven." [1] This monarch found that the art of the Udgatri, or chanter of the Vedic hymns, had fallen into disuse, so he performed a rite (*yaksha*) and out of the sacred fire-pits (*agni-kunda*) came out three men, Mâgadha, Sûta, and Bandijad, from the first of whom are descended the Kathaks, from the second the Bhâts, and from the third the Maithila Brâhmans.

Tribal organisation.

3. The Kathaks themselves profess to be divided into sixteen sections, which all seem to be of local origin and derived from the places which they used to occupy in former times. Of these the names of fifteen have been ascertained at Mirzapur:—Bhadohiya, from Pargana Bhadohi in the Mirzapur District; Mathapati, whose ancestors are said to have been heads of a monastery (*matha*); Mahuâri; Bhunsaiha; Gonraha, from Gonda; Usari; Mandik; Rajaipur; Matepur; Naikan; Jangali and Mangali, who are chiefly found in the direction of Azamgarh and Gorakhpur; Mohâuw; Thakurahân; and Mâlik. Each of these again is divided into *gotras*, but of these it has been,

[1] Dowson, *Classical Dictionary*, s. v.

in consequence of the general ignorance prevailing among the caste, impossible to procure a list. All they can say is that their *gotras* correspond with those of the Kanaujiya and Sarwariya Brâhmans. Their law of exogamy is the same as that of the Brâhmans, and a man cannot marry in his section or in his own *gotra* until at least seven generations have passed. In their marriage, birth and death ceremonies they follow the usages of Brâhmans. The complete Census returns give 378 section names of the usual type. Side by side with Brâhmanical terms such as Misr, Dikshit or Bhâradwâja, we find numerous others derived from those of well-known tribes, such as, Bâchal, Bagheli, Bais, Bargûjar, Bundel, Chauhân, Chhatri, Dhârhi, Dhobi, Gadariya, Gaharwâr, Gaur, Hurakiya, Jâdon, Kâyasth, Khatri, Koliya, Lodh, Mehtariya, Niyâriya, Panwâr, Paturiya, Raghubansi, Raikwâr, Râthaur, Râwat, Sengar, Sûrajbansi, and Tomra. Besides these are numerous purely local terms, such as Ajudhyabâsi, Bahâdurpuriya, Baksariya, Bishnpuriya, Dakkhinâha, Hasanapuri, Kanaujiya, Madhupuriya Mathurabâsi, Pachhwâhân, Purabiya, Sâranpuriya, Sarwariya.

Religion and social status.

4. Kathaks are popularly regarded by low-caste Hindus as equal to Brâhmans, and all castes, including Râjputs, salute them and beg a blessing. The only practical difference between them is that they cannot receive the gifts of piety (*dâna*) which are taken by Brâhmans. Widow marriage is prohibited. In addition to all the ordinary Hindu gods the Kathaks worship Ghâzi Miyân and offer to him sweet cakes (*pakwân*) in the months of Kuâr and Chait. They employ Brâhmans for ceremonial purposes, and such Brâhmans are received on terms of equality with other Brâhmans. They eat fish, goats, sheep, but, of course, not beef, and they do not drink. But while they hold a fairly respectable position, their business degrades them to some extent. Their women are secluded except on very special occasions, such as marriages in very high caste families; but the men are known as Bharuas or the attendants of the ordinary dancing girls, who are often prostitutes, and from this occupation many of them are believed to be negligent as regards the strict caste rules of eating, drinking, etc. They play on the small drum (*dhol*) and the cymbals (*majîra*), and they also act as the teachers of singing and dancing women whom they accompany to respectable houses at marriages and similar occasions and receive half their earnings. Their clan deity is the goddess Saraswati,

whom they worship at the Basant Panchami festival on the fifth day of Phâlgun with offerings of sweetmeats, flowers, burnt offerings (*homa*), and incense (*dhúpa*). On this occasion an image of Saraswati or Gauri is made of cowdung and worshipped. The Census returns show 5,311 worshippers of Saraswati. Mr. Baillie writes: "It is probable that these are due less to her position as a river goddess than to those attributes which she acquired as the patroness of the ceremonies performed on the margin of her holy waters, and subsequently as the inspirer of the hymns recited at these ceremonies. She is now known mainly as the goddess of speech and learning, the inventress of the Sanskrit language and patroness of arts and sciences."[1] Those who are less particular worship Mahâbir and the Panchonpir.

Distribution of Kathaks according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.
Farrukhâbâd	8
Hamirpur	24
Jâlaun	24
Benares	100
Mirzapur	11
Jaunpur	53
Ghâzipur	25
Ballia	13
Gorakhpur	569
Basti	230
Azamgarh	215
Lucknow	32
Rái Bareli	310
Sîtapur	51
Hardoi	2

[1] *Census Report, North-West Provinces and Oudh*, 234; *Panjâb Census Report* 105; Monier Williams, *Hinduism and Brâhmanism*, 439.

Distribution of Kathaks according to the Census of 1891—contd.

District.	Number.
Faizâbâd	6
Bahrâich	813
Partâbgarh	149
Total .	2,034

Katheriya.—A sept of Râjputs confined to Rohilkhand and the Central Duâb. They derive their name from Kathehar, the old name of Eastern Rohilkhand, which again is supposed to be derived from *kather*, a brownish loam of a thirsty tenacious nature with a subjacent sandy stratum requiring copious rain for irrigation. Others with less probability connect the name with Katyûr in the Hills or Karttikeyapura. The country of Kathehar is now confined to the tract lying between the Râmganga, Sârda, and Khanaut rivers. The accounts vary as to the time they entered Rohilkhand. One story is that Bhîma Sena drove out the Ahîrs about the time that Prithivi Râja ruled at Delhi and Jay Chand at Kanauj. According to General Cunningham they did not invade the country till 1174 A.D, and their ancient capital was Lakhnaur.[1] They appear to be in some way connected with the Gaur sept, and one account represents that they expelled the Bâchhals; but, on the other hand, Mr. Moens denies that the Bâchhals ever held sway in Bareilly. In Shâhjahânpur[2] it is said that the Gaurs helped them against the Pathâns. The Morâdâbâd[3] tradition is that they were Sûrajbansis of Ajudhya, who were driven from thence when the Aryan invasion was temporarily pushed back by the aboriginal races, and that they came with real or pretended authority from the Muhammadans to seize the country occupied by the Ahars.

2. In Bareilly the Katheriyas take their wives from the Bais, Sombansi, Bargûjar, and Bhur Janghâra septs, and give girls to the Chauhân, Râthaur, Bhadauriya, and Chandel. In Farrukhâ-

[1] *Bareilly Settlement Report*, 21, *sq.*; *Archæological Reports*, I., 251, 256
[2] *Settlement Report*, 107, *sq.*
[3] *Settlement Report*, 9.

bâd they give their girls to the Bhadauriya, Kachhwâha, Chauhân, and Râthaur, and procure wives from the Chandel, Ujjaini, Gaharwâr, Jaiswâr, Nikumbh, Panwâr, and Bais.

Distribution of the Katheriya Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.
Sahâranpur	2
Muzaffarnagar	7
Meerut	172
Bulandshahr	45
Aligarh	18
Agra	94
Farrukhâbâd	1,308
Mainpuri	796
Etâwah	143
Etah	3,042
Bareilly	6,708
Bijnor	24
Budâun	4,921
Morâdâbâd	8,145
Shâhjahânpur	9,031
Pilibhît	1,823
Allahâbâd	32
Ghâzipur	3
Tarâi	401
Sitapur	219
Hardoi	280
Kheri	522
Bahraich	16
Total	37,752

Kâthi.—A Râjput sept, some members of which are found in Bundelkhand. According to Professor Wilson,[1] the word Cathaei or Kattia is derived from Kshatta or Kshatriya. Colonel Tod[2] classes them among the thirty-six Royal races, and describes them as a most important tribe in the Western Peninsula, which has effected the change of the name from Saurâshtra to Kâthiawâr. "Of all its inhabitants the Kâthi retains most originality; his religion, his manners, and his looks are all decidedly Scythic." They have been identified with the Khatraioi of Ptolemy. "According to the Greek writers the people who held the territory comprised between the Hydraotes (Râvi) and the Hyphasis (Biyâs) were the Kathaioi, whose capital was Sangala. The Mahâbhârata and the Pâli Buddhist works speak of Sangala as the capital of the Madras, a powerful people also known as Bâhîka. Lassen, in order to account for the substitution of name, supposes that the mixture of the Madras with the inferior castes had led them to assume the name of Khatriyas (Kshatriya, the warrior caste) in token of their degradation, but this is by no means probable. The name is still found spread over an immense area from the Hindu Koh as far as Bengal, and from Nepâl to Gujarât, under forms slightly variant: Kâthi, Katti, Kathia, Khatri, Khetar, Kattaur, Kattair, Kattak, and others. One of these tribes, the Kâthi, issuing from the lower parts of the Panjâb, established themselves in Saurâshtra, and gave the name Kâthiavâd to the great peninsula of Gujarât."[3] Widow-burning is mentioned by Megasthenes as a peculiar custom of the Kathaei.[4]

2. The Kâthiawâr legend is that they were ordered to drive off the cattle of Virât. This, as Râjputs, they refused to do, and Karan struck his staff on the ground and produced out of the wood (Kâshtha) a man, who carried out his orders, whence their name. They worship the sun and use it as a symbol in all their deeds. "The symbol has much resemblance to a spider, the rays forming the legs, but that there may be no mistake underneath is always written, 'the witness of the holy sun.' Their contact with Hindus has gradually instilled into them some respect for the ordinary Hindu gods and for Brâhmans. They are exceedingly super-

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[1] *Ariana Antiqua*, 197.
[2] *Annals*, I., 119 *sqq.*
[3] McCrindle, *Indian Antiquary*, XIII., 360.
[4] Bunbury, *Ancient Geography*, I., 563.

stitious and believe in omens, placing the greatest reliance on the call of a partridge to the left. At funeral ceremonies, instead of feeding crows, they feed plovers, and have a strong friendly feeling towards them. The Kâthis are exceedingly hospitable, and are always sociable and friendly. They are illiterate and indolent spending their time in gossip and social entertainments, and rarely troubling themselves about their affairs. They have adopted the Hindu feeling about the holiness of the cow, otherwise they are not particular about their food or liquor. The women are proverbially handsome and bear a high character. They are on a social equality with their husbands, and are treated as companions. A Kâthi seldom marries more than one wife, though they are not limited in this respect. Widow marriage is allowed, but it is seldom practised, except in the case of a husband dying and leaving a younger brother. In such cases the rule is peremptory that the younger brother must marry his brother's widow." [1]

3. One story about the Kâthi makes them out to have originated in Kurdistân, whence they were driven out by Tiglath Pilesar of Assyria about 1130 B. C. Abul Fazal, in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, represents them as akin to the Ahîrs.

4. In the Panjâb the Kathiya claim to be Panwâr Râjputs.[2] They are described as "a handsome, sturdy race, and nearly all Jâts of the Great Râvi, do not allow their children of either sex to marry until they have attained the age of puberty, because, as they justly consider, too early marriages would be detrimental to the physique of the race." One account fixes their original home in Bikâner, whence they entered Gujarât. Another tradition is that they were driven out of the valley of the lower Ghaggar about the time of Timûr's invasion.

Kathiyâra.[3]—(Sanskrit *kâshtha kâra*, "a worker in wood.")—A small caste of bricklayers and carpenters, who were recorded in the Aligarh District in 1881, but have probably been included in the Râj or Barhai caste at the last Census. They have five exogamous sections—Kathar, Kokâs, Sakoriya, Hindoliya, and Hirnotiya. They marry outside their section and not in the section of their ancestors on the father's or mother's side, as long as any relationship is remembered, or in families to whom they have, within memory,

[1] *Bombay Gazetteer*, VIII., 122, *sqq.*
[2] Ibbetson, *Panjâb Ethnography*, para. 472.
[3] Chiefly based on a note by Munshi Maidayâl Sinh, Deputy Collector.

given a bride. They may marry two sisters, but not at the same time, nor the younger before the elder.

Legend of origin.

2. The legend told by the caste runs that Sîta, the deserted wife of Râma Chandra, was living in the forest with the Rishi Bhâradwaja. She had one son, Lava; and one day she happened to go to fetch water, taking the child with her. When Bhâradwaja returned in her absence, he missed the child, and blaming himself for his carelessness in allowing it to be taken away by a wild beast, he made another child in its image out of *kusa* grass. When Sîta returned with her baby in her arms she was surprised to see the other child; but she adopted it as her own, and from his origin he was called Kusa. At the contest of the Aswamedha he fought so hard (*kathara*) that his descendants were called Kathiyâra. They fix their original head-quarters at Sambhal in the Morâdâbâd District, and thence to Jalesar and Aligarh, about one hundred and fifty years ago. On account of their descent from *kusa*, they will not sleep on *kusa* grass, nor will they cut or use it; in other words, *kusa* grass was possibly a totem.

Marriage rules.

3. They practise adult marriage and sexual license before marriage is lightly regarded. Their marriage ceremonies are of the normal type. Widows marry by *karâo*. A wife can be divorced for adultery, with the permission of the tribal council, and she cannot be again married in the caste.

Religion.

4. They worship the Miyân of Amroha or Jalesar, Zâhirpîr, and Jakhiya. Of Miyân they say that his name was Mîrân. He was an ordinary Faqîr at Amroha. One day he was rebuilding the wall of his hermitage (*takiya*), when he found an old lamp that belonged to the Jinn. When he took it home and lighted it the Jinn appeared and bowed down before him. One day he ordered the Jinn to bring him the daughter of the king of Rûm. He did so, and Mîrân was so pleased with her that he made the Jinn bring her every night. At last her father noticed that she was pale; so he got her to tell him what was going on. When the king heard the case he was wroth, and sent his own four Jinns to arrest Mîrân. When Mîrân heard of this he was afraid and asked his Jinn to protect him. They advised him to get into his water-vessel (*badhana*), and when the Jinns of the king of Rûm came they carried him off in the pot he . T' k' ' a he heard ofthe magical power of Mîr ot, and he

had it buried in the hermitage which he used to occupy at Amroha. Mîrân implored his Jinn to release him, but they refused, on account of his iniquity, and he is there still and is widely worshipped.

5. Of Jakhiya the tale is thus told: There was once the wife of a Brâhman, who was taking food to her husband, when she was forced by a sweeper and became in child. She told her husband what had happened; he, believing her innocent, forgave her, and kept the matter secret. When her seventh month had passed, one day her husband beat her for some fault, and the child cried out against him from her womb. The Brâhman was stricken with fear and determined to kill the child. When the baby was born, in fear of his father, he took refuge in the pig-stye of a sweeper, and there his father killed him. As he was dying he implored Bhagwân that his next birth should be in some high-caste family. So he has since then been worshipped. He is also known by the name of Masân or the deity of the cremation ground. Children suffering from convulsions are taken to his shrine and most of them recover. The cure is attributed by some to the thaumaturgic power of the saint, and by others to the electrical effect of the peacock feathers with which the patient is fanned continuously for three days.

6. They employ Sanâdh Brâhmans as their family priests. They do not perform the regular *srâddha*, but, during the fortnight sacred to the dead (*kanâgat*) they usually feed a Brâhman or two, and do the same on the anniversary of a death in the family. They work as carpenters and bricklayers. The only meat they eat is mutton; they drink spirits, and those who abstain both from meat and wine are considered more respectable than the others. They will not eat, drink or smoke with any other caste but their own. They eat *kachchi* cooked by Brâhmans and *pakki* cooked by Ahîrs, Lodhas, Mâlis, and Kahârs.

Social status and occupation.

Katiyâr.—A sept of Râjputs shown in insignificant numbers at the recent Census only in the Bulandshahr District. There is, however, a sept of the same name in the Hardoi District, who are said to have emigrated from Sonoriya near Gwâlior under Râja Deva Datta, about three hundred years ago. "His clan was then called Tomar. Family feuds led him to migrate from Sonoriya to Singhi Râmpur in the Farrukhâbâd District on the Ganges; thence he gradually fought his way westward. At Khasaura he sided with the Baihar Ahîrs, and crushed their rivals, the Dhânuks. Then, turning on the Baihars, he smote and spared not till they accepted

the dominion. After establishing himself at Khasaura he drove out the Thatheras. A career of massacre earned for his sept the name Katiyâr or "slaughterers." [1]

Distribution of the Katiyâr Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.
Bulandshahr	26
Total	26

Katwa, Katua.[2]— (*Kâtna*, "to spin thread)."—A small caste found at the last Census only in Azamgarh and Pilibhît, and sometimes classed as a sub-caste of the Kori. They have a tradition that they were originally Bais Râjputs, whose ancestors, having been imprisoned for resistance to authority, were released on the promise that they would follow a woman's occupation of spinning thread. They have the usual rule of exogamy which bars marriage with any relative as long as any recollection of previous marriage connection remains. Marriage should take place in infancy; but if, owing to poverty, it be deferred till after puberty of the girl, no incontinence is tolerated. Marriage follows the usual stages of *tilak* or betrothal, and the *pâê-pûja* or worshipping of the feet of the bridegroom by the father of the bride and the formal giving away (*kanyâdâna*).

Occupation and social status.

2. Some few of them work at spinning thread, but most of them keep grain shops and sell cloth and thread. They employ to the east of the Province Sarwariya Brâhmans as their family priests. They do not eat meat or drink spirits.

Distribution of Katwas according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.
Pilibhît	7
Azamgarh	302
Total . .	309

[1] *Settlement Report*, 173.

[2] From a note by Qâzi Khairuddîn, Azamgarh.

Kausik.—A sept of Râjputs hardly found outside the Benares and Gorakhpur Divisions. According to some, the title is a mere nickname, meaning "squint-eyed" (Sanskrit *kusika*). They say themselves that they take their name from their eponymous ancestor, Kusika or Kusa, whom they identify with Viswamitra, the famous sage who was born a Kshatriya, but, by intense austerities, raised himself to be a Brâhman, and was finally promoted to be one of the seven great Rishis. His father, or as some say his son, was Gadhi, the reputed founder of Gadhipur, which is identified with the modern Ghâzipur. Many generations after came Râja Chandra Prakâsh, who had two sons, Râja Bhoj and Indradaman; the former became Râja of Dhâranagar, and the latter of Ghâzipur. The Dhuriyapâr family in Gorakhpur claim their name and descent from Râja Dhruv Chandra, who expelled the Bhars and occupied the present Dhuriyapâr Pargana. The town of Gopâlpur, from which the family takes its title, was founded by his successor, Râja Gopâl Chandra. The Ghâzipur branch select their religious guides (*gurus*) from a sect of monotheists peculiar to Ghâzipur called Bheka Shâhi. The Gorakhpur branch hold a respectable rank, and intermarry with the Chandrabansi, Sûrajbansi, Baghel, Sirnet, and Chauhân septs.

2. From Ballia it is reported that they marry girls of the Haihobans, Ujjaini, Nikumbh, Kinwâr, Narwâni, Karchhuliya, Sengar, Barwâr, Bais, Barhiya, Bargaiyan, Raghubansi, Sûrajbansi, Pachhtoriya, Bisariha, Donwâr, and Palwâr septs; and to give brides to the Ujjaini, Haihobans, Bais, Raghubansi, Bisen, Sûrajbansi, Narwâni, Palwâr, Nikumbh, Sirnet, Râjkumâr, Durgbansi, Chauhân, and Baghel septs. Those in Azamgarh are said to take brides from the Barhiya, Gaharwâr, Dikshit, Kâkan, Gahlot, Bachgoti, Bais, and Chandel; and to give girls to the Sirnet, Bais, Râjkumâr, Panwâr, Chandrabansi, Gargbansi, and Raghubansi septs. They claim to belong to the Kausik *gotra*.

Distribution of the Kausik Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.
Cawnpur	3
Allahâbâd	1

Distribution of the Kausik Rájputs according to the Census of 1891—contd.

District.	Number.
Jhânsi	69
Benares	171
Jaunpur	91
Ghâzipur	720
Ballia	4,998
Gorakhpur	7,115
Basti	980
Azamgarh	4,505
Râê Bareli	13
Faizâbâd	574
Bahraich	4
Sultânpur	85
Partâbgarh	39
Total	19,368

Kâyasth, Kâyastha.[1]—The well-known writer class of Hindustan.—About the derivation of the term there is some difference of opinion. Mr. Colebrooke gives as the popular derivation the Sanskrit *kâya-sanstitah*, "staying at home," in reference to their sedentary habits. The caste themselves derive their name from *kâya-stha*, situated in the body, incorporate, with reference to the legend of their descent, which will be given further on.

Origin of the caste.

2. Like all people who are on their promotion the Kâyasths are particularly sensitive as to any imputations on the purity of their descent, and it is, from every point of view, useless to revive a troublesome

[1] Based on notes by Munshi RAm Saran DAs, FaizAbAd; Pandit Baldeo Prasâd, Deputy Collector, Cawnpur; Munshi Ummed LAl; The *Tawârîkh Qaum Kâyasth*, by Munshi Awadh BihAri LAl; and *Tawârîkh Gaur Kâyasth*, by Munshi Kishori LAl.

controversy. Mr. Risley remarks that "the physical characters of the Bihâr Kâyasths (who are identical with those of these Provinces) afford some grounds for the belief that they may be of tolerably pure Aryan descent, though the group is doubtless a functional one recruited from all grades of the Aryan community." The case of the Kâyasths of Bengal is not so clear, though it is reported that the Kâyasths of Northern India have recently shown an inclination to admit them to full rights of communion. Of them Mr. Risley writes: "Putting tradition aside, and looking, on the one hand, to the physical type of the Kâyasths, and, on the other, to their remarkable intellectual attainments, it would seem that their claim to Aryan descent cannot be wholly rejected, though all attempts to lay down their genealogy precisely must necessarily be futile. It appears to be at least a plausible conjecture that they were a functional group, developed within the Aryan community, in response to the demand for an official and literary class, which must in course of time have arisen. This class would naturally have been recruited more largely from the peaceful Vaisyas and Sûdras than from the warlike Kshatriyas, while the Brâhmans would probably have held aloof from it altogether."

3. It is, of course, not difficult to do, as some advocates of a higher status for the caste than others are disposed to admit have done, to produce texts in support of their views; but it is obvious that the question cannot be settled by reference to writings, the authority of some of which is not quite free from suspicion. The matter is one of purely physical conformation, and, before it can be finally settled, the anthropometrical data must be much larger than they are at present. At the same time it may perhaps be said that most competent observers of the physical appearance of Kâyasths are not prepared to accept the conclusion of the writers of the Jatimâla and similar authorities, which deny wholly or partly their Aryan descent; and so far as the evidence from customs and manners goes, the result is the same.[1]

The tribal legends.

4. With this preface we may now go on to relate the legends of their origin given by the members of the caste themselves. One story tells that in the beginning of all things there were thirteen Yamas in

[1] Any one curious as regards this controversy may consult, on the one hand, the *Kayastha Ethnology* of Munshi Kâli Prasâd and Bâbu Guru Prasâd Sen's article in *Calcutta Review*, XCI., 156.

Yamapuri, the kingdom of the dead. The last of these was Chitra. In those days there were three men of the same name in a certain city. One was a Râja, the second a Brâhman, and the third a barber. When the time appointed for the Râja's life had expired, Yama sent his messengers (*dûta*) to bring his soul to Yamapuri. The messengers spared the Râja and brought the soul of the Brâhman and barber to Yama, who, when he consulted his register, found that a mistake had occurred. Brahma was grieved when he heard of this, and began to meditate how he could so arrange the affairs of Yamapuri so as to avoid similar mistakes in future. Up to that time there was no such thing as carnal birth; life was produced by the milk of the gods. While Brahma was thus reflecting, Vishnu appeared before him in his four-handed form. In one hand he held a pen, in the second the Vedas, in the third the *pâsa* or noose with which Yama catches the souls of the dead, in the fourth the *danda* or mace with which he punishes the wicked. Vishnu then spread his delusion over Brahma, and he took him on his knee and said, "As you existed in my body unseen, I give you the name of Chitragupta and make you the fourteenth Yama." He then ordered Chitragupta to assume charge of Yamapuri and to stop mental creation and introduce the arrangement of carnal births. He added that he should, in future, worship Sûrya, Vishnu, Devi, Ganesa, and Siva, but that he (Brahma) was to be his personal god (*ishta-devata*). When the gods heard that mental creation was to cease, Dharma Sarma Rishi represented to Brahma that he wished to marry his daughter Irâvati to Chitragupta, and Manuji, the son of Sûrya, proposed to give him his daughter Sudakshina also. To this Brahma agreed, and the double marriage was performed. Irâvati bore to Chitragupta eight sons—Châru, Suchâru, Chitraksha, Matiwân, Hanumân, Chitrachâru, Charuna, and Jitindriya; by Sudakshina he had four sons—Chitrabânu, Vibhânu, Viswabhânu, and Vrijbhânu. When Brahma saw the increase of the family of Chitragupta he was pleased and said, "My son! I have created from my arms the Kshatriyas, who will be lords of Mrityuloka, the world of death. I desire to make your sons Kshatriyas like them." But Chitragupta said, "Most of the Râjas of the world will fall into hell. I do not desire this fate for my sons. I pray thee to allot to them some other function." Brahma was pleased and answered, "Your sons shall wield the pen and not the sword. For four births shal

they live in the world of death. Then, if they deserve it, they shall be removed to the heaven of the gods." So the sons of Chitragupta came down to this world of ours, and, when they had established their human race, they were readmitted into heaven.

5. So Chitragupta remains the recorder of Yama. A soul, when it quits the body, seeks its abode in the lower regions; there the recorder Chitragupta reads out its account from his register, called Agrasandhani, and the soul either joins the Pitri, or is sent for punishment to one of the twenty-one hells, or is re-born on earth in some other form. Dr. Muir[1] translates a description of Chitragupta from the Vrihannaradiya Purâna, which he describes as "tasteless and extravagant": "The dreadful Chitragupta, with a voice like that issuing from the clouds at the mundane dissolution, gleaming like a mountain of collyrium, terrible with lightning-like weapons, having thirty-two arms, as big as two *yojanas*, red-eyed, long-nosed, his face furnished with grinders and projecting teeth, his eyes resembling oblong ponds, bearing death and diseases." In the Padma Purâna we also read: "Brahma having remained in meditation for a while, there sprang from his whole body a male of godlike form bearing an inkpot and a pen. This being was named Chitragupta, and he was placed by Brahma near Dharmarâja to register the good and evil actions of all sentient beings. He was possessed of supernatural wisdom, and became the partaker of sacrifices offered to the gods and fire. It is for this that the twice-born always give him oblations from their food. As he sprang from the body of Brahma he is said to be of the Kâyastha class. His descendants are Kâyastha of numerous *gotras* on the face of the earth." And in the Bhavishya Purâna we read: "Thou art sprung from my (Brahma's) body; therefore thou shalt be styled Kâyastha. Thou shalt be known on the earth by the name of Chitragupta. O son, having obtained my positive commands, thou shalt be posted for ever in the kingdom of Dharmarâja for the discrimination of virtue and vice! Let the religious duties prescribed for the Kshatriya caste be followed by thee according to rule. O son, beget devout children on the face of the earth." At the last Census only 1,967 persons were recorded as worshippers of Chitragupta, which is explained by the fact that "Kâyasths are in general orthodox Saivas or Vaishnavas and worship Chitragupta with simply a

[1] *Ancient Sanskrit Texts*, V., 302, *note*.

somewhat greater degree of reverence than other castes use to the spirits of their ancestors".

Tribal organisation.

6. The Kâyasths are divided into twelve endogamous sub-castes. These are Srivâstavya or Sribâstab; Bhatnâgara or Bhatnâgar; Saksena; Amisht or Anvasta; Aithan; Astbâna; Bâlmîk or Vâlmîki; Mâthur; Sûryadhwaja or Sûrajdhwaj; Kulsreshta or Kulasreshta; Karan or Karana; Gauda or Gaur and Nigam, with a thirteenth known as Unâya or those of Unâo. These it may be convenient to consider separately.

The Srivâstavya or Sribâstab Kâyasths.

7. These are said to be descended from Bhânu, the son of Chitragupta. He is said to have emigrated to Kashmîr, where he became Râja of Srinagar, and thence obtained his name. On him was conferred the title of Râja-adhirâja by Chandragupta, the Râja of Magadha. By another account the name is derived from Srivatsa, "the favourite of the goddess of fortune," an epithet of Vishnu, whom they are said principally to worship. But there can be little doubt that the name is really territorial and derived from the ancient town of Srâvasti, now Sahet-Mahet, in the Gonda District. They, like the Gaur Kâyasths, have two sections Khara and Dûsra—which are also endogamous. About the explanation of these names opinions differ. Khara possibly represents the Sanskrit *sata* in the sense of "right" or "excellent"; while Dûsra implies an inferior grade. By one story those were named Khara who took up their residence at Ajudhya during the time of Râmchandra; while those who went and lived elsewhere were called Dûsra or "second rate." By an extraordinary feat of folk etymology some of the Oudh Kâyasths say that the twelve sub-castes married each the daughter of a deity (*deota*). On this the Râkshasas determined not to be outdone, and persuaded each of them to take a Râkshasa bride as well. The descendants of the deity became known as Deosra or Dûsra, and those of the demons Khara, which is supposed to be derived from Râkshasa.[1] A third story brings the date of the division down to the time of Akbar. At the Baqar 'Id he, as was the custom of his Court, ordered the flesh of the sacrificed goats to be distributed among his courtiers. Those who accepted the favour were known as Khara or "high-class"; those

[1] *Partâbgarh Settlement Report*, 61, *sq.*

who refused were called Dûsra or "second rate." One of them refused the gift with contumely, and was called Akhori, which is said to mean "one whose faith remained intact." By another story this word, which is the name of one of the Bengal sections, means "one who would not eat" the forbidden food. According to Mr. Sherring,[1] two other clans of this sub-caste, the Niplê Shabân and the Buddhi Shabân, are to be found in the Allahâbâd and Fatehpur Districts. The Sribâstab is by far the most numerous sub-caste of the Kâyasths of these Provinces.

The Bhatnâgar Kâyasths.

8. The Bhatnâgar sub-caste is supposed to be descended from Chitra, the son of Chitragupta. They are said to derive their name from their residence on the banks of the Bhat river, or at the old town of Bhatner, the fort of which is of some historical interest, having been at various times captured by Mahmûd of Ghazni, Taimûr, and Kamrân, the son of Humayun. Among them are two endogamous sections—Bhatnâgar Vaisya or Qadîm, the "real" or "ancient" Bhatnâgars, and the Gaur Bhatnâgari, who are, as will be seen in the account of that sub-caste, connected with the Gaur.

The Saksena Kâyasths.

9. According to the tribal tradition, the word Saksena is a corruption of the Sanskrit *Sakhi-sena* in the sense of "friend of the army," and was a title given to them by the Srivastâvya Râjas of Srinagar on account of their skill in war. But there can be no doubt that the name is really a territorial title derived from the old town of Sankisa in the Farrukhâbâd District. They have three endogamous sections—Khara and Dûsra, which agree with those of the Sribâstav sub-caste, and Kharua, which is said to mean "pure," and was conferred as a recognition of his honesty on one of their ancestors who was Treasurer to Kusa, one of the twin sons of Râma and Sîta. The name of this worthy is said to have been Sûrya Chandra or Soma Datta. By another story the Dûsra section took its name from the fact that they went with Humayun, the father of the Emperor Akbar, when he had to take refuge in Irân after his defeat by Shîr Shâh. They remained some sixteen years in exile with that monarch, and when they returned the "real" or Khara Saksena sub-caste refused to eat *kachchi* with them. It may be conjectured that the terms Khara and Dûsra really imply some

[1] *Hindu Tribes*, I., 300.

actual distinction of social rank and that the fission of the sub-caste into these two sections was the result of some internal quarrel about eating or some other social observance. The traditional ancestor of the Saksena sub-caste is Matimân, the son of Chitragupta.

The Amisht or Ambastha Kâyasths.

10. The Amisht or Anvasta or Ambastha sub-caste are by tradition the descendants of Hanumân, son of Chitragupta. They are said to have settled at the Girnâr Hill and to have taken their name from their worship of the goddess Ambaji or Amba Devi. There seems, however, to be some reason to suspect that they may be the representatives of the Ambastha race, the Ambastae of Arrian, who are traditionally descended from a Brâhman and a woman of the Vaisya tribe, and were noted for their skill in medicine. It may be noted that the practice of surgery is an occupation of some Kâyasths. At the town of Nagrâm, in the Lucknow District, there is a colony of Kâyasths, known as Kohhal, who are oculists and are held in great local repute. None of the Amisht sub-caste appear to be found in these Provinces; they are chiefly resident in Bengal.

The Ashthâna Kâyasths.

11. The Aithâna sub-caste are traditionally the descendants of Visvabhânu, son of Chitragupta. The legendary explanation of the name is that their ancestor once presented to Râja Banâr of Benares eight (*astha*) kinds of pearls—those of the snake, of the shell, of the bamboo, of the conch-shell, of the hog, of the elephant, and one that fell down with the rain from heaven. They have two endogamous sections which do not eat together—the Pûrabi or Mashriqi, "Eastern," who are found in Jaunpur and its neighbourhood, and the Maghribi or Pachhami, "Western," which are found in and about Lucknow.

The Vâlmîki Kâyasths.

12. The Vâlmîki or Bâlmîk sub-caste are said to be descended from Vibhânu or Vrijbhânu, the son of Chandragupta, who is said to have gained the name of Vâlmîki from his austerities. The name is supposed to be derived from the fact that he was so intensely devoted to meditation on God that he allowed the ants to form an ant-hill (*vâlmîka*) over him. They do not appear to have any legend connecting them with the famous Vâlmîki, the author of the Râmâyana. They have three endogamous sections—Mambâi, those of Bombay; Kachchhi those of Kachchh or Cutch; and Sorathi, those of Surat or Saurâshtra. They are not recorded at the recent Census in these Provinces.

The Mâthur Kâyasths.

13. The Mâthur sub-caste are said to be descended from Châru, son of Chitragupta. They take their name from their settlement at Mathura. According to one account they have three endogamous sections—Dihlawi, "those from Delhi"; Kachchhi, from Kachchh or Cutch; and the Lachauli of Jodhpur. By another account the Lachauli or Jodhpur sect is called Panchauli, from a king of that country named Pancha.

The Sûryadhwaja Kâyasths.

14. The title of the Sûrajdhwaj or Sûryadhwaja Kâyasths means "one having the sun for his emblem." By their own story, they call themselves the descendants of Vibhânu, son of Chitragupta. The title of Sûryadhwaja is said to have been conferred on him by Râja Sura Sena of the race of Ikshwâku, because he helped him in performing a sacrifice. There is a more scandalous derivation of the name and origin of this sub-caste which is particularly irritating to Kâyasths and need not be repeated. They profess excessive purity and call themselves Sakadwîpi or Scythian Brâhmans.

The Kulasreshta Kâyasths.

15. The Kulsreshta or Kulasreshta (Sanskrit *kulasreshtin*, "well-born") claim to be descended from Jitindriya or Atindriya, the son of Chitragupta. The legend runs that he was the most amiable of all the sons of Chitragupta, and every year used to invite his brothers and, after drinking the water in which he washed their feet, to entertain them. This devotion to his brethren was counted unto him as righteousness. When his allotted space of life had passed, a messenger from Yamapuri came to him and said, "If you do not care to go to Heaven just now, some other arrangements will be made for you by your father Chitragupta." He replied that he preferred to go to Heaven at once, so a heavenly chariot (*rimdna*) came down for him and carried him first to the Agniloka Heaven, where he saw his father Chitragupta, who was pleased to see him, and, mounting on the same chariot, took him round all the Heavens. At last, when they reached Prajapati Loka, another chariot met them and carried them to Brahma Loka, where he was received into eternal happiness. Hence the honourable title conferred on his descendants. The Kulsreshta Kâyasths are divided into two endogamous sections, Bârah Khera, or "the twelve ancient village sites," and Chha Khera, or "the six sites." These do not eat *kachchi* together.

16. The Karan is a purely Bengal sub-caste. The name is applied to the indigenous writer class of Orissa, of whom a full account is given by Mr. Risley. The word, of course, is the Sanskrit *karana* (root *kri*, "to do"); but traditionally they take their name from some place named Karnâli on the Narbada. They have two endogamous sections—the Gayawâla or "those of Gaya," and the Tirhûtiya or Tirhûtwâl, who are residents of Tirhût.

The Karan Kâyasths.

17. The Gaur Kâyasths claim to derive their name from Gaur or Gauda, the old capital of Bengal, and say that the Sena dynasty was furnished from their sub-caste. Their primal ancestor, Bhâga Datta, is said to have fought in the war of the Mahâbhârata on the side of Duryodhana against Yudhishthira. Another famous king among them was Râja Lâla Sena. Among Kâyasths it is the custom at marriages for women to make an image of lamp-black, which they call Kâl Sen, and worship it with the family deity. According to one account this Kâl Sen really represents the famous Râja Lâl Sen. The last of the dynasty is called by them Râja Lakhmaniya, and to him the Brâhmans announced that a Turk or Musalmân, whose hands were long enough to touch his feet, would wrest the Kingdom of Bengal from him. At last Bakhtiyâr Khilji was found able to perform this feat, and he deposed the Gaur Kâyasth dynasty. After the conquest the Gaur Kâyasths learnt that some persons of the Bhatnâgar sub-caste were in the Muhammadan service, and the two bodies began to amalgamate, and some of the Gaur Kâyasths also took service with the foreigner. Finally, they adopted from the Bhatnâgars the Bâm Mârgi or left-hand worship and the veneration for Bhairava Chakra, and began to eat with them. So the Bhatnâgars invited the Gaurs to eat *kachchi* with them, and though there was no intermarriage between the two claps, the Bhatnâgars came and ate *kachchi* at the houses of the Gaurs; but when the Bhatnâgars invited the Gaurs to pay them the same compliment they refused. At this the Bhatnâgars took extreme offence, and when some of the Gaurs, who were friendly to them, did eat *kachchi* with them, their more scrupulous brethren excommunicated them. At that time Nasîruddîn was Emperor of Delhi, and he had both Gaur and Bhatnâgar Kâyasths in his service. When the Delhi branch of the Bhatnâgars heard of these events they determined to excom-

The Gauda or Gaur Kâyasths.

municate their Eastern brethren unless the Gaurs would agree to eat *kachchi* with them, and pressure was brought to bear by the Muhammadan Emperor to secure this object. In the end some Gaurs did eat with the Bhatnâgars, and were hence called Gaur Bhatnâgari ; while other more scrupulous Gaurs fled from Delhi in preference to eating with the Bhatnâgars. One of them was a woman far gone in pregnancy. She took refuge in the house of a Brâhman, and when her son was born and grew up the Brâhman married his daughter to him. The remaining Gaurs went to Budâun and settled there. Hearing of this, the Delhi Bhatnâgars again complained to the Emperor and he sent officers to bring the Budâun Gaurs and force them to eat with the Bhatnâgars. They implored the help of their Brâhman friends, and, in order to protect them, the Brâhmans invested them with the Brâhmanical cord, and when they were asked said that these Kâyasths were their brethren. The royal officers were not satisfied with this statement and forced the Brâhmans to eat with these Gaur Kâyasths on the same cooking-place (*chauka*). On this, to the great disgust of the Bhatnâgars, the Emperor dismissed their complaint, and in their anger the Bhatnâgars excommunicated their brethren ; and thus there came to be two classes of Bhatnâgars—the Khâs or "real" Bhatnâgars, who had held no communion with the Gaurs, and the Gaur Bhatnâgars, who had eaten with them. And for the same reason there came to be four sections of the Gaurs—*first*, the real Gaurs, who held offices on the Bengal frontier, such as at Nizâmâbâd, Jaunpur, and other places ; *secondly*, those who had eaten *kachchi* with the Bhatnâgars ; *thirdly*, those who were admitted into communion by the Budâun Brâhmans ; and *fourthly*, those who had admitted to caste rights the woman whose son was born in the Brâhman's house.

18. Then followed sundry internal quarrels, which appear not to be quite settled up to the present day. It is said that the third class of Gaurs above mentioned settled at Nizâmâbâd ; with these the members of the third class would hold no connection, and appointed the Budâun Brâhmans to be their family priests. The Gaurs of the second class requested these Brâhmans to arrange to get them admitted to equal rights with their clients. This request was so far agreed to that they were admitted to communion ; but the Gaurs of the fourth class refused to give them their daughters in marriage. After a time this difference is said to have

disappeared. Hearing of this the Gaurs of the first class, who were dispersed in various places cut off connection with those of Nizâmâbâd from those of the second class. But in time this quarrel was settled, and they are said now all to intermarry. But even now it would seem that occasional attempts are made to revive this old tribal quarrel. The sections above described are now known as Khara, Dûsra, Bangâla, Delhi Shimâli, and Budâuni.

19. It has seemed worth while to give what may be considered a prolix account of a petty caste disagreement. But the story is interesting from two points of view. In the first place, it illustrates the manner in which these tribal sections are being developed. It is on the basis of some insignificant disagreement about ceremonial, such as eating and drinking, etc., that so many of these endogamous groups are now developed and after a time recombine. The system of caste is, in fact, so far from being in a stable condition, that it is in a state of perpetual flux; and we may conjecture that it was from causes such as these in the remote past, of which we have no trustworthy records, that the endogamous groups, which we now call castes, were largely developed. *Secondly*, it is curious to consider the attitude which the Muhammadan Government adopted in dealing with a caste quarrel like this. Now-a-days we can hardly conceive the Government putting pressure on one body of people to admit another set to caste privileges; but this was not so in the olden time, and the influence of the ruling power in moulding the system of caste is a factor which cannot be ignored.

Marriage.

20. In the matter of intermarriage the Kâyasths follow the standard rule of exogamy based on the text of Yajnavalkya as expounded by the author of the Mitakshara, which bars marriage between *sapindas*, that is, who are within five degrees of affinity on the side of the mother and seven degrees on the side of the father. Among the sub-castes which still maintain the organisation of local groups or sections (*al*) marriage cannot take place between persons belonging to the same *al*; nor can a man marry a woman belonging to the *al* of his maternal grandfather or great-grandfather. A man cannot take two sisters to wife at the same time; but he may marry the younger sister of his deceased wife. Mr. Risley gives some examples of outsiders being admitted among the Kâyasths of Bengal; but such a custom is forbidden among the Kâyasths of these Provinces. Of

course if a member of the caste be expelled for misconduct and subsequently perform the expiatory ceremony (*prayâs-chitta*) he can be restored to caste rights. Adult marriage is the rule, and infant marriage the exception, among most of the Kâyasths. Sexual license before marriage is neither recognised nor tolerated, and the parents and other members of a girl thus offending would be promptly excommunicated. Polyandry is utterly prohibited, and polygamy, though allowed, is rarely resorted to unless the first wife be barren, in which case the stringent necessity of begetting male issue makes a second marriage permissible. Re-marriage of widows is absolutely prohibited, and should a widow be found unchaste, she and her relations are promptly put out of caste. There is no legalised divorce; but if a wife commit adultery, she is at once put out of caste, and she cannot eat or associate with any member of the community. Such women cannot, as a matter of course, marry again.

Marriage ceremony.

21. Kâyasths follow the highest form of the eight kinds of marriage recognised by Manu in his Institutes—that known as Brahma. The ceremony is performed according to the rules laid down in the Sanskrit treatise known as the Vivâha Paddhati, with Vedic formulas (*mantra*), as in the case of Brâhmans and the other twice-born classes. The essential and binding portions of the ceremony are the *kanyâdâna* or giving away of the girl by her father, the *panigrahana* or taking of the bride's hand by the bridegroom, *saptapadi* or seven-fold circumambulation of the sacred fire by the pair, and the *sindûrdâna* or application of red powder by the bridegroom to the parting of the hair of the bride. As a rule, too, every Kâyasth bridegroom must be invested with the sacred thread before, or at the time of, marriage.

22. The following account of a rural Kâyasth marriage in Oudh was prepared by a native correspondent for Mr. J. C. Nesfield, and may be quoted here. When a son or daughter is twelve years of age the father and other relations begin to make arrangements for their marriage. The father of the girl, or her brother, accompanied by a Pandit and a barber, go in search of a girl. They try, if possible, to secure a girl of higher rank and station than their own. When they have fixed upon a boy they call for his horoscope (*kundali*), and compare it with that of the girl, and consult a Pandit on the subject. This is known as *ganna*

ceremony. If the horoscopes agree, negotiations as to the amount of the dowry proceed, and when this is settled, a day for the *barraksha*, or betrothal, is selected. On that day the father or brother of the girl with the Pandit and barber repair to the house of the boy, and make over to the boy a Brâhmanical cord and some money in proportion to the amount of the dowry which has been agreed on. Then the barber or Kahâr of the boy's family prepares some *sharbat*, which is given to the relatives, priest, and barber of the bride. After this they are entertained with tobacco, betel, and cardamoms. On this a day is fixed for the regular betrothal (*tilak*) and for the wedding. If the girl's home is near, her friends return at once; if not, they stay for the night. When they are leaving, the bridegroom's father gives the priest and barber of the girl a present, which is known as *bidâi*. When they return, the girl's father also consults a Pandit, to ascertain if the day fixed for the betrothal and marriage is auspicious. If the report of the Pandit is favourable, this date is finally fixed; if not, it is changed and a fresh date selected which will satisfy the Pandits on both sides.

23. It sometimes happens that the *tilak* and marriage do not come off for six months or a year from the date of the preliminary betrothal; and should either party be unable from any cause to make the necessary arrangements, it is again postponed. Up to this stage the engagement may be broken if either party be found to be affected with any physical defect such as blindness, dumbness, leprosy, or the like, or if, on further examination, any disagreement be found to exist in the horoscopes. The girl's father announces the day on which the *tilak* will be sent. At this time half the dowry arranged on is sent to the father of the boy. Half is given in cash and half in vessels and clothes, which usually consist of one large dish (*thâra*) of alloy (*phûl*) or silver, one turban, one bale of muslin or other embroidered cloth, four pieces of other cloth (*nainsukh*, *tanseb*), one or five cocoanuts, some sandal wood, one handful of turmeric, seven betel-nuts covered with silver foil, two-and-a-half *panseris* or twelve-and-a-half sers of rice coloured with turmeric, some *dûb* grass, one or two annas worth of pice. Others, who can afford it, give richer gifts—horses, elephants, and the like. These things are collected by the father of the bride, and on the appointed day he invites his brethren, who are seated on a carpet and served with cardamoms; while the ladies are taken to the inner apartment and entertained in the same

way. Then on a platform (*chabú'ra*) in the court-yard, which has been freshly plastered with cow-dung, the bride is seated and five women, whose husbands are alive, place the gifts on a large tray and lay them in her hands. This is then taken up by the Pandit and laid before the assembled brethren, while he recites auspicious verses. When the brethren approve of the gifts, the father of the girl, his priest, barber and Kahâr get ready to proceed to the house of the boy. Meanwhile the assembled women sing the following song:—

Pahilawa sagunwan dahi wa machhariya; he dulhé upran das pán;

Sugun bhal páyon.

Háthi charan dulhé háthi charhi ján susurár;

Sagun bhal páyon.

Hansi hansi puchhai dulhin dei dulhé kekari je banjhiya kokhi janmen?

Sagnu bhal páyon.

Maiya to hamri Kausalya dei, uuahi ke je banjhiya kokhi janmen.

Sugun bhal páyon.

"The first good omen is the curds and fish and the ten packets of betel on the bridegroom. I have got a good omen.

"O bridegroom! mount on an elephant and ride to the house of thy father-in-law. I have got a good omen.

"The bride laughing asks, 'From what barren mother wast thou born?' I have got a good omen.

"The boy answers—'My mother was Kausalya (mother of Râma). From her barren womb was I born.' I have got a good omen."

24. When the party of the bride reaches the house of the bridegroom, his barber washes their feet, first washing those of the priest. Then he serves round pipes, *sharbat*, cardamoms and betel. Meanwhile the boy's father has invited his brethren and friends. Betel and pipes are passed round and the girl's Pandit opens the presents before the company. Either on this day, or when the anointing begins, the *tilak* ceremony is performed. This is done as follows:—A platform is made in the court-yard and fresh plastered with cow-dung. On this is placed a wooden seat (*pírha*) and under it some barley. On the seat the Pandit makes a holy square (*chauk*) with flour, and places a pitcher on the platform, near which is erected an image of Gauri made of cow-dung.

The pitcher represents Ganesa Deota. To the south-west of the pitcher the Pandit makes a representation of the nine planets (*nava-graha*). The boy is seated on the stool, and the Pandit makes him worship Gauri and Ganesa, and the nine planets. This done, the Pandit puts the dish containing the presents in the hands of the girl's brother, and he presents them to the bridegroom, while the Pandit recites appropriate verses. The boy takes the tray into the oratory (*deoghar*) sacred to the family god (*kula-devata*), and as he walks on, a woman pours a little water on the ground before him. This is known as *arghaddna*. Money is distributed among the Brâhmans present and their wives, and the assembled women sing the following song:—

Sura gâê kê gobar main angna lipâya wa gajmoti chauk purâya-waré, lalanwân.

Gajmoti chauk purâi ka subaran kalas dharâyi kê mânik diyana jalâuré, lalanwân.

Mânik jalâike chandan pîrha dharâywaré, lalanwân.

Âdhê pirhwa par baithê Rôja Dasarath ke putwa, âdhê Janak ki dhiya ré, lalanwân.

Achhat dûb lâikê dharé wa charan par Sîya dekhi muskân.

Syâm baran unki manhin na bhâwai Râm chuman kaisê jâb wali.

Chuman charan sarûp Râm Hariwâlé.

Bâyen bar Râm, dahinê ang Sîta, bîch thaiyân Dhanrahar gir.

Âsan mâr Mahâdeva baithi dhyân lagâiale.

Chuman charan sarûp Râm Hariwâlé.

Ek sakhi uthi bolan lagi, "Sun sakhi bât hamâr."

Wai triya alankit uhai, hamdhan kul unjiyâr.

Chuman charan sarûp Râm Hariwâlé.

"I plastered the court-yard with the dung of the sacred cow Surabhi. I made a square of large pearls.

"Making a square of large pearls, I placed in it a golden pitcher full of water.

"Placing the golden pitcher, I lighted the lamps of gems.

"Near it I placed the stool of sandal-wood.

"On half of it sits the son of Dasaratha, on the other half the daughter of Janaka.

"When we placed holy rice and sacred grass at their feet, Sîta smiled.

"The swarthy face pleaseth me not. How can I go and kiss him?

"Kiss the feet of Râma, who is personified as Krishna.

"Râma sits on the right and Sîta on the left, and betwixt them is Mount Dhawalagiri.

"There Mahâdeva sits and the ascetics absorbed in devotion.

"Kiss the feet of Râma, who is personified as Krishna.

"One maiden gets up and says—'Other women may be blamed, but I am the light of this blessed family.'

"Kiss the feet of Râma personified as Krishna."

25. The woman who pours water before the boy as he goes into the oratory sings as follows:—

Ari ari Saguni, ari ari Saguni, sagunwa lai dwa
Tuharé sagunwa ré tuharé sagunwa saguni hoya byâh
Moré ké angana, moré ke angan chandan guchha rukhwa, tehi tar
Rája Dasarath ke putwa sâjai bârât.
Dekhab re máiya, dekhab re mâi bâba mor beohâr.
Bakiyân le jhijhikoré chhinari ka putwa, túla motin ka hâr.

"Come, goddess of good luck, come! It is by thy omens that the wedding will be completed.

"In my court-yard, in my court-yard the son of Raja Dasaratha arranges the procession.

"O mother! mother! see my arrangements.

"The son of the rake shook my arm and my necklace of pearls was broken."

26. Meanwhile the guests are entertained by the singing of a nautch girl and dinner is served. The second or third day those who have brought the *tilak* return home, and the priest and barber are suitably fed. Then they sing as follows:—

Suno, suno, Râm Chandra gâri.
Sâri sarit atlas ka lahnga, úpar naurang sâri.
Bânh bijâyath, jaushan sohai úpar tariwan sâri.
Itna pahini jab nikarin Kausalya chhindari râur mahtâri,
Upra sé uparhi ta bolai "Charhi âo hamâri atâri."
Suno, suno, Râm Chandra gâri.
Sama Lâla ki dulhin aisi bani jaisi Kanchanpur kaminiya;
hân, hân, Kanchanpur ki kaminiya.
Unké mângé ka sendur aiso bana jaisé Bhâdon birbahuliya.

Unké máthe ké bendi aisi bani jaisé Bhádon keri bijaliya.
Unké nain ka kájar aiso bano jaisé Sáwan ki ghata ghoriya.
Unké dánton ki missi aisi bani jaisé Sáwan lanké bijuliya.
Unké angé ka jobanwa, aiso banyo jaisé anba lagé tikorwa.
Unki náhi ka gathiya aisi bani jaisé nebua galgalwa, hán, hán paké nibu galgalwa.
Samadhi ke bahini ka joban aiso bann, jaisi jhamra par ka taroin.
Rája mohé, bábu mohé aur Mughal Pathán.
Ghora daurávat Phiringi mohé, jinki dhiri beniyán.
Muskini samadhi Lála tuhanka buláwen Dîwánji Dîwán salámat;
Kaun uhai taksír ji?
Uhai samadhin aparbal sowai Julahwa ke tírji.
Hansi hansi sej bichhai, kekar sé beniya doláwai ji;
Jab olrai lági samudhin chhindariya Julahwa ke dwai juri tab ji.
Jab karwat mángai, karwat mángai Julahwa jála risiyái ji.
Lauti re Julahwa, lauti re Julahwa, jatiya sé kikesi aját ji;
Hansi hansi puchhai Julahwa sé "Rám kaun uddam kai ke khaib ji.
Teri nariya ré bharangin, teri nariya ré bharangin, dholiya binanri chauthán ji.
Chauthánė ki dhoti ré au malmal ka thán ji.
Pahiro tu samadhi Lála pahiro tu samadhi Lála, apni joiya ka prasád ji.

"O Râma! Listen to their jeers. The lady's sheet flows like a river. Her petticoat is of satin. Over it is a new robe. On her arm shines the band and armlet. Over her head is a fine sheet. When the coquettish mother of Râma comes out thus attired they call from the balcony, 'Come to my upper chamber.' O Râma listen to their jeers.

"The wife of the father-in-law is so decorated that she looks like a woman of the City of Gold. The parting of her hair is red as the lady-bird insect of Bhâdon. Her forehead spangles look like the lightning; the lamp-black on her eyes looks like the dark clouds in the month of Bhâdon; the black on her teeth is like the lightning in Sâwan; her breasts are like the swelling mangoes; her waist-knot is like the lime; her bosom is like the cucumber. The Râja, the Bâbu, the Mughal, and the Pathân are bewitched by her beauty; so are the Europeans who speak sweetly.

"O father-in-law, smile; Dîwânji (the bridegroom) is calling you. I salute you, Dîwânji. What fault have I committed? The

mother-in-law loves the weaver. She smiles, spreads the couch, and fans him. As she was falling asleep the weaver was attacked with fever. When she wanted him to turn round he was wroth.

"Come back, weaver! Through thee I have lost my caste. How am I to live? I will fill thy shuttle and weave a cloth four pieces long. It will be of muslin, and the father-in-law will wear it round his loins as an offering from his spouse."

27. Meanwhile the fathers on both sides begin making preparations for the marriage. The bride's father collects grain and other supplies, and the father of the bridegroom gives earnest money (*sai*) to musicians and dancers, to the Mâli for the wedding crown (*maur*), to the Kahâr bearers, to the Bânsphor for a basket (*dál*), to the Lohâr for the wedding bracelet (*kangan*), to the potter for vessels, to the Sunâr for the ear-ring (*bála*), and cloths and jewelry for the wedding gift (*dál*) are also prepared. Invitations are issued in the form of a letter written on paper dyed with turmeric (*pîli chitthi*), and are sent with a betel-nut by a Nâi or Bâri.

28. Next comes the Pachhorna ceremony. The women of the neighbourhood are invited by a woman of the Nâi or Bâri caste. When they arrive, the parting of their hair is marked with red-lead and oil, and some *urad* pulse is given to them, which they clean (*pachhorna*) in a winnowing fan. As they do this they sing as follows:—

Moré angawa chandan gachha rukh, tehi tar sugwa sagun liyé thárh;

Pahil sagunwa ré suga—Ahîr ghar jáé; dahi ka dahenriya mandawa dhái dei;

Dusaré sagunwa ré suga—Pandit gharé jáé, subh ka lagana mandawa dhái dei;

Tisaré sagunwa suga—Konharwa gharé jáé, subh ka kalaswa mandawa dhái dei;

Chauthá sagunwa suga—Kunderé gharé jáé, subh ka sindhurwa mandawa dhái dei;

Páuchwán sagunwa suga—Bajajwa gharé jáé, subh ka chundariya mandawa dhái dei;

Chhathwán sagunwa suga—Chúriharwa gharé jáé, subh ka jorwa mandawa dhái dei.

Banai ai badari barasai lagi menh,
Bhijan lágé dulhá dulhin jural saneh.

Dulha jo puchhai dulhin sé "Ek bát chalo, ham tum rachin dhamár."

"Kaisé main châhun dulhé? Beilwa juri chhánh.
Baba ké angna ré prabhu sajan sab thárh."

"Kekaré gumanwa ré dhaniya birwa na khán; Kekaré gumanwa dhaniya utara na dewa?

Bába ka gumanwa ré dhaniya dina dúi chár;
Hamré ré gumanwa dhaniya janam siraya."

"In my court-yard is a sandal tree on which sits a parrot bearing good omens.

"First, the parrot goes to the Ahîr and brings his curd vessel, which is placed as a good omen in the marriage shed.

"Secondly, he goes to the Pandit and brings the news of the lucky time, which is a good omen.

"Thirdly, he goes to the potter and places the lucky pitcher in the shed, which is a good omen.

"Fourthly, he goes to the carpenter and brings the lucky red-lead box and places it in the shed, which is a good omen.

"Fifthly, he goes to the cloth merchant and brings the coloured sheet to the shed, which is a good omen.

"Sixthly, he goes to the bangle maker and brings the lucky bangles and places them in the marriage shed.

"The clouds collect, the rain begins to fall. The bride and bride-groom begin to get wet and are joined in love.

"Says the bride—'Come, let us go together and make a bower.' 'How can I go under the cold shade of the Bela flower?' 'In the court-yard of our grandfather the worthy elders are assembled.'

"'In whom dost thou trust that thou wilt not take the coriander?'

"'My master, I cannot answer for fear of my brother.'

"'You may trust in your grandfather for two or three days. After that you must trust in me all your life long.'"

The women who perform this ceremony are given each two-and-a-half sers of *urad* pulse.

29. Next comes the *matchhua* rite, which is done in the evening. All the women collect, and the barber's wife puts some grain in a sieve with five roots of turmeric, two betel-nuts, and a lighted lamp. All the women, headed by the barber's wife, holding the sieve, go to a tank to the east, north, or west of the village.

Before they start, the head woman of the family puts oil and red-lead in the parting of their hair. They take a large basketful of rice and pulse (*khichari*) to the tank, and sing the following song:—

Mewari wâri saguni âj banê.

Angna lipai rakhen ho. Mewari wâri saguni âj banê.
Chauki purâi rakhen ho. Mewari wâri saguni âj banê.
Kalsa dharai rakhen ho. Mewari wâri saguni âj banê.
Pîrhwa dharai rakhen ho. Mewari wâri saguni âj banê.
Dulhin baithê rakhen ho. Mewari wâri saguni âj banê.

"The maidens give a good omen. Have the court-yard plastered. Have the holy square made. Have the sacred pitcher placed. Have the wooden stool arranged. Get the bride seated. The maidens give a good omen."

30. When they reach the tank the oldest woman of the family, wearing a yellow garment, plasters a piece of ground, and in it she places some turmeric and red-lead, and fixes an arrow within it. She also places five roots of turmeric, two betel-nuts, and five handsful of earth, with the winnowing fan containing the articles which they have brought with them. She burns some incense and lights a lamp. While this is being done a song which cannot be printed is sung. The food is distributed, and as they come home they sing:—

Thârhi pukârai mero yâr; Mohna terê jin dard na âwai.
Mohana kiti rupaiya teri châkari aur kitê takê tera ros?
Thârhi pukârai, etc.
Mohana sau sau rupaiya meri châkari; lâkh taka mera ros.
Thârhi pukârai, etc.
Mohana chhor Phirangiya ki châkari; Mohana chhor Paturiya kenâth.
Thârhi pukârai, etc.
Dântan ke batisiya Mohana chhoro Mahobê ka pân.
Thârhi pukârai, etc.

"My dear, I stand and implore you, but your heart feels no pity for me. O Mohan! how much is your pay and how much do you get daily?" "I get a hundred rupees a month and a lakh of pice a day." "O Mohan! give up the service of the European and the company of the dancing-girls. O Mohan! give up the betel of Mahoba which colours your thirty-two teeth. O friend! I stand and implore you."

31. When they return home, an unmarried girl, who brings a little earth from the tank, has a brass drinking vessel (*lotâ*) full of

water and a pestle moved round her head. A rice mortar is then placed on a plastered platform in the court-yard, and seven women whose husbands are alive pound rice in the mortar. While doing this they sing songs unfit for publication. Sometimes instead of rice *masúr* pulse is pounded, and the ceremony is known as *masúr chhátna*. In connection with this is the rite known as *rora darna*, when seven women, as before, crush *urad* pulse in the family mill (*chakki*) The songs sung on this occasion are of the same description.

32. Then, according to which house the rite applies, the bride or bridegroom, as the case may be, is seated on a stool in the house, and seven women whose husbands are alive rub him or her with barley flour mixed with oil and turmeric. A song is also sung on this occasion, and when the rice and pulse has been distributed among them, the women sing the evening (*sandhya*) song, which is as follows :—

Khair supariya besahi mangáib debé Rája Dasarath hátth,
Ápan ápan dal sajé jé áwai bhal bidhi sájé bárát.
Dhauté Nana ré dhaute, Báriya dháya ken khabar janáu ;
Ketik dal lawen Rája Dasarath sut jin dekhi rindhon main bhát.
Ek lákh háthi, dúi lákh ghora, tín lákh áyé sukhpál.
Majhki palkiya Kája Dasarath sut áyé chaunr dhurai chárin pánw ;
Kahanwán bájai damru sahnaiya, kahanwán sankh bisankh ?
Kahwán ke Rája put biáhan áwen ? Kahanwán uthai jhankár ?
Awadh ke Rája put biáhan áwen, Janak uthain jhankár.
Jai bárát mandwé tar utari, tasu no parchhai dámád.
Kachhu parchhai, kachhu badan nihárai kála bhanwar ré dámád.
Chummon main haradi, chummon ré lochan, chummon main bar ka lilár.
Súraj ki joti sé adhik nain sundar sánwalé baran Sri Rám.
Bhayal byáh charhal sir sendur nau lákh daij thor.
Purba ka dandiya pachhu uhai bába maiya ka dharai lagé dusu.
Bhaiji ka jiyara anand bhai bába nanad chalen sasurár.
Jauné bát dhiya mori jaihen pipara ka pát khahrái.
Koili sabad dhiya roati jaihen chhatya bihri mori jáy.
Bát ka batohiya ghar kahab sandeswa maiya se kahab arthái.
Majhi usariya mori gadiya bisari ge mori maiya dharihái uthái.

"'I bought catechu and betel and handed them to Rája Dasarath. They have adorned their followers and the wedding

party. O barber and Bâri! run and see how many men have come, and inform me, so that I may cook rice for them.' 'One lâkh elephants, two lâkhs of horses, and three lâkhs of palanquins have come.' In the middle palanquin is Râja Dasarath's son, over whom fans are being waved. Where is the drum being beaten and the trumpet and conch shell blown? What Râja has come to be married, and where does the music sound? The King of Oudh has come to be married. The music is in Mathura and the city of Janak. The procession reaches the house, and the door rite is being performed. Diamonds, rubies, gems, and garlands are presented. The procession comes under the marriage shed, and the mother of the bride moves a water vessel and a pestle over the head of her son-in-law. As she does the wave ceremony, she looks at the bridegroom, who is black as the large black bee. I kiss turmeric; I kiss the eyes and forehead of the bridegroom. Râma is as bright as the sun, black coloured though he be. The marriage is over, the parting of the bride's hair has been marked with vermilion. Nine lâkhs are her dowry. When the pole of the litter is turned, the mother weeps. The sister-in-law is pleased that her husband's sister is going to the house of her lover. The mother says—'The leaves rustle on the road as my daughter passes by. My daughter mourns as she goes like the cuckoo, and at this my heart is broken.' As she goes along, my daughter says to those she meets on the road—'Go tell my mother that I have forgotten my dolls in the middle portico, and that she must keep them safe.'"

33. This song is sung daily in the evening till the marriage day. When but two hours remain to dawn, seven women, whose husbands are alive, are called to wash the pounded *urad* pulse. As they wash it, they sing the song which is sung on the occasion of the *tilak*. The earth which has been brought by a virgin from the tank is used to make a fireplace, which is worshipped on the day when the anointing of the bride and bridegroom commences

34. Next comes the wake (*rât jaga*), which is performed on the fourth night before the wedding day. The invitations are sent round by the wife of the barber and the Bâri. Meanwhile cakes are made to the amount of two-and-a-half, five, seven, or ten maunds weight according to the circumstances of the family. Then the oven, which has been constructed of the sacred earth brought from the village tank, is worshipped in this way. It is first smeared with rice soaked in water and turmeric, and then a lamp is put

upon it, with a pice, a piece of turmeric, and some betel-nuts. Then seven women whose husbands are alive smear it with the rice and sing:—

Bhor bhayal bhinsâr chiraiya ek bolai
Jay jagâo kaun Râma jin ghar osari.
Na moré dhenu gâbhin na moré osari.
Kukuru ke sabad bhayal bhinsâr pathai deb kaun Râm âpan dhana,
Au apani main loni dhana dîkhé na deb parchhâi na deb.
Kâné kundal, garé moti mâl;
Kâhé keri tori chulhiya, kahé lagé uchakan?
Kaun charitra tori chulhiya; kaun Râni pûjai?
Sonen kari moré chulhiya, rûpé lage uchakan.
Ratan jaril mor chulhiya, to Jirbal Râni pûjai.

"The morn is about to dawn; go and wake so and so, whose turn it is. 'Neither is my cow in calf, nor is it my turn.' The morning breaks at cock crow. I shall send my son; I shall allow none to see my bridegroom, nor permit any one to do the wave ceremony over him. He has ear-rings in his ears and a string of gems round his neck. Of what is your oven made, and why is it lifted up? What quality does it possess, and what Râni does it worship? 'It is made of gold and it is raised up for its beauty. It is studded with gems and the Râni Jirbal worships it.'"

35. Next comes the *Til pûjna* ceremony, which in some families is done five, and in some two, days before the wedding. At this time the *kohabar*, or wedding symbol, is made either in three or five places in the house. It is usually made at both sides of a special room door, and also within the room itself. That inside the room is made with sixteen lumps (*piriya*) of cow-dung stuck on the wall. On the right side of the door are fixed three and on the left side four lumps of cow-dung. When this is being done, the following song is sung:—

Angna kai kohabar Mahâdeva chitra bichitra, bhîtara kai kohabar
Mahâdeva likhlain banai.
Tehi baithi Mahâdeva dâsali sej.
Jata phailai Mahâdeva sûtain sâri rât;
O tisari sûto Mahâdeva jata lewa sikori.
Hamaré naiharwa kai chundari Mahâdeva dhumil jani koya.
Etna suni Mahâdeva chali risiâya.
Bhîtara kai sejiya Mahâdeva angana le dânsain.

Jau ham kohai Mahádeva sada kai sohágin rimiki jimiki daiwa barsé sáré rát.

Kukuri lagái Mahádeva gorwári; apani gorwariya Gaura sútai kamen dewa.

Apani gorwariya Mahádeva sutani jo deb.

Deswa Mahádeva birahi kai likhwa na deb.

"Mahâdeva makes a wonderful *kohabar* mark in the court-yard, and I shall make it myself in the inner room. Sitting there, Mahâdeva spreads the couch. With his matted hair flowing he sleeps all night. O Mahâdeva! draw up thy matted hair that the garment given by my mother be not stained. Hearing this, Mahâdeva rises angrily. He brings the couch from the inner room and lays it in the court-yard. 'O Mahâdeva! if I am to be all my life married, the rain will fall pitter patter all night long.' Mahâdeva stands bending at the foot of the bed. 'O Gaura! let me sleep at the foot of thy bed.' 'O Mahâdeva! if I allow thee to sleep at the foot of my cot, thou wilt have no thought for those husbands who are away from their wives in the world.'"

The *kohabar* marks are made by the aunt or elder sister of the bride or bridegroom.

36. Next follows the rite of *kalas gothna*, or the smearing of the marriage pitcher. Seven women whose husbands are alive bathe and put on clean clothes. Their hair is oiled, the parting marked with vermilion, and their laps filled with barley. Then they smear a fresh earthen pitcher with cow-dung and stick lumps of the same substance all round it. On these grains of barley are sprinkled, and as they do this they sing:—

Ádhé talwa men Nág chunai, ádhé Nágin chunai, tabhún na talwa suhawan kamal bina.

Ádhé mandwa got baithé, ádhé gotin baithé, tabhún na mandwa suhawan ekré nand bina.

Awahu nand gusáin, mori thakurdin, baitho mánjh usáré, kalas mor gotho.

Jo main baithon, bhanji, jau baithaon, tín baran kai sadhi tintu ham lebai.

Bhaiya ka kásul ghorwa na bhatijwa kai mokar, bhanji, tohari bagar kai tilarwa tiniu ham lebai.

Na morai kásul ghorwa na bhatijwa kai mukur, na morai garkai tilariya morê kachhu nahin.

Gannán ké natén Nauniya nanad mor lagui. Tu baitho mánjh asariya kalas mor gotho.

Angana sé bhaiya bhítar gae, bhauji se mati karai. Deswa nikari ham jábai bahiniya ke káran.

Ao nanad gusáin, mori thakurdin, baith mánjh ásar, kalas mor gotho.

Debon main hásul ghorawa, bhatijwa kai mohar, ápané garé kai tilariya, moré gharé sab kuchh.

"'The snake feeds in half the tank and his mate in the other half. Even then the tank has no beauty without the lotus. In half of the marriage shed sit the tribesmen and in the other half their wives. But even then the pavilion has no beauty without the husband's sister. O husband's sister! mistress of your passions, my mistress, sit in the midst of the pavilion.' 'O wife of my brother! if you ask me to sit here I agree, but three things you must give me—the horse of my brother with the gold chain round its neck, the gold coin my nephew wears, and you must present me with your three-strand gold chain.' 'No horse, nor gold coin, nor three-strand chain have I.' By village relationship the barber's wife is as my husband's sister, sit in the middle and smear the pitcher. The brother goes into the house and consults his wife. I shall quit my native land on account of my sister. O my husband's sister! mistress of passion, my own mistress, sit in the midst and smear the pitcher. 'I will give you the horse with the golden chain, the nephew's gold coin, and the three-strand chain round my neck.'"

37. After this the grandfather or uncle of the bride or bridegroom sits on a platform in the courtyard, which has been plastered with cow-dung, with the corners of their garments tied together. This is done, they bathe and put on clean clothes. They sit facing the east, and the worship of *Tel* is performed as follows: In a dish flowers, holy rice, *dúb* grass, betel, red lead, curds, and sweetmeats are placed. The Pandit makes an altar (*bedi*), and Gauri and Ganesa are worshipped, and after them the Nine Planets (*nawgraha*) to whom the offering is made. Incense is burnt, and a lamp lighted with camphor. The barber then digs a hole in the ground, in which the worshippers fix a harrow (*henga*), and the earth is filled in round it. Then the worshipper makes seven marks on the harrow with powdered rice and oil, and binds a thread (*raksha*) round it and the sacred water pitcher (*kalsa*). Two wisps of grass are tied to the top

of it, and a lamp is lighted on each side. More wisps of grass are tied to the harrow, and on each a lighted lamp is fixed. The harrow is then worshipped, and garlands of flowers are tied round it. This worship is known as *Taran toran*. The offerings in this case are turmeric, washed rice, betel, and flowers. After this a shallow hole is dug on the right side of the house in which the *Kohabar* marks have been made, as already described, and the earth from the hole is laid on seven leaves of the plantain or *sál* tree, which are worshipped with an offering of turmeric, clean rice, flowers, curds, incense, and lamps. The earth is formed into a rude representation of the deities who are worshipped. This is known as *Bastu púja*. After this, they lay some shoots of the mango tree on the plantain and *sál* leaves, and the hole is filled up and plastered over. The mango shoots are allowed to project just over the surface of the ground. To these worship is again done as before, and this is known as *Bansapti púja*, or the worship of the forest goddess.

38. This done, they return to the platform and worship the gods. They go into the *Kohabar* room and do worship to the lumps of cow-dung fixed on the wall. This is known as *Nandádi sapta mátri púja*. Then they put two earthen pots on the fire-place and tie threads (*raksha*) round them. Under them is placed some mango wood, but it is not lighted. They return to the *Kohabar* room, and again worship the sixteen lumps of cow-dung placed on the wall. To them is fixed a piece of new cloth dyed in turmeric. This is known as *Kumár jádi khodas mátri púja*. Next a small earthen vessel is covered with a new cloth dyed in turmeric, and the worshipper mentally repeats the names of his deceased relations up to the seventh generation, and drops a grain of rice at the name of each. The names of both male and female ancestors are repeated, and the hair of each pair of worshippers is tied together and upon it milk and *sharbat* is poured, so as to fall into the vessel into which the rice has been dropped.

39. When this is done, the bride or bridegroom, according to which family is performing the rite, is seated on a wooden stool (*pírha*) on the platform, and under it barley or rice is scattered. Oil and turmeric are sprinkled with a wisp of grass on the images of Gauri and Ganesa, and the Pandit does the same for the bride or bridegroom, as the case may be. After this seven women whose husbands are alive rub oil and turmeric on the body of the bride or bridegroom, and sing a song, kissing the feet, knees, breast,

shoulders and forehead of the bride or bridegroom. Rice, pulse, and cakes are distributed, and songs are sung, and in the evening the friends are entertained.

40. Next the father's sister of the boy or girl is called. Her head is oiled and the parting marked with red-lead. A new earthen pot, to the outside of which lumps of cow-dung are fixed, is placed on the fire-place close to the platform near the harrow, and the sister of the father of the boy or girl parches twenty-five sers of paddy in it, and a song is sung. Flour, turmeric, and water are then mixed up in the same pot, and when it is taken off the fire-place the heads of seven women whose husbands are alive are decorated with oil and red-lead. These women proceed to make an image of Gauri. Thirty-five sers of rice flour are kneaded and mixed with sugar and fruits. Out of this are made the images of a male and female. Sometimes two pair of images are made, and the female image is dressed with women's ornaments and the male with those of a man.

41. After this, at the house of the bride, the rite of *Sohág bándhna* is done. A box is filled with the trinkets, red-lead, etc., used by a woman who is not a widow. These are put in the box by seven women whose husbands are alive. That night, about two hours before dawn, the bride and her female friends take some rice and a red-lead box and go to the house of a Dhobin to ask for *sohág*. She has her head smeared with oil and red-lead near the Dhobi's washing-tub (*nánd*). The Dhobin sits facing the east, and the bride opposite her. The Dhobin covers the bride's head with her sheet, and marks the parting of her hair with red-lead, with the finger of her left hand. Then she rubs her own forehead against that of the bride, and the bride gives her the box of red-lead while a song is sung. Then they go in succession to the houses of seven women whose husbands are alive, and to each of them the bride gives a box of red-lead. They return home just as the day dawns. A number of women who are not widows are invited and fed, and the bride sits before them on a wooden stool on the platform, under which rice is sprinkled. Behind her sits her mother, grandmother or aunt, who covers the bride's head with her sheet. A leaf platter is placed before the bride, and each of the women gives her *sohág* or the symbol of married happiness in this way: Each woman puts in the bride's dish cakes (*púri*), sugar, curds, two pice and a box of red-lead, and covers her head with her sheet. Each woman marks her

own head with red, and the bride does the same seven times, taking the colour from the heads of the married women. While this ceremony goes on the bride and the women fast. Then follows a general feast.

42. Meanwhile, at the house of the boy on the Bhatwân or day but one before the wedding, all the brethren are fed, and those who intend to accompany the procession have uncooked food served out to them. Dancing goes on at the door. On the morning of the wedding day the boy is anointed with turmeric and oil, and part of his head is shaved. Then he is made to stand on a plough yoke (*juâtha*), and the Nâi or Kahâr bathes him. The water thus used is received in an earthen pot, and his body is wiped with a cloth, which is the perquisite of the man who bathed him. A new loin-cloth is put on him, and the old one is given to the Nâi. His father's sister moves over his head mustard and salt to baffle the Evil-eye, and lights a lamp before him. He is then seated on a wooden stool, under which rice is sprinkled on the platform; the Nâi cuts his nails, while the Bâri holds an umbrella over his head. When the nail-cutting is over, the women give a present to the Nâi, who dyes the feet of the boy with lac (*mahâwar*). The tailor then dresses him in his wedding suit, and the Sunâr brings his ornaments. He puts the marriage bracelet (*kangan*) on his wrist. The Pandit marks his forehead with sandal-wood, and his father's sister marks his eyelids with lamp-black. Next the Mâli puts the marriage crown (*maur*) on his head, and all these persons are rewarded by the parents.

43. Next, the husband of the bridegroom's father's sister does the rite known as *Takri pherna*. He holds a thread and walks seven times round the boy. When the circuits are complete, the thread is broken. For this he receives a present. Then he pounds some rice, of which a little is tied in a red cloth round the wrist of the boy with the thread which has already been used in this ceremony. This done, the bridegroom comes out and gets into his palanquin, accompanied by his mother or grandmother. They are all carried round a well which has been duly married and music is played. While he goes round the well, his other female relations sit by turns in the palanquin, and each of them gives four pice to the Kahâr bearers. This ceremony is known as *Dera chapâwan*. Next the mother offers her breast to her son, and as the women return home the procession starts for the house of the bride.

44. That night again the women friends are invited, and a rice mortar is placed on the platform. On this the mother and grandmother sit, and on it is placed a pot full of barley flour and sweetmeats, and a lamp is lighted. A basket is put over all, and finally the food is distributed to seven women whose husbands are alive, and they sit round the pot and drum on it with sticks.

45. The actual marriage rite at the bride's house is of the normal type, and need not be described at length.

46. Kâyasths are Hindus, but belong to various religious sects: some are Saivas, some Sâktas, some Vaishnavas. The first two predominate. Some few are Nânakshâhis, Kabîrpanthis or Achâris, or belong to the Arya Samâj. The fact of their belonging to different sects does not prevent them from associating freely as members of the same brotherhood. A man of the Vaishnava sect may marry a Sâkta woman, provided the rules of exogamy are observed, and after the marriage it will be optional for the woman to give up animal flesh and wine or to continue to use them, even though the husband as a Vaishnava be a vegetarian and total abstainer. Chitragupta, the progenitor of the caste, is worshipped by them daily, in places where a temple in his honour exists. In other places he is worshipped annually on the second day of the bright fortnight of the month Kârttik, which is known as the Yamadvitiya, Chitragupta being one of the fourteen Yamas. He is also worshipped on the second day of the dark fortnight of the month of Chait. The offerings to him consist of fruits, sweetmeats, and money, the last being appropriated by the Pujâri or Brâhman priest in charge of the temple. Worship is also done to the Kula devatas, or family gods, which are different in different families. The other deities worshipped are the same as those of the other higher Hindu castes. The chief among these are Durga, Jayanti, Lakshmi, Shambhari, Mahâdeva, Vishnu, Ganesa, Krishna, Râma, Ganga, Ananta, and Nârâyana. Brâhmans are employed for all religious rites, and are received on an equality with other Brâhmans. They are generally known by the titles of Purohit, Pâdha, Achârya, etc.

Religion.

47. Notwithstanding the jealousy with which they are regarded by their less astute neighbours, the social position of the caste is a high one. Those who do not belong to the Vaishnava sect usually eat meat. Those who are Sâktas drink intoxicating liquor, but it is believed that the more-

Social status and occupation.

ment in favour of total abstinence has in recent years done much to reluce the drunkenness which formerly prevailed to a large extent. Those who are Vaishnavas are, of course, abstainers. The only meat they eat is mutton or goat's flesh, and in matters of food they are strictly orthodox. They cannot eat *kachchi* or *pakki* out of the same dish, or drink out of the same vessel of, or smoke out of the same *huqqa* with, members of any caste but their own. They will use the cocoanut pipe bowl (*nâriyal*) of any Kâyasth, but they cannot smoke out of the mouthpiece (*naicha*) of any one not belonging to their own sub-division. Suratwâla, or those who are illegitimate, cannot smoke with those of legitimate descent. All the sub-divisions may eat *pakki* together but not *kachchi*.

The occupation of the caste is in the main literary, and they have supplied many valuable officers of Government and members of the Bar and Educational Department. There are numerous Sanskrit terms indicating the present occupations of the caste such as Lekhaka, Lipakâra, Aksharjîvaka, Aksharachana, Aksharachuncha, Lipakâra, and Aksharachanchu ; but it is impossible to identify the present caste specially with any of these. While the higher members of the caste rank high in general repute, the village Lâla, who is very often an accountant, is in evil repute for his astuteness and chicanery.

Distribution of Káyasths according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Asthâna.	Bengâli.	Bhatnâgar.	Gaur.	Kulsarisht.	Mâthur.	Nigam.	Saksena.	Sribâstab.	Unâya.	Others.	Total.
Dehra Dûn . . .	1	...	174	...	...	41	...	55	83	...	7	361
Sahâranpur . . .	...	...	1,129	...	...	61	...	369	177	...	318	2,054
Muzaffarnagar . . .	6	2	684	...	9	56	...	96	120	5	123	1,101
Meerut	27	12	1,420	...	2	275	...	1,308	271	5	475	3,795
Bulandshahr . . .	...	...	350	...	...	341	...	1,253	469	9	1,376	3,798
Aligarh	...	1	30	...	402	1,175	...	2,603	364	...	3,472	8,047
Mathura . . .	66	1,206	130	2	1,114	376	19	1,359	912	23	293	5,500
Agra	535	4	884	...	2,176	724	3	2,875	3,373	15	127	10,716
Farrukhâbâd . . .	5	36	105	5	12	93	75	7,848	3,611	54	612	12,456
Mainpuri . . .	...	2	59	1	1,613	88	...	4,786	1,577	51	105	8,282
Etâwah	...	93	80	...	217	41	273	3,336	3,608	80	332	8,260
Etah	4	5	64	1	2,015	56	1	5,728	344	4	53	8,275
Bareilly	28	9	537	...	...	156	...	15,804	1,076	...	15	17,625
Bijnor	3	...	2,591	...	...	418	...	502	153	2	70	3,739
Budâun	...	18	322	...	1	304	...	8,347	185	10	17	9,204
Morâdâbâd . . .	...	26	3,253	...	11	1,459	...	5,367	702	2	378	11,198
Shâhjahânpur . . .	47	...	244	...	16	70	...	7,572	3,629	...	25	11,603

Pilibhît	27	...	447	...	...	25	...	4,236	356	31	45	5,167
Cawnpur . . .	18	121	29	...	204	118	862	1,179	10,043	2,692	262	15,528
Fatehpur . . .	166	12	11	20	8	18	175	76	7,918	395	34	8,833
Pânda	...	47	12	...	...	41	82	248	6,381	1,471	1,367	9,649
Hamirpur . . .	18	...	131	...	...	47	22	2,375	3,442	1,342	22	7,400
Allahâbâd . . .	86	430	94	2	...	35	5	666	19,283	66	659	21,326
Jhânsi	...	42	80	53	...	79	33	780	4,618	37	1,408	7,230
Jâlaun	27	1	53	...	374	...	117	1,314	4,713	389	543	7,531
Lalitpur	1	6	16	...	3	14	...	117	2,350	59	3	2,569
Benares	37	89	43	21	...	23	...	16	14,047	104	1,325	15,705
Mirzapur . . .	54	4	4	1	...	1	...	400	12,382	10	41	12,897
Jaunpur	1,273	...	...	...	...	...	13	86	9,474	44	3,953	14,843
Ghâzipur . . .	52	23	30	78	...	173	7	13	14,734	36	238	15,384
Ballia	...	69	10	40	...	...	...	18	14,750	...	78	14,965
Gorakhpur . . .	159	42	61	88	...	9	3	74	24,865	4	4,405	29,710
Basti	129	15	...	16	...	...	...	171	20,807	...	...	21,136
Azamgarh . . .	2,417	2	76	690	...	55	...	69	12,993	...	201	16,503
Kumaun . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	50	50

Distribution of Kâyasths according to the Census of 1891—continued.

District.	Asthâna.	Bengâli.	Bhatnâgar.	Gaur.	Kulsarisht.	Mâthur.	Nigam.	Saksena.	Srîvâstab.	Unâya.	Others.	Total.
Garhwâl . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	91	...	53	144
Tarâi	...	...	129	...	2	51	...	944	74	...	7	1,207
Lucknow . . .	100	208	67	49	1	247	858	2,716	11,003	1,620	551	17,420
Unâo	583	7	25	...	...	1	1,333	257	7,591	934	13	10,744
Râê Bareli . . .	...	86	12	...	...	...	60	69	12,712	23	115	13,077
Sîtapur	433	22	162	29	...	6	33	1,686	10,862	172	15	13,420
Hardoi	2,073	1	15	...	...	420	17	861	6,491	57	...	9,935
Kheri	70	14	50	...	...	207	8	1,562	6,922	42	190	9,065
Faizâbâd . . .	1	...	78	101	...	18	4	305	15,627	81	10	16,225
Gonda	31	1	37	...	...	154	129	206	19,564	149	...	20,271
Bahrâich . . .	32	2	30	...	...	135	33	401	9,709	68	...	10,410
Sultânpur . . .	11	...	50	...	...	—	10	124	13,233	...	...	13,428
Partâbgarh . . .	13	...	47	...	...	6	1	75	9,264	5	265	9,676
Bârabanki . . .	65	...	21	...	...	177	385	196	12,164	831	133	13,962
Total .	8,598	2,658	13,876	1,207	8,180	7,794	4,561	90,538	339,117	10,922	23,785	511,496

Kewat.—A caste of fishermen, boatmen, and cultivators. The analysis of the Kewats is rendered very difficult, because they merge on the one side into Binds and on the other into Mallâhs, and, as was the case at the recent Census, each is very often recorded as a sub-caste of the other. They are usually considered to be the modern representatives, at least in name, of the Kaivartas or Kevartas. Their name is generally derived from Sanskrit *ka*, "water," and *vritti*, "occupation," in the sense that they live on or by water. But Professor Lassen[1] asserts that the use of *ka* in this sense is extremely unusual in early Sanskrit, and that the true derivation is Kivarta, a corruption of Kimvarta, meaning "a person following a low or degrading occupation." "This," he adds, "would be in keeping with the pedigree assigned to the caste in Manu, where the Kaivarta, also known as Mârgava or Dâsa, is said to have been begotten by a Nishâda father from an Ayogavi mother, and to subsist by his labours in boats. On the other hand, the Brahma-Vaiyarta Purâna gives the Kaivarta a Kshatriya father and a Vaisya mother as far more distinguished parentage; for the Ayogavi, being born from a Sudra father and a Vaisya mother, is classed as *pratiloma*, 'begotten against the hair,' or in the inverse order of the precedence of the castes."

Tribal organisation.

2. As will be seen from the annexed figures, abstracted from the returns of the Census, a large number of the Kewats of the Eastern Districts have recorded themselves as a sub-caste of Mallâhs, and they are also obviously very closely mixed up with the Binds. This list gives their sub-castes as—Agarwâl, which is also the title of a sub-caste of Banyas; Bâtham from Srâvasti; Ghogh, who say they take their name from *ghonga*, "a cockle shell"; Jaiswâr, a common title for the sub-castes of various menial tribes; Kharbind or "pure Binds"; Kharot or "straw men"; Mallâh; Nikhâd or Nishâda. In Mirzapur they class themselves as Châi, Tiyar, Bathawa or Bathama, Sorahiya, Muriyâri, Bind or Kewat, and Goriya, which are connected with the Gonr grain-parchers and workers in stone. All these are endogamous, and their rule of exogamy follows the usual formula, *chachera, mamera, phuphera, mausera*, by which the line of the aunt and uncle on the paternal and maternal sides are barred as long as any recollection of relationship can be followed.

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[1] Quoted by Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I., 370.

Like the Mallâhs, they call themselves the descendants of Nishâda, who rowed Râma Chandra across the Ganges on his way to Prayâg or Allahâbâd, and they fix the scene of this occurrence at the Râmchaura Ghât over the Ganges near Bindhâchal in the Mirzapur District, which they regard as the head-quarters of the caste. The detailed Census lists give 296 names of the usual type. Their connection with other tribes is marked by names such as Bind, Châîn, Kharbind, Kharwâr, Koriya, Luniya, Mallâh, side by side with others, which express the rising pretensions of the more prosperous members of the tribes, as Dichhit, Gaur, Kachhwâha, Sombansi, and local names like Agarwâl, Aharwâr, Ajudhyabâsi, Kânhpuriya, Jaiswar, Magahiya, Mâthur, Pachhwâhan, Sarwariya, and Sribâstab.

Marriage.

3. Marriage takes place among them at the age of five or seven. Mr. Risley[1] notes the curious fact in Bihâr that "it is deemed of less importance that the bridegroom should be older than the bride, than that he should be taller. This point is of the first importance, and is ascertained by actual measurement. If the boy is shorter than the girl, or if his height is exactly the same as hers, it is believed that the union of the two would bring ill luck, and the match is at once broken off." The marriage ceremonies are of the ordinary character. A second wife cannot be taken during the life-time of the first unless he can show to the satisfaction of the council that she is barren or hopelessly diseased. Widows can marry by the *sagâi* form. She can marry her husband's younger brother, and she usually does so if he is a bachelor and of marriageable age. A man can expel his wife for adultery, but inter-tribal incontinence is very lightly regarded, and can be atoned by giving a feast. But if a woman is detected in an intrigue with a stranger, she is permanently expelled from caste. A wife can also, with the permission of the council, separate from her husband if he fail to support her.

Religion.

4. The Kewats are orthodox Hindus. To the east of the Province they worship Kâli, Bhâgawati, and their boat. Kâli is worshipped every second year with a sacrifice of goats and an offering of flowers. Mâhabîr gets some *laddu* sweetmeats on a Tuesday, and the river gets a few drops of milk on Sundays. When they return from a voyage they make a burnt offering to, and hang some flowers upon,

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[1] *Loc. cit.*, I., 455.

their boat. If possible, they feed a few Brâhmans at the same time. Sarwariya Brâhmans officiate at their weddings and other ceremonies.

Occupation and social status.

5. The Bâtham Kewats pretend to extra purity, and are careful to conform to a higher standard of living than the ordinary members of the tribe, most of whom, unless they are Bhagats, eat all kinds of fish, and even, it is said, the tortoise and crocodile. They drink spirits, but will not eat beaf, pork, or fowls. They will eat *kachchi* cooked by no caste but their own; *pakki* cooked by Brâhmans, Kshatriyas, or Vaisyas. They rank on about the level of the Koiri or Teli. A Bihâr proverb quoted by Mr. Christian runs — *Nauwa Kewat chinhé ját; barka log ké chikkan bát*—"The barber and the boatman are the only people who recognise their caste-fellows; high-caste people are good only for talk."

Distribution of Kewats according to the Census of 1891, including Mallâh Kewats.

Districts.	Agâswâla.	Bâtham.	Ghogh.	Jaiswâr.	Kharbind.	Kharot.	Mallâh.	Mallâh Kewat.	Nikhâd.	Others.	Total.
Dehra Dûn	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	22	22
Sahâranpur	...	...	.		..	...	...	18		8	21
Muzaffarnagar	..	...	...	...	..	...	...	2	..	...	2
Meerut	...	...	.	...	...		...	61	..	...	61
Farrukhâbâd	...	...	...	..	...	..	...	1	...	...	1
Pilibhit	...	..	...	..	...		..		...	26	26
Cawnpur	.		...			...	...	...	...	6	6
Fatehpur	..	9,400	3,715		4		153	...	602	11,648	25,279
Bânda	148	6,373	11,516	.	23		56	...	56	3,404	23,585
Hamirpur	6,026	46	3,[illegible]	...			...	...	40	767	9,[illegible]
Allahâbâd	..	...	...	..		...	6	31,197	14	7	31,224
Jhânsi	201	...	...		.		..	..	...	8	207
Jâlaun	577	..	.	.			...	1		113	690
Benares	.	..	..				.	1,506		..	1,506
Mirzapur	...					..	.	46,086	...		46,086
Jaunpur			...					31,330	..		31,330
Ghâzipur		.	..		...	...		9			9
Ballia			..		.			126		..	126
Gorakhpur	.	..			63,417	20,[illegible]	697	16,[illegible]	7,418	31,114	147,[illegible]
Basti	...	.	...	.	30,927			[illegible]	2,537	2,[illegible]	36,[illegible]

Division.	Agarwâls.	Bishans.	Ghosis.	Jaiswârs.	Kurbîns.	Kharots.	Kalâls.	Muslim Mewâtis.	Nâhals.	Others.	Total.
Azamgarh . .	...	...	...	...	14,327	2,000	—	647	...	2,000	20,000
Lucknow . .	...	...	...	...	150	...	...	60	...	0	200
Unão . . .	...	...	...	...	264	...	...	...	...	000	1,154
Bâs Bareli . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	26	...	...	26
Bîjapur . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	12	14
Hardoi . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	000	14	640
Kheri . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,088	...	60	1,148
Faizâbâd . .	...	...	...	...	20,740	2,000	160	...	000	0,000	28,900
Gonda . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0,000	0,000
Bahraich . .	...	...	...	45	400	...	...	...	60	1,000	1,000
Sultânpur . .	...	...	...	...	12,000	...	...	1	1	2,000	14,000
Partâbgarh . .	...	...	...	...	0,740	...	...	...	60	120	0,000
Bârabanki . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	170	...	...	170
Total .	0,041	17,700	18,752	45	197,630	26,180	1,220	130,213	11,000	97,007	345,196

Khâgi.[1]—An agricultural tribe found in Rohilkhand. One derivation of the word is from Sanskrit *Khadgika*, "a swordsman." According to the Budâun tradition they were originally Chauhân Thâkurs, who emigrated under their leaders Kanka and Mahesa from Ajmer in a season of a famine, about three hundred years ago, and settled at the town of Sahaswân in the Budâun District. Here they grew in importance, and were after a time appointed by the Emperor of Delhi Sûbahs or Governors, one of Sahaswân, and the other of the adjoining Pargana of Soron in the Etah District. They were required to pay a quarter of the revenue of those Parganas into the Delhi treasury, and this after a time they failed to do, the remittance being embezzled *en route* by one of their agents, a Musalmân, at Delhi. A punitive force was sent against them by the Emperor, and a battle ensued, in which both their leaders and a considerable number of their followers were killed. The widows of those killed, contrary to the custom of Thâkurs, remarried (which is known locally by the phrase *Ádj Karna*), and from this they are said to take the name of Khâgi. In Bareilly one tradition makes them the descendants of Râja Bhâgîratha, a descendant of Sâgara, whose austerities induced Siva to allow the Ganges to descend to the

[1] From notes by Mr. C. H. Dalmeida, Opium Department, Budâun, and Pandit Janardan Dat Joshi, Deputy Collector, Bareilly.

earth for the purpose of bathing the ashes of Sâgara's sons, who had been consumed by the wrath of the sage Kapila. Hence their special reverence for the Ganges. By another account they are descended and derive their name from Râja Kharga, eighth in descent from Râja Sâgara. In their appearance, manners, and customs there is nothing to corroborate their claim to Râjput descent. There are two sites in Sahaswân which they point out as monuments of their former glory. One is a Khera or mound known locally as "the Old Fort," and the other a mango grove called Lakha Pera, or "the grove of the hundred thousand trees."

2. Their sub-divisions, shown to the number of 135 in the detailed Census lists, are of the usual type. Side by side with tribal names like Bais, Baiswâr, Banya, Banjâra, Chandeli, Chauhân, Dalera, Dhîmar, Gaurâhar, Kharluniya, Lodha, Raghubansi, Raikwâr, Râjput, Râthaur, Sainikhor, Sombansi, and Tomar, we find the usual local titles, such as Ajmeri, Amritpuriya, Chandpuriya, Jaiswâr, Jalâlpuriya, Mathuriya.

Manners and customs.

3. Their manners and customs are exactly the same as those of inferior Hindu tribes, such as the Lodha. They do not perform the regular *Srâddha*, but in the Kanâgat, or fortnight sacred to the manes of the dead, they do what may be called the minor *Srâddha* by feeding Brâhmans and offering sacred balls (*pinda*). They recognise widow marriage by the *Kâj* form and also the levirate. They worship the Ganges, Siva, Devi, and Ganesa, but are not initiated into any particular sect. Their priests are Sanâdhya Brâhmans, who hold a low rank in their tribe. In their demonology they follow closely the customs of the inferior Hindu tribes by whom they are surrounded. As a local godling they chiefly worship Bhûmiya. They will eat *pakki* with Kahârs; they eat *kachchi* with none but members of their own tribe, but they will eat *kachchi* prepared by Agarwâlas and no other class of Banyas. Some families refuse, according to general Hindu custom, to have the noses of their girls pierced or to allow them to wear nose-rings. For this they are unable to assign any reason. They do not hold land as zamîndârs, but they are excellent agriculturists, industrious, thrifty, and well-behaved.

4. For the distribution of the Khâgi, see under *Lodha*.

Khairwa.[1]—A small tribe of catechu-makers and cultivators found in Jhânsi. They do not appear under this name in the last

[1] Based on notes supplied through Mr. H. C. Forard, C. S., Lalitpur.

Census. They take their name from the *Khair* tree (Sanskrit *Khadira*, the *acacia catechu*). They are admittedly a compound of various jungle tribes who have taken to this special occupation. They have some vague traditions that they once were lords of the country, and that their ancestor was a prince, who was defeated and driven into the jungles by his elder brother. They allege that their ancestors came into the Jhânsi District in the time of Râja Chhatar Sâl of Panna, who died in 1713 A. D. By another account they are an offshoot of the Sahariyas, with whom their *gotras* are said to be identical: this is far from improbable.

Marriage rules.

2. They do not marry in their own *gotra*, or in the family of their maternal uncle, father's sister, or mother's sister for six generations after the last intermarriage. They profess now to have abandoned the practice of introducing strangers into the caste. A second marriage is allowed only if the first wife be barren. Concubinage is tolerated. Pre-nuptial immorality is lightly regarded, provided the paramour of the girl is a member of the tribe; in this case the stigma is removed by a tribal feast. Marriage takes place between the age of seven and fifteen. The match is arranged by the father or maternal uncle of the boy. There is no freedom of choice allowed to the pair themselves. When the family of either party is considered less respectable than that of the other, a sum of money is paid to help the marriage expenses. This does not go to the parties themselves, but to the father, who spends it at the wedding. A wife can be turned out by her husband on proof of adultery. Such a woman can re-marry in the tribe by the *sagái* form, if her friends give a feast to purify her. Children by any sort of marriage or connection which has been sanctioned and approved by the council share as heirs in the goods of their late father. Children by a father or of a woman of another caste are not admitted to tribal privileges. Widow marriage and the levirate under the usual restrictions are recognised, and it seems to be compulsory on the widow to marry the younger brother of her late husband if he be willing to take her. It is also said that the fiction prevails that the children of the levir are those of his late brother; if this be true, it is perhaps a solitary instance of this idea among castes like this.

Birth ceremonies.

3. When a woman is seven months pregnant a tribal feast is given by the father. A woman of the Basor tribe acts as midwife, and her place is taken

as nurse by the wife of the barber. On the tenth day is the *daswân*, when the mother is bathed and the clansmen fed. There is no trace of the couvade. Adoption is recognised when the child is formally accepted in the presence of the members of the council. Just before puberty the ears are bored and the ceremonial shaving (*mûnan*) takes place.

Marriage ceremonies.

4. The betrothal is fixed by the payment of a rupee to the bridegroom; his forehead is marked, and then the engagement cannot be broken. The binding part of the marriage ceremony is the *pheri*, or walking round the marriage shed. They perform the ceremony, such as it is, themselves, and do not employ Brâhmans.

Death ceremonies.

5. The adult dead are burnt near the village. The ashes are thrown into some neighbouring stream, and the bones reserved for removal to the Ganges. They do not employ Brâhmans at these ceremonies, and do not perform the *Srâddha*. The man who lighted the pyre is impure for eleven days, when he shaves, bathes, gives the funeral feast and some uncooked grain to a Brâhman.

Religion.

6. As already said, they do not accept the religious services of Brâhmans. They usually worship Devi with a sacrifice of goats or rams. Their holidays are the Râm Naumi, Janaki Naumi, Siva Râtri, Janamashtami, Deothân, Phagua or Holi, Diwâli, Dasahra, Sankrânt, and Nâgpanchami. The women have the Tîja as their festival. They have much fear of the ghosts of the dead, and lay out food and drink to propitiate them. But they have no time sacred to the worship of ancestors, whom they seem to regard as a sort of family guardians to be propitiated in times of sickness and other trouble. They believe in the usual meeting omens. When one or two children die in succession they give the next baby an opprobrious name. All of them have two names—one for ordinary use, and a second, which is kept secret, and used only for ceremonial purposes. They swear by taking a *lota* full of water on their heads, by standing in water, by going to the temple of Devi, and by putting fire on the palm of the right hand. They know little of magic and witchcraft. They are firm believers in demoniacal possession, and in cases of illness call in a sorcerer to drive off the evil spirit. They believe in dreams, which are interpreted by some old person of the tribe; dreams which appear towards the morning generally turn out true. Good-looking or

prosperous people are likely to be attacked by the Evil-eye; its effects are obviated by waving some salt and pepper round the head of the patient and then throwing them on the fire. They object to touch Chamârs, Bhangis, Koris, and Kumhârs.

Social customs.

7. They practise the usual taboos of avoiding eating at the house of a son-in-law and calling the wife or head of the family by name. They eat goats' meat and fish and drink spirits. They will not eat beef. At the commencement of a meal they dedicate a scrap of food to Devi. They use intoxicants, such as *bhang*, *gânja*, and opium. Their salutations are *Râm! Râm! Jay Krishna! Jay Rádha Krishna.* They eat and smoke only with clansmen.

Occupation.

8. Their occupation is making catechu from the wood of the *Khair* tree. In this they approximate to the Khairis of the Lower Himalayas, who are usually Doms, and to the Kathkâris of Bombay, who represent themselves as descended from the monkeys of the army of Râma. These people in Bombay now "subsist almost entirely by hunting; now that their more legitimate occupation of preparing catechu (*Kath*) has been interfered with, they habitually kill and eat monkeys shooting them with bows and arrows. In order to approach within range they are obliged to have recourse to stratagem, as the monkeys at once recognise them in their ordinary costume. The ruse usually adopted is for one of the best shots to put on a woman's robe (*sâri*), under the ample folds of which he conceals his murderous weapons. Approaching the tree on which the monkeys are seated, the sportsman affects the utmost unconcern and busies himself with the innocent occupation of picking up twigs and leaves. Thus disarming suspicion, he is enabled to get a sufficiently close shot to render success a certainty." To illustrate the superstitious ideas connected with the manufacture of catechu, it may be noted that in Bombay "every year, on the day after the Holi, the *chálha* ceremony takes place. In a trench, seven feet long by three and about three deep, *Khair* logs are carefully stacked and closely packed till they stand in a heap about two feet above ground. The pile is then set on fire and allowed to burn to the level of the ground. The village sweeper breaks a cocoanut, kills a couple of fowls, and sprinkles a little liquor near the pile. Then, after washing their feet, the sweeper and the village headman walk barefoot hurriedly across the fire. After this the strangers come to fulfil vows, and giving one anna

and a half cocoanut to the sweeper and the other half cocoanut to the head man, wash their feet and turning to the left walk over the pile the fire seems to cause none of them any pain." [1]

The same form of fire worship prevails among the Dusâdhs and similar tribes in the Eastern Districts of these Provinces. In Mirzapur the business of preparing catechu is almost entirely confined to the Bhuiyas and Bhuiyârs.

Khandelwâl, Khandelwâla.[2]—A sub-caste of Banyas, with a Hindu and Jaina branch, found principally in the Western Districts. They take their name from the town of Khandela, north of Jaypur, like the tribe of Brâhmans of the same name. Their tradition is that there were four brothers who were soldiers. One day they went out hunting and killed a favourite deer belonging to a hermit. He was about to destroy them by his curse, when they promised to abandon soldiering and hunting. From them the present Khandelwâls are descended. This is the sub-caste to which most of the celebrated Mathura Seths belong.

2. The Khandelwâls have seventy-two *gotras*, of which the following list was procured in Mirzapur :—Torawâl ; Baraiya ; Dhamani ; Dhankaliya ; Dangaich ; Machhiwâl ; Pabuwâl ; Barhera ; Batwara ; Kulwal; Sanbhariya ; Bail(1) ; Burhwaliya ; Thakuriya ; Kalâwat ; Râwat ; Jhâlâni ; Saunkhiya ; Nâtâni ; Vais ; Amairiya ; Dâu ; Jasoriya; Gandhi ; Katta ; Kath ; Kayathwâl ; Kathoriya ; Kilkiliya ; Khunteta ; Kharâwat ; Jhaginiya ; Tâmi ; Tamoliya ; Dusâdhu ; Pitaliya; Bâjârghar; Bhukhmâra ; Methi ; Mânikbahora ; Manoriya ; Sethi ; Haldiha ; Âkar ; Ghiya ; Babb; Bhagla; Pharsoiya ; Pâtoda ; Banwâri ; Bhusar ; Bargota ; Mcharwâl ; Sahoriya ; Atoriya ; Mâli ; Nârâyanwâl ; Rajoriya ; Bisaura; Harsoiya; Bharâriya; Sankhani; Bhuriya ; Patoriya, Bawari, or Babari ; Bâr ; Mangrauriya ; Pagwewa ; Goliya ; Chamariya ; Bail (2) ; Tandwaiya. It would be useless to speculate on the meaning of these names : some are plainly connected in some way with other existing castes, some are local, and others occupational.

Internal organisation.

3. The prohibited degrees in marriage are the bridegroom's *gotra*, that of his maternal uncle, and those of the maternal uncle of his father and

Marriage.

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[1] *Bombay Gazetteer*, X., 48; III., 310; and on the Catechu Industry, Watts *Dictionary of Economic Products*, I., 27, *sqq.*

[2] From enquiries at Mirzapur and a note by Bâbu Mâl Chand, Khandelwâl, Native Commissioner to His Highness the Mahârâja of Benares.

mother. Girls are usually married before the age of twelve. A man cannot marry a second wife during the lifetime of the first without her consent. Widow marriage is not permitted.

Religion.

4. They are usually initiated into the Vaishnava sect. Their *gurgharâna* or family of spiritual guides is the Sâlhubara of Jaypur. Their priests are Gaur Brâhmans. They are said to have either twenty-four or thirteen clan goddesses; but it has been found impossible to procure a complete list. The following eleven are named at Mirzapur:—Chawan; Nâgin; Baburi; Jiyan; Âtan; Kalyâni; Mukhta; Sakrâi Mâta; Tâmbi; Loha; and Jhalâi. One of these goddesses goes to three *gotras*. They are worshipped after child-birth and marriage and at the Nauratra in the months of Chait and Kuâr. Nine kinds of sweetmeats are offered to them, *viz.*, *peperi*, *gujhiya*, *pheni*, *dogatha*, *pua*, *ghughuri*, *kasar*, *khir*, and *halwa*. Garlands of flowers and the fire sacrifice (*hom*) are also made as offerings.

Social rules.

5. The use of meat and spirits is prohibited in the sub-caste. They eat *kachchi* cooked only by Gaur Brâhmans and their own castemen. They eat *pakki* cooked by Agarwâlas, Oswâl, and Maheswari Banyas. Only Kahârs, Nâis, and lower castes will eat *kachchi* cooked by them.

Distribution of the Khandelwâl Banyas according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Hindus.	Jains.	Total.
Sahâranpur	25	74	99
Muzaffarnagar	15	2	17
Meerut	238	40	278
Bulandshahr	1	...	1
Aligarh	233	...	233
Mathura	2,338	348	2,686
Agra	1,599	720	2,319
Farrukhâbâd	72	36	108
Mainpuri	122	...	122
Etâwah	606	...	606

Distribution of the Khandelwâl Banyas according to the Census of 1891—contd.

District.	Hindus.	Jainas.	Total.
Bareilly	6	...	6
Bijnor	52	113	165
Budâun	40	26	66
Morâdâbâd	250	566	816
Pilibhît	68	...	68
Cawnpur	...	11	11
Bânda	30	...	30
Allahâbâd	79	...	79
Benares	40	...	40
Mirzapur	27	...	27
Lucknow	20	43	63
Hardoi	18	...	18
Partâbgarh	8	...	8
Bârabanki	...	6	6
Total .	5,886	1,985	7,871

Khandelwâl.—A local tribe of Brâhmans, who take their name from the town of Khandela in the Jaypur territory on the borders of Shaikhâwati. They claim to be a branch of the Adi Gauda or high class Gaur Brâhmans.

Distribution of Khandelwâl Brâhmans according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Numbers.	District.	Numbers.
Sahâranpur . . .	30	Etah	7
Meerut	16	Budâun	43
Bulandshahr . . .	9	Morâdâbâd . . .	34
Mathura	199	Hamirpur . . .	5
Agra . . .	2	Total .	345

Khangâr,[1] **Khagâr.**—A tribe of thieves and village watchmen practically confined to Bundelkhand. They are also known as Râo Khangâr in relation to their alleged Râjput descent, or Râwat. When they hold the post of village watchmen, they are called Kotwâl or Kotwâr, "head policemen." There is much controversy as to the meaning of the name. According to some it is connected with the Hindi *Khankh*, Sanskrit *Karkara*, "withered or degraded." Others derive it from *Khadga*, "a sword."

2. The tradition of the caste is that they were formerly Râjputs of the Khagâr sept and were degraded. One tradition tells that they entered Bundelkhand from somewhere to the north of Kâlpi, and took service with the Bundela Râjputs. Their chief settlement was at Kurârgarh in the Bhîkamgarh State. They failed to pay their revenue, and by the orders of the Emperor Akbar, the Bundela Râja, with the help of some Gaharwâr Râjputs from Kâshi or Benares, destroyed them by giving them drugged wine to drink, and then massacred them. It is needless to say that this is a legend common to many of the degraded tribes, such as the Bhars and others. Their Râja at the time was Nâga Râja, and, after the massacre of his followers, he and his Râni escaped. He cut off half his mustache, and she took off half her jewelry, which they swore not to wear again until they wreaked their revenge on the Bundelas. By another legend only the Râni escaped the massacre of the tribe. She took refuge in a field of saffron (*kusum*), whence she was rescued by some Parihâr Râjputs, and bore a son, who was the ancestor of the present Khangârs. All this is, of course, mere folk-lore, and this escape of the pregnant mother is one of the stock incidents in the folk-tales. It is said that no Khangâr is, even to the present day, allowed to enter the fort of Kurâr, and that, in memory of the birth of their ancestor in the saffron field, no Khangâr will wear cloth dyed with saffron. Another legend runs that the Bundela Râja had a son by a Khangâr woman, who was called Baghel, and received Kurâr as his inheritance. His descendants are now known as Bimhar, and until lately they were not acknowledged by the Khangârs; this has been lately allowed after a tribal council. By another account they were the

Tribal legends.

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[1] Based on notes by Mr. J. S. Meston, C.S., Settlement Officer, Jhânsi; Mr. W. Cockburn, Deputy Collector, Jâlaun; and M. Karam Ahmad, Deputy Collector, Jhânsi.

descendants of Râja Bijay Sinh of Gurnâl, and were exterminated by the Gaharwâr Râjputs from Kashi, because their Râja dared to propose to marry a Gaharwâr girl. This legend is also common to a number of tribes of the same social rank. They also say that one of the Bhadauriya Râjputs once married in their sept, and to this day that, whenever there is a marriage among the Bhadauriyas, the house-master sends for a Khangâr and marks his back with his hand steeped in turmeric before he pays the same mark of respect to his other guests. As a further mark of their Kshatriya descent, they say that they to this day give a sword as a marriage gift, as other Râjputs do. Further, whenever a new Bundela Râja of Datiya is enthroned, a model of the Kurâr fort and of the last Khangâr Râja is made in clay, which the Bundela breaks as part of the ceremony. Still another story tells that one of their Râjas once offered his head to Devi and the goddess replied, "Wash it" (*khangârna*). From this they were called Khangâr.

3. All these legends are an interesting example of a process which has undoubtedly gone towards the formation of many Râjput septs. That there is a large body of tradition in corroboration of the Râjput descent of the tribe is quite certain. It may also be assumed as true that the Khangârs were once lords of that part of the country; but when we examine their system of *gotras*, it seems plain that their claim to Râjput lineage cannot be accepted. They have, in fact, a well-developed totemistic series of *gotras* which marks them down at once to be of Dravidian origin.

Tribal organisation.

4. One list of these is as follows:—Sârdu; Bhârta; Parsaniya; Bisora; Hathgotiya; Maltiya; Kurariya; Ghorgotiya; Bilgotiya; Bijaniya; Bharda; Nâhargotiya; Nâggotiya; Kusumgotiya; and Bargotiya. Of these, the Sârdu are said to be the highest, and will not drink spirits, in memory of the catastrophe which fell upon the clan at the hands of the Bundelas. The Hathgotiya claim kindred with the elephant (*hâthi*), and at marriages mount the bridegroom on an elephant; the Ghorgotiya similarly respect the horse (*ghora*); the Nâhargotiya are of the kindred of the lion (*nâhar*); the Bargotiya with the *bar* or banyan tree, which they worship; the Nâggotiya with the *nâga* or serpent; and the Kusumgotiya with the safflower (*kusum*). Another list gives the Khargotiya and Sangotiya, who are connected in the same way with the grass (*khar*) and hemp plant (*san*). A third list gives as one of their *gotras* Basor, which is

the name of a Dom sub-caste; Nîmgotiya, sprung from the *nîm* tree; Gohiya from the *goh* or iguana; and Bâmhan Rautiya, who claim to be half Brâhmans and half Râjputs; and to these apparently totemistic names may be added from the Census lists—Chhachhûndar, "musk-rat"; Gajgoti, "the kindred of the elephant"; Hirangot, "the kindred of the deer"; Pipariya, "of the Pîpal tree." Besides this there is a tribal legend that they are the forefathers of the Arakhs, a distinctly Dravidian caste, who are said to be an offshoot from them. This totemistic tribal structure clearly shows their Dravidian origin, and disposes of their claim to Râjput descent. They are, in short, on the same level as the Benbans Râjputs, who are Kharwârs, and the Pâsi and Bhar tribes of Oudh, some of whom have almost certainly succeeded in establishing a fictitious Râjput connection. It was out of such elements doubtless that many of the Râjput tribes were formed, and in the case of the Khangârs it is only from the fact that they have as yet been unable to shed off their totemistic sections that we are able actually to ascertain their real origin. The lesson is a useful one in dealing with the pretensions of many now degraded tribes to a higher origin, and it would not be perhaps too much to say that while we have instances in plenty of tribes who have raised themselves in the social scale, it would be difficult to point to one undoubted instance of a tribe which, having once arrived at that stage of culture to enable them to assert the rank of Râjputs, ever fell back into the grade of landless labourers and thieves such as the Khangârs are at present.

Marriage rules.

5. The rule of exogamy is that a man does not marry in the *gotra* of his father or mother until three generations have passed, and they have the usual formula known as *dûdh bachâkê*, or avoidance of blood relations, which is common to them and all ordinary Hindus, and is intended to reinforce the *gotra* law of exogamy and prevent intermarriage, which, without it, would still be possible. In their ceremonies there is a line drawn between the more respectable Khangârs, who ape a Râjput descent, and the Kotwâr or village watchman class, who retain many usages of a more primitive type. Thus, the higher class Khangârs profess to have only quite recently adopted the custom of widow marriage and the levirate, which is admittedly authorised among those of the lower class. Among the Nâhargotiyas the clothes of the bridegroom are dyed with turmeric, and with saffron among the other sections. The lower members of the

tribe employ no barber or Brâhman except for the actual ceremony, while among the higher class the preliminary negotiations and ceremony are performed in the orthodox way. The more respectable Khangârs are now prohibiting concubinage with women of other tribes, but a low-grade man may keep a concubine of a caste other than his own, provided it be of a grade superior to his own. A man cannot marry a second wife without the distinct leave of the first wife. At a marriage among respectable Khangârs the bridegroom is expected to send five rupees by the barber who arranges the match; the same sum when the *lagan* or fixing of the wedding day comes off. On the other hand, the father of the bridegroom receives a present of one rupee when he enters the village of the bride, ten rupees when he reaches her door; her mother gives him a rupee when he goes to her room after the marriage: besides which all the bride's relations are expected to give something. All the other ceremonies at a respectable wedding are of the normal character.

Birth rites.

6. The birth rites are of the usual kind. When a boy is born the mark of the Swâstika is made on the wall of the house, and on the thirteenth day a cow-dung Swâstika is made and taken to a tank, into which it is flung. *Laddu* (sweets made of rice) are distributed, which are known as *chhathi kâ chânwal*, or "the rice of the sixth day." There is no sign of the couvade, but it is contrary to etiquette for the father to talk about the birth of his child or to receive the congratulations of his friends. He leaves the grandfather of the child to receive and interview friends who call for this purpose.

Religion.

7. Khangârs are all Hindus, and by preference worshippers of Devi. In addition, they worship the sainted forefathers of the tribe, Nâga Bâba and Kaneriya Bâba. The worship of the latter seems to be confined to the lower section of the tribe. They also make periodical pilgrimages to Kurâr, the original home of the tribe, where they worship Gidwâinsa Mâta, a tribal mother who has a shrine on the embankment of the lake. Each family among the lower class Khangârs makes a platform to Kaneriya Bâba at his house, and offers eggs and cocoanuts on the occasions of domestic ceremonies, such as birth or marriage. The worship is performed at night, and is kept secret: only members of the family can receive a share of offerings (*prasâd*). At marriages the women do the mysterious Mehra Pûja,

or woman worship, at which only members of the family on the paternal side are allowed to attend.

Tree worship.

8. Tree worship is very well developed among the tribe. The Rajauriya section worship the *gunj* tree (*abrus precatorius*); the Jacheriyas, the *jacher* tree; the Sanauriyas, the *naudi* tree; the Beliyas, the *bel* or *ægle marmelos*; just as the Baguliyas worship the *bagula* or paddy-bird and the Magariyas the *magar* or alligator. All Khangârs worship the *anola* (*phyllanthus emblica*) on the ninth day of the waxing moon of Kârttik. The worship of the *bar* or banyan tree by the Bargotiya subdivision has been already referred to.

Social life and occupation.

9. Unlike the higher castes, they have a tribal council (*panchâyat*), with a president (*mukhiya*), who is appointed from time to time on the ground of fitness for the post. They have some connection with eunuchs. One of their women, they say, was once saved by an eunuch, and to this day eunuchs call Khangârs *bhânja* or sister's son. The higher class Khangârs will eat only the food which is permitted to Râjputs; those of the lower sort no doubt eat jungle animals, and, it is said, various kinds of vermin; but if they do so, they do not care to admit the fact. Their rules of eating are uncertain. According to one account they will eat *pakki* and *kachchi* with Kurmis; according to another they will eat *kachchi* cooked by any Brâhman, Râjput, or Banya, and *pakki* from the hand of any one but a Chamâr, Dhobi, Mehtar, Kori, or Basor. They will not smoke with any caste but their own. The Nâi is said to be the highest caste which will eat *pakki* with them. The Kori will eat *kachchi* and Brâhmans will drink water drawn by them; but it is not quite certain how far these rules apply to the whole caste, or only to the more respectable branch. The Khangârs are landless labourers, except in very few instances. They serve the Bundelas as servants, and as they have a very indifferent reputation, they are very often appointed village watchmen on the same principle that Pâsis very often hold the same position in Oudh and the Eastern Districts of the Province. Though not exactly a criminal tribe, they are prone to commit thefts and burglaries.

Distribution of Khangârs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Bal.	Chikwa.	Mugda.	Others.	Total.
Mathura	...	...	...	188	188
Agra	...	...	...	6	6
Mainpuri	...	...	...	59	59
Etâwah	18	...	...	147	165
Bijnor	...	...	...	3	3
Cawnpur	364	...	...	126	490
Fatehpur	...	...	...	50	50
Bânda	310	...	...	146	456
Hamîrpur	2,372	...	...	6,428	8,800
Jhânsi	376	...	...	9,123	9,499
Jâlaun	810	...	...	6,869	7,679
Lalitpur	175	118	437	4,787	5,517
Total .	4,434	118	437	27,932	32,921

Khânzâda.[1]—(Descendants of the Khân; another and probably less correct explanation would make them out to be Khânazâd, or "descendants of a slave.")—A tribe who do not appear in the returns of the last Census, but who deserve mention. There appear to be two classes of people known in these Provinces by this name—those of the Western Districts and those of Oudh.

The Western Khânzâdas.

2. Of this tribe in Gurgâon Mr. Channing writes[2]:—"The Khanzâdas were a race who were formerly of much more importance than they are at present. They claim to have been formerly Jâdon Râjputs, and that their ancestors, Lakhana Pâla and Sumitra Pâla, who dwelt at Talungarh in Bhartpur, were converted to Islâm in the reign of Firoz Shâh (A. D. 1351 to 1338), who gave Lakhana Pâla the name of Nâhar Khân, and Sumitra Pâla that of Bahâdur Khân, and, in recognition of their high descent, called them Khânzâda, and

[1] Partly based on a note by M. Sayyid 'Ali Bahâdur, Deputy Collector, Partâbgarh.

[2] Gurgâon Settlement Report, 30.

made them bear rule in Mewât. There is no doubt that they were the ruling race in Mewât down to the time of Bâbar; since then they have gradually declined in importance, and now own only a few villages in this District. In Alwar, also, the Khânzâdas have fallen from their ancient rank, and now possess but few settlements. I have a suspicion that they are more intimately connected than they acknowledge with the Meos; but the Meo inhabitants of various villages profess to have been formerly Khânzâdas and to have become Meos by intermarriage. Their traditions, also, which point to Sarahta as their ancient home, agree, I think it will be found, with those of more than one class of Meos. If my supposition, that the Meos are converted Mînas, is correct, I am inclined to suspect that the Khânzâdas are the representatives of the noble class among the aboriginal population." General Cunningham writes:—"The Khânzâdas, who, for several centuries, were the rulers of Mewât, claim descent from the Jâdon Râja Tahan Pâla. When Muhammad Ghori captured Tahangarh, many of the Jâdon families dispersed and settled wherever they could find a home. One Chief, Tej Pâla, founded Tejâra, and Lakhana Pâla, one of his descendants, was the founder of the great family of the Khânzâdas. During the last two centuries, since the territory of Mewât has fallen into the hands of the Hindus of Alwar and Bhartpur, it has become the fashion to doubt the Jâdon descent of the Khânzâdas, and to suggest that the title is derived from Khânazâda, 'a slave.' But the term is Khânzâda, 'the offspring of a Khân,' and not Khânazâda, 'the offspring of a house, a slave.' But their claim to royal descent from the Hindu Râjas of the country is too well attested to be shaken by the mere guesses of their enemies." [1]

The Khânzâdas of Oudh.

3. Of the clan in Sultânpur the following account is given in the Settlement Report[2]:—"Jaychand Sinh was son of Jura Sinh, of the line of Râj Sâh, son of Baryâr Sâh (see *Bachgoti*). His son, Tilok Chand, was a contemporary of Bâbar, during one of whose Eastern expeditions he laid the foundation of the future greatness of his house. Either taken prisoner in battle or arrested as a refractory landholder, Tilok Chand fell a prisoner into Bâbar's hands. He was allowed to choose between the adoption of the faith of Islâm

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[1] *Archæological Reports*, XX., 10, *sqq*.
[2] Page 142, *sqq*.

with immediate liberty, or adherence to his own religion with incarceration for an indefinite period. With many respectable precedents to guide him, he selected the former alternative, was received into Imperial favour, and called Tâtâr Khân. His sons, Barîd Khân and Jalâl Khân, adopted the title of Khânzâda from their father. This is the local tradition, and differs somewhat from the account given by Sir H. M. Elliot (s. v. *Bachgoti*), who says that the Khânzâdas must have been converted before the Mughal dynasty commenced, as we read of Bachgotis [with Musalmân names before that. Perhaps their conversion was indirectly connected with the turbulence in the reign of Sikandar Lodi. Hasan Khân, son of Bazîd Khân, gave his name to Hasanpur, now their head-quarters." The same writer goes on to give a full account of the family, which can be consulted by the curious.

The Khânzâdas of Partâbgarh.

4. The Khânzâdas of Partâbgarh include representatives of several Râjput septs—the Bisen, Râjkumâr, Bachgoti, Bhâlê Sultân, Sombansi, Bais, Kânhpuriya, Chauhân, Bilkhariya, Bharsyân; and there are others known as Madarakiya, Shaikh, and Khânzâda. Shaikhs and Khânzâdas are such as have acquired most of the Musalmân usages. The Bilkhariyas and Bhâlê Sultân Khânzâdas are endogamous; the other groups are exogamous. Daughters, by the rule of hypergamy, are married into higher groups than their own, and boys into those that are equal and inferior. Most of them have now taken to call themselves Shaikhs. They belong to the Sunni sect, but it is reported that some of their women worship Devi.

Kharâdi.—(*Kharrâd; Kharrât*, "a lathe.")—The caste of turners. They are probably closely allied to Barhai. The Kunera (*q. v.*) is another artificer of the same class, and like him is the Gargarasâz, who makes the stems of pipes (*huqqa*). The Kharâdi makes in his lathe the legs of beds (*chârpái*), and in Benares and Ahraura, in the Mirzapur District, he makes the wooden toys which are so popular under the name of "Benares toys."

2. These are turned on the lathe and then lacquered. A good account of the process will be found in the monograph on the wood manufacturers of the Panjâb by Mr. M. F. O. Dwyer, C. S. The Kharâdis are a very respectable class, and one of them is said never to be seen in jail. Those recorded at the last Census include the Hindu and Muhammadan branch. Probably many of the turners have been entered under some of the sub-castes of Barhai.

3. Of the seventeen sections of the Hindu and three of the Muhammadan branch, some, such as Bais, Kanha Thâkur, Kath Bais, illustrate the pretensions of the caste to Râjput origin: others, as Dhundiya Khera, Jaiswâr, Jamnapâri, and Mainpuri, are of local origin.

Distribution of the Kharâdis according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Hindus.	Musalmâns.	Total.
Sahâranpur	...	226	226
Muzaffarnagar	...	25	25
Farrukhâbâd	1	...	1
Etah	...	2	2
Bijnor	...	19	19
Budâun	...	5	5
Cawnpur	15	...	15
Fatehpur	41	...	41
Jâlaun	...	1	1
Benares	302	...	302
Gorakhpur	197	65	262
Basti	109	...	109
RâS Bareli	37	...	37
Sîtapur	1	6	7
Gonda	9	...	9
Bahrâich	...	27	27
Sultânpur	82	18	100
Partâbgarh	12	...	12
Bârabanki	...	4	4
Total .	806	398	1,204

Kharot.—A caste shown in the returns of the last Census as containing 5,641 persons in the Basti District only. Mr. Baillie would class them with the Kewat sub-caste of the same

name. But they are more probably identical with the sub-caste of Beldâr, under which article some reference has been made to them. The detailed Census returns give three sections—Dakkhinâha, or "Southern," Jaraut, and Mahuâr or "collectors of Mahua" (*bassia latifolia*).

Kharwâr.—A Dravidian landholding and cultivating tribe found in South Mirzapur. The differences in social position between various branches of the tribe render an analysis of it difficult. Some have attained a good position as landholders and claim a high social rank, while others are menials, hewers of wood and drawers of water for the superior tribes. That they are of Dravidian origin is clearly proved by their totemistic sept system. One account connects them closely with the Cheros.[1] The Santâl legend, again, runs :—"A wild goose coming from the great ocean lighted at Ahiri Pipri, and there laid two eggs. From these two eggs a male and female were produced, who were the parents of the Santâl race. From Ahiri Pipri [2] our progenitors migrated to Hara Dutti, and then they greatly increased and multiplied, and were called Kharwârs."[3] Again, we are told that the tribe now calling themselves Santâl were formerly called Kharwâr.[4] What the real origin of the name Kharwâr may be is not easily determined. The Kharwârs in South Lohârdaga, according to Mr. Risley, regard the *Khar* grass as their totem, and will not cut or injure it while it is growing.[5] He remarks: "The adoption of the *Khar* as a totem may, of course, be due merely to the consonance of names—a factor which plays an important part in the speculation of savages regarding their own descent. If, on the other hand, the case is one of genuine survival, it goes far to suggest the inference that the Kharwâr tribe of the present day may be merely an enlarged totem sept, which broke off from some larger group, and, in course of time, developed a separate constitution." On the other hand, the people themselves in Mirzapur seem to have no tradition of this *Khar* totem, and derive their name either from their occupation as makers of catechu (*Khair*) from the tree *acacia catechu* or to their emigration from some place called Khairagarh, regarding which there is

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[1] Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 127.

[2] This Pipri is identified by Norfield (*Calcutta Review*, LXXXVI., 11,) with an old Choro stronghold in the hills close to Chunâr in the Mirzapur District.

[3] Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 209.

[4] Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 210.

[5] *Tribes and Castes*, I., 474.

a great difference of opinion. If the Santâl tradition is to be accepted, Khairagarh is the place of that name[1] in the Hazâribâgh District; but the Mirzapur tradition seems to point to some place of the name either to the South or West, in which case Khairagarh may be identified with the most important of the Chhattisgarh feudatory states,[2] or with the Pargana of that name in the Allahâbâd District. The tradition of a connection with the fort of Rohtâsgarh[3] appears to be unknown to the Mirzapur tribe, who represent themselves to be emigrants from Rîwa and Singrauli. Their tribal shrine is at a place called Kota in the Singrauli Pargana of Mirzapur, where there is a shrine of Juâlamukhi Devi, where most of them assemble for worship at the Râmnaumi festival in the month of Chait. They bring their Brâhmans from Singrauli and Pâlamau.

Internal organisation.

2. The internal organization of the tribe varies in different parts of Mirzapur. Throughout they seem to have shed off the elaborate organization of totem septs which prevails in Bengal.[4] North of the river Son there are four exogamous and one endogamous sub-division. The four exogamous sub-divisions are—

(1) Sûrajbansi, who claim descent from the sun, like the corresponding Râjput tribe. It may be noted that the Bengal Birhors affirm that they and the Kharwârs are of the same race, descended from the Sun.[5] This sub-division is now in process of elevation to Râjput rank. This process is also going on in Bengal, where the Râjas of Râmgarh and Jashpur have nearly succeeded in obliterating their Turanian traits by successive intermarriages with Aryan families.[6]

(2) Duâlbandhi, these are the Duâlbandh of the Bengal lists.[7] They say that their name is derived from *dudl*, "a leather belt," because they were once soldiers.

3. Pâthandhi, the Pâthandh of the Bengal lists. They say they are so called because they were once very rich and wore silk (*pât*).

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1 Dalton, *loc. cit.*, 211.
2 *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 212.
3 Risley, *loc. cit.*, I., 479; Dalton, *loc. cit.*, 127.
4 Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, II., *Appendix*, 78, *sqq.*
5 Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 214.
6 *Ibid.*, 128. For examples of the same process at work in other Dravidian tribes, see Hall, *Jungle Life*, 117; Forsyth, *Highlands of Central India*, 8.
7 Risley, *loc. cit.*

(4) Benbansi; of the origin of the name there are two accounts: one is that *ben* means a bamboo, from which this sub-division is descended, and which some of them will not cut. Others derive it from Râja Ben or Vena, the early type of the insolent opponent of the religion established by the Rishis. This sub-division has made rapid strides to acquire the rank of Râjputs. The head of them is the Râja of Singrauli in Mirzapur, who calls himself a Benbansi Râjput. Up to a generation or two ago his family used, it is said, to shave their heads when deaths occurred among the Dudhi Kharwârs. Now he keeps Hindu priests, wears the Brâhmanical cord, and has succeeded in intermarrying with such a well-known Râjput tribe as the Chandels. These four sub-divisions are exogamous, and intermarry on terms of equality, though, as might be expected among the sub-divisions on their promotion to Râjput rank, the rule of hypergamy is advancing in favour.

(5) Khairaha, who are said to derive their name from the extraction of catechu (*kattha*) from the Khair tree (*acacia catechu*). This occupation is considered disreputable, and the members of this sub-division do not intermarry with the other four higher sub-divisions. In Dudhi, again, there are apparently only two sub-divisions—the Duâlbandhi and the Pâtbandhi—which are exogamous and intermarry on equal terms. In Singrauli they name seven exogamous sub-divisions—Pâtbandhi, Duâlbandhi, and Sûrajbansi, which have been already described. Besides these there are the Bhogta or Bhugta, which is one of the sub-divisions recognized in Bengal[1]; the Kharchurwa, who are makers of catechu and apparently identical with the Khairaha noted above; the Chikchikwa; and the Pradhân or "leader." This sub-division, like the Sûrajbansi, who now claim to be Râjputs, say that they originally belonged to that tribe, but suffered a temporary loss of respectability when they began to eat fowls and drink liquor. These abominations they have now discarded, and have been restored to their proper rank.

Physical appearance.

3. In appearance the more advanced members of the tribe are in strong contrast to the more primitive families. Some of the former have received some admixture of Hindu blood. The real Kharwârs Colonel Dalton

[1] Dalton, *loc. cit.*, 129; Risley, *loc. cit.*, II., *Appendix*, 78.

compares with the Santâls: "They are very dark, with pyramidal-shaped low noses, thick protuberant lips and cheek bones or zygomata, which project so as to make the temple hollow." A writer in the *Calcutta Review*[1] says of the tribe in Shâhâbâd:—"The hair of the Kharwâr is black and straight. The form of the face is more oval, and the nose and lips are thinner than is the case with the other hillmen, the Chero, who has more regular features, alone excepted. There is nothing peculiar in the skull, but a slight depression from the extremities to the eyes and downwards gives a height to the cheeks and a protrusion but closeness to the lips, imparting an expression of shyness, for which the Kharwâr is too well noted. The chest is rather narrow, the abdomen large, the limbs long and flat, the gait erect, but both fingers and toes disproportionally heavy." At the same time, in South Mirzapur, even people who have lived all their lives among these Dravidian races fail to identify them easily. All they can say with certainty is that the Majhwârs and Kharwârs are known by the breadth and coarseness of their noses, while the Bhuiyârs are known because they speak through their noses in a very marked way.

Tribal council.

4. In Pargana Dudhi there are three tribal councils, with their head-quarters at Gonda, Bajiya, and Bamhni, respectively. They sometimes take the title of Mânjhi (with the tribe of which name they have no connection) or Mahto. The president first makes private enquiries into cases brought to his notice, and, if he thinks it advisable, convokes a meeting of the general council. Every householder has a right to a seat on the council. No oath is administered, the witnesses being simply admonished to tell the truth. If the council disagree, a sub-committee or cabinet of five leading members, known as the Pachkûti, or "five families," is appointed to investigate, and whatever decision they arrive at, it is accepted by the general council. In Singrauli whoever pleases can call a meeting of the council, for whom he must provide sufficient food and liquor. The meeting is presided over by the headman (*gânwha*) of the village in which the meeting takes place. If the village headman does not happen to be a Kharwâr, another *gânwha* of the tribe is summoned from elsewhere. If the offender does not accept the order of the council, he is excommunicated (*lota bâj kar dena*) until he submits, and he is then obliged to feed the brethren.

[1] LXIX., 356.

5. As already stated, the sub-divisions, except the Khairaha, are exogamous; but in order to bar close intermarriages, which are possible even with this prohibition, marriages within the family of the mother's brother (*mámu*), father's sister's husband (*phúpha*), are prohibited for two or three generations, and the same rule applies to families into which a sister has been married. Differences in geographical position, wealth, or social position are not a bar to intermarriage; but marriages with families who carry on degrading occupation are prohibited. A man may marry as many wives as he can afford to purchase and maintain. They live in separate rooms in the same house. The senior wife is head of the household, and is treated with respect at social meetings. Concubinage is not allowed, and there is no trace of polyandry. Women enjoy considerable freedom both before and after marriage. Inter-tribal incontinence is lightly regarded, and an unmarried girl detected in an intrigue with a man of her tribe is restored to caste rights on her father giving a tribal feast. If her lover is of another caste, the expulsion is permanent. As in Bengal,[1] infant marriage prevails. The marriage age is from five to ten. Adult marriage is considered disgraceful. After the girl has been inspected by the boy's father, all subsequent arrangements are made by the brother of the boy's mother (*mámu*). There are no professional match-makers, and the parties have no right of choice. The bride price is five rupees in cash, two to four sers of sweetmeats, and five maunds of rice and pulse. This is not a fixed amount, but is increased or decreased according to the circumstances of the parties. The bride price is understood to be spent by her father on the marriage feast.

Marriage rules.

6. A woman can be divorced for habitual infidelity, and a woman can leave her husband for the same reason, which must in both cases be proved to the satisfaction of the council. If a man ill-treats his wife, she runs away to her father's house, and the council then warn the husband to treat his wife better; in bad cases they fine him, and recognise the wife's right to refuse cohabitation. A divorced wife may marry again in the *sagái* form. If the husband is impotent, and it is assumed that the marriage has not been consummated, the council divorce them, and give the bride leave to marry again in the regular

Divorce.

[1] Risley, *loc. cit.*, I., 475

form: in this case the new husband has to return the original bride price through her father.[1] Concubinage, as already stated, is prohibited, but illegitimate children, though assumed to belong to the father's tribe, are not admitted to caste privileges.

Widow marriage and the levirate.

7. The tribe is at present in a state of transition as regards widow marriage and the levirate. The more Hinduised Kharwârs, particularly those who aspire to Râjput rank, prohibit both.[2] But those of the more primitive type permit these arrangements. A noted ascetic, the Dûbiya Bâba, has recently led a crusade against both customs among the Mirzapur Kharwârs. Where widow marriage prevails, a man, whether already married or a bachelor, can take a widow into cohabitation, and when he announces the fact to the council, he has to give a feast. Children by such cohabitation are considered to rank lower than those born of a regular marriage, and in some families they receive only one-fourth share as compared with that of legitimate children.

Adoption.

8. The more Hinduised branches of the tribe are beginning to recognise the ordinary rules of Hindu adoption. Among those of a more primitive type, adoption does not depend on any religious theory, and it seems to be recognised that a sonless man can select one of his brother's sons as his heir, and the arrangement will be valid if it is sanctioned by the council.

Beena marriage.

9. The custom of beena[3] marriage (*gharjaiyâu*) prevails. The son-in-law, while on probation, does field work, and receives maintenance, but has no claim to succeed to the property of his father-in-law.

Succession.

10. As regards succession, there is the same divergence between the more Hinduised members, who abide by the regular Hindu law, and the less advanced, who adhere to a vague tribal custom. Among them primogeniture is so far admitted that the eldest son receives, in excess of his younger brothers, one-twentieth of the cattle and one-tenth of the vessels and other household goods. With the exception of this, all joint property, whether ancestral or acquired, is divided equally

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[1] On this see Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 528, 534.

[2] In Bengal, too, the same variance of custom prevails. Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, II., 475.

[3] Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*, 78.

among the sons. If the widow remains at home, does not re-marry, and looks after her children, she has a life interest, which may cease on her expulsion for unchastity. Girls have no rights, except that of support out of love and affection, if they cannot get on with their husband, and have to return to the family home. If a widow, while pregnant, marries again, her child is attributed to the step-father. Only children at the breast accompany the widow on re-marriage, and the step-father is bound to support and get them married. If a man becomes an ascetic, he is regarded as civilly dead, and all his goods pass to his sons. The office of headman (*gánwha*) is hereditary, and if the eldest son of the deceased turn out incompetent, the council will appoint his younger brother in his stead.

Birth ceremonies.

11. The birth pollution lasts for six days. The Hinduised Kharwârs name the child when it is first fed on grain (*anna prâsana*) in the sixth month, and the name is fixed by the family priest (*purohit*), according to the asterism (*nakshatra*) of birth. The child's head is ceremonially shaved in the third, fifth, or seventh year at the temples of Kuâri Sobnâth on the Son, Jwâlamukhi Devi, and Kota in Singrauli, or at the shrine of Vindhyabâsini Devi at Bindhâchal. At the same time the child's nails are cut: until this time the mother may bite off the child's nails, but not touch them with iron. Among the ruder Kharwârs, in cases of difficult parturition, the mother is given two-and-a-half leaves of the *mahua* (*bassia latifolia*) crushed in water. She is delivered on the ground facing the north, and if a son is born, while the Chamâin midwife is cutting the cord, the women of the family sing the song of rejoicing (*sohar*). On the sixth day the mother is bathed by her brother's wife (*bhaujái*) or husband's sister (*nanad*), the latter of whom cleans and re-plasters the delivery room (*saur*), for which she receives a trifling present. Some families have a similar custom on the twelfth day (*barahi*). There is the usual survival of the couvade in the husband doing no work on the day his child is born and taking a mouthful of the cleansing draught which is given to the mother.

Marriage ceremonies.

12. The Mirzapur Kharwârs have retained some of the primitive or non-Aryan customs which those in Bengal have abandoned as far as marriage is concerned.[1] They, however, get the village Pandit to fix a lucky

[1] Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 130.

day for the betrothal (*mangani, barrekhi*), when the boy's father brings to the girl's house three or four jars filled with flour cakes (*pûa*) cooked in butter and five rupees in cash. It is the etiquette on this occasion that he should be accompanied by five of his clansmen, among whom the *mâmu*, or brother of his wife, who has arranged the marriage, takes a leading place.[1] The two fathers-in-law *in futuro* sit opposite each other, the boy's father puts the bride price into his platter and exchanges it for that of the bride's father. The platters are then filled with liquor and exchanged four times more. This constitutes the betrothal, and the boy's father and his friends sit down outside. One or two of the girl's friends bring them a goat, and it is the etiquette to say—"Although the girl's father cannot entertain you, he sends you this vegetable[2] (*chaurâi sâg*), which, we hope, you will honour us by accepting." To this the reply is—"My connection by marriage (*samdhi*) is good in every way." They then bring the goat back to the girl's father, who kills and cooks it with other food, and then invites them to the betrothal dinner saying—"I have provided the best in my power. Be pleased to accept it as an offering" (*prasâd kariyê*). After this, when the wedding day is fixed by the Pandit, the earth ceremony (*matmangar*) is done in both houses, the earth being dug by the Baiga, who is blindfolded while doing so. He takes up five handfuls of the earth and passes them over to five unmarried girls of the tribe, who carry it off in the folds of their sheets, and then bring it in five baskets to the marriage shed (*mânro*), which has five bamboos fixed in the centre. The girls make the earth into a stand for the sacred water jar (*kalsa*), over which is a saucer of barley with a lighted lamp. The Pandit next sprinkles some oil with a bunch of *dûb* grass over the bride or bridegroom, as the case may be, and then the women rub him or her all over with oil and turmeric. With this mixture on the boy and girl sleep for the night, and next day the bridegroom is bathed by the barber and the bride by the barber's wife, who cuts the nails and colours their feet with lac dye (*mahâwar*). The mother of the boy or girl and four other women relatives have their nails cut and their feet coloured at the same time. Before the procession starts, the boy's brother-in-law (*bahnoi*) brings him

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[1] On this see *Majhwâr*, para. 14.

[2] The *chaurâi* or *chauldi* is a common potherb (*amaranthus anardana*)—Watt, *Dictionary of Economic Products*, I., 210.

five times backwards and forwards to his mother, who sits on a rice mortar (*okhal*), and she seizes him by his loin-cloth and will not let him start until she gets a present. The bridegroom is carried in the procession in a large cot known as the ship (*jahâz*).[1] When they arrive at the bride's house the "door worship" (*duár pújа*) is performed. The bridegroom sits in a square (*chauk*) made of flour, and the girl's father puts a mark (*tíka*) on her forehead with rice and curds, after which the Pandit says—"If you intend to give anything to your son-in-law, do so now," and he presents him with a calf, a loin-cloth, and two brass vessels (*lotá, thálí*). Then the bridegroom with his friends retires to the reception place (*janwánsa*), where some friends of the bride wash his feet (*páuw pakhárna*)[2] with those of his party. When the bridegroom comes to be married, there is a survival of marriage by capture in five boys blocking the way and preventing him from going in until they are paid five annas each. Here, again, he receives presents from the bride's father, and after this the clothes of the pair are knotted together, and they walk five times round the five bamboos fixed in the centre of the shed, one of which he marks with red-lead each time as he goes round. After which he marks the bride's head with red-lead in the usual way. The bride and bridegroom are then taken into the retiring room (*kohabar*), the walls of which are decorated with various figures by the younger sister of the bride. The most common mark is three converging lines like the top of Siva's trident. Then the bridegroom refuses to sit beside the bride until he gets a present, when the barber unknots the clothes of the married pair. In the centre of the marriage shed is placed a sort of totem consisting of images of parrots (*suga*), represented sitting on a tree made of the wood of the cotton tree (*semal*). After the marriage this is scrambled for, and the pieces are carried off as trophies by the unmarried boys of the tribe, while, in the retiring room, it is the rule for the bridegroom to mark the wall decorations with a splash of red-lead, and then five unmarried girls wash the feet of the bride and bridegroom, and will not let them go until they get a small present. Next morning is the *confarreatio*, when the bridegroom eats rice and pulse with the bride, and refuses to do so until he gets a tray (*thálí*) as his fee (*khichari khiláí*). After this

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[1] See *Majhwár*, para. 16. The same custom prevails among the Kurmis of Bengal. See Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 319.

[2] On the foot-washing ceremony see Campbell, *Notes*, 29.

a tray is passed round and every guest is expected to make a small contribution to cover the marriage expenses. The bride and bridegroom are then sent off together in the "ship litter" (*jahás*). When she arrives at her husband's house, the bride holds on to the poles of the litter and refuses to dismount until her mother-in-law gives her a rupee. Then they go into the retiring room (*kohabar*), where the bride splashes red-lead on the wall decorations, and their clothes are again knotted and untied by five girls, who wash the feet of the pair. Next morning the bride comes into the marriage shed (*mánro*) with a tray, and all the friends present give a contribution in aid of expenses The same day the bride and bridegroom take the two sacred jars and throw them into a neighbouring stream, bring them home filled with water, and worship the village shrine on the way. The binding part of the ceremony is the marking of the bride's hair with red-lead, but the Mirzapur tribe have discarded the Bengal custom of mixing it with blood,[1] while they retain the practice of emblematical tree marriage.

Death ceremonies.

13. The dying person is taken into the open air to die, and on the day of death the house court-yard is not swept. This is like the practice of the Congo negroes, who abstain for a whole year from sweeping the house, lest the dust should injure the delicate substance of the ghost.[2] Among the more Hinduised Kharwárs the dying man is made to touch a female calf, which is then given to a Brahman, and some Ganges water and a leaf of the sacred *tulasi* (*ocymum sanctum*) are placed in his mouth The corpse is cremated in the usual way. No implements are placed with the corpse. The chief mourner after cremation sweeps the ashes and bones together, and pours over them a libation of unboiled milk barley, and sesamum, to support the soul in the next world.[3] After a person dies it is always necessary to watch a corpse lest demons should possess it They tell a story about this. Once an unmarried girl of the tribe died, and her relatives went to fetch wood to cremate her. A demon got hold of the girl, and she was rescued only with the greatest difficulty. The death impurity lasts

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[1] Risley, Tribes and Castes, I., 473.

[2] Tylor, Primitive Culture, I., 454.

[3] In Shahabad, in Bengal, the chief mourner buries part of the bones near the pyre on the day after cremation, and in the following month of Kartik takes them to the river Sangam at Prayag, where he lives long and commits them to the stream, Calcutta Review, LXIX., 355.

ten days, and ends with the shaving of the kinsmen and a feast given by the relatives of the deceased.

Ancestor worship.

14. On the tenth day after death, a goat is sacrificed in the name of the deceased, and during the days of mourning, food is regularly laid out for him[1] along the road by which the corpse was removed. Each house has a mud platform (*chaura*), which is supposed to be the abode of the family dead. They do the usual *srâddha* ceremony through a Brâhman.

Religion.

15. They call themselves Hindus, but they do not worship any of the usual Hindu gods, except the Sun (*sûraj*), to whom, as in Bengal, they appeal in times of trouble, and to whom the householder bows when he leaves his house in the morning. Their tribal deities are Juâlamukhi Devi of Kota and Râja Lâkhan. This Juâlamukhi Devi must not be confounded with the more famous Juâlamukhi Devi or Juâlamâi who has her shrine at Nagarkot in the Kângra Valley. The two Juâlamukhi Devis were recorded at the last Census as possessing 116,769 votaries. All they know of Lâkhan is that, as they believe from the similarity of name, he came from Lucknow. This deity has a curious history, for he is almost certainly identical with Lakhana Deva, the son of the famous Jaya Chandra of Kanauj, who apparently led the Hindus against the advancing Muhammadans.[2] Lâkhan is worshipped in the month of Sâwan in the house, at the same platform where the dead are propitiated, with the sacrifice of a goat and a burnt offering (*hom*). Juâlamukhi Devi is also worshipped in Sâwan. Other local deities are Mahâdeva, Râja Chandol,[3] and Mother Earth, which is usually reverenced in association with the collective village gods (*Dih*, *Dharti*) in the month of Baisâkh by the offering of a goat, which is sacrificed by the Baiga. In none of these offerings do the women share, except the senior wife, who takes part in the offerings to the sacred dead. The worship to Mahâdeva is done by a low class of Tiwâri Brâhmans, who also officiate at marriages. The south and west rooms of the house are those in which the family godlings (*deota*) reside, and no one will touch the threshhold of

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[1] For other instances see Campbell, *Notes*, 2.

[2] There is a pillar in his honour at Belkhara, in the Mirzapur District. See Cunningham, *Archæological Reports*, XI., 129.

[3] For his worship see *Majhwâr*, para. 40.

these rooms with his foot. When the newly-married pair come home, Dulha Deva, the god of marriages, is worshipped near the family cooking-place. They feed a goat with rice and pulse, cut off its head with an axe, and say—"Take it, Dulha Deva, and be merciful to us!" Then they cook and eat the victim. On the day this worship is done, they remove the ashes out of the fireplace very carefully, without using a broom, and throw it away some distance from the house. If the ashes are dropped on the ground while being removed in this way, it is considered a very unlucky omen. No woman is allowed to be present at the worship of Dulha Deva.

16. The worship of Muchak Râni seems hardly to reach Mirzapur, but the following account by Mr. L. R. Forbes from his Palâmau Settlement Report may be quoted:—"The Kharwârs, like all the aboriginal tribes, are very superstitious, and people the jungles and hills with spirits and gnomes, to whom they offer sacrifice at certain times of the year. One of the most remarkable of these is called the Durgagiya Deota. This spirit rejoices in the name of Muchak Râni. She is Chamâin by caste and her home (*naihar*) is on a hill called Bûharaj; her priests are Baigas. All the Kharwârs regard her with great veneration, and offer up pigs and fowls to her several times during the year. Once a year, in the month of Aghan, what is called the *Karûj pûja* takes place in her honour. The ceremony is performed in the village threshing-floor, when a kind of bread (*pakwân*) and kids are offered up. Once in three years the ceremony of marrying the Râni is performed with great pomp. Early in the morning of the bridal day, both men and women assemble, with drums and horns, form themselves into procession, and ascend the hill, singing a wild song in honour of the bride and bridegroom. One of the party is constituted the priest, who is to perform the wedding ceremony. This man ascends the hill in front of the procession, shouting and dancing till he works himself into a frenzy. The procession halts at the mouth of a cave, which does, or is supposed to, exist on the top of the hill. The priest then enters the cave and returns, bringing with him the Râni, who is represented as a small oblong-shaped and smooth stone, daubed over with red-lead. After going through certain antics, a piece of *tasar* silk cloth is placed on the Râni's head, and a new sheet (*dohar*) is placed below her, the four corners being tied up in such a manner as to allow the Râni, who is now supposed to be seated n her bridal couch, to be slung on a bamboo, and carried like a

dooly or palanquin. The procession then descends the hill and halts under a *bar* tree till noon, when the marriage procession starts for the home of the bridegroom, who resides on the Kandi hill. On their arrival there, offerings, consisting of sweetened milk, two copper pice, and two bell-metal wristlets, are presented to the bride, who is taken out of her dooly and put into the cave in which the bridegroom—who, by the way, is of the Agariya caste—resides. This cave is supposed to be of immense depth, for the stone goes rolling down, striking the rocks as it falls, and all the people listen eagerly till the sound dies out, which they say it does not do for nearly half an hour. When all is silent, the people return rejoicing down the hill, and finish off the evening with a dance. The strangest part of the story is that the people believe that the caves on the two hills are connected, and that every third year the Râni returns to her father's house (*saihar*). They implicitly believe that the stone yearly produced is the same. The village Baigas could probably explain the mystery. In former times the marriage used to take place every year, but, on one occasion, on the morning succeeding the marriage ceremony, the Râni made her appearance in the Baiga's house. The Baiga himself was not present, but his wife, who was at home, was very indignant at this flightness on the part of the Râni, and the idea of her gallivanting about the country the morning after her marriage so shocked the Baigâin's sense of propriety, that she gave the Râni a good setting down, and called upon her to explain herself; and as she could give no satisfactory account of her conduct, she was punished by being married every three years, instead of yearly as before."[1]

Demonology and superstitions.

17. They have apparently abandoned the custom of triennial festivals.[2] Their great festival is in the month of Sâwan, when they dance the Karama dance and indulge in a good deal of rude debauchery. They will not name the pig, tree squirrel, hare, jackal, monkey, or bear in the morning: if they have to mention the pig, they call it *lamtot banaila*; the squirrel, *chikhura;* the hare, *chaugora* ("the footed one") and *patthar ghusua* ("he that hides in the rocks"); the jackal, *sigo*; the red monkey, *pat mahari*; the bear, *jagariya*. They

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[1] This is a very interesting account of a ceremony, which is evidently analogous to those described by Mr. Frazer in his *Golden Bough*, where the corn spirit is annually revived to secure a favourable harvest.

[2] Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I., 475; Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 129.

have a great respect for the tiger, and when one is killed, they retire out of view and will not look on its dead body. They believe that if they join in hunting the animal, it will never show itself. On the feast of the Nâgpanchami they do not worship the snake, but smear the horns of the cattle with oil and give them salt. At the last Census 25,336 persons were recorded as Nâga worshippers. When a man has been killed by a tiger, his ghost is propitiated with an offering of a female goat or fowl, and a mud shrine (*baghaut*) is erected in his memory, and placed in charge of the Baiga. When the Sâmbhar stag eats the leaves of the *kukor* and *mâmar* trees, it is a sign of abundance of rain. Other signs of rain are when the throat of the chameleon (*girgit*) gets red, when the under-hairs of a buffalo's tail become scarlet, when the paddy-birds collect round the cattle as they graze, and when the peacocks cry. Witchcraft is firmly believed in. Witches often take the form of tigers. When the demons, who live in the *bahera* (*terminalia bellerica*) and the cotton tree (*semal*), are on the move, a little bird, called the *kusat*, cries out and raises the alarm. They tell of a Kharwâr who once came on the snake goddess (*nâgin deota*) laying her eggs. When she saw him she came and rolled herself at his feet. The man asked what she wanted. She implored him to throw the eggs into a water hole. So he made a sort of litter of bamboos, and, putting all the eggs on it, went with the Nâgin to the water. The Nâgin plunged in. He was afraid to follow, but the Nâgin said—"Come on! Don't be afraid." When he went in, the water dried up, and he took the eggs to the resting-place of the Nâg. The man remained there eight days, and the Nâg entertained him royally. His relatives thought that a tiger had carried him off, and prepared to do the tenth-day ceremony for him. When the Nâg heard this he said—"Your people think you are dead; now ask whatever you want." The man asked for a brass pot (*batua*), a spoon (*karchhul*), and a pan (*kardhi*). These the Nâg gave him and let him go. When he came home he found his clansmen preparing to do his funeral ceremony. They asked him where he had been, but he never told any one till the day of his death.[1] They have a great respect for the sacred drum

[1] These stories of how a human being makes friends with the denizens of the water are common in folk-lore: for instance, Crofton Croker's tale of the "Soul Cages"; W. B. Yeats, *Fairy and Folk Tales of the Irish Peasantry*, 61; and "Jullanar of the Sea," Lane's *Arabian Nights*, III., 234. Nâgô, it may be noted, is a general term among the Mundas of Bengal for the minor deities or spirits who haunt the swampy lower levels of the terraced rice-fields. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 188; Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, II., 103.

(*mândar*), which is used at the Karama festival. In some places it is even worshipped in the form of Mândar Devi, who has her shrine under a *mahua* tree (*bassia latifolia*). Demons of all sorts are much dreaded, and they are supposed especially to haunt cremation grounds and old wells and tanks, particularly those in which any one has been drowned. The *kumbhi* tree is believed to be specially infested in this way, and no one will walk under a tree of that species; but to walk under a mango tree is very lucky. On the 11th of the light half of Kârttik, special propitiation is done to malignant ghosts, and people drive iron nails into the head legs of their beds to keep them off. On the 11th Kârttik and at the Diwâli, a cock is offered in the cow-house and a young pig in the buffalo enclosure. Gaurâiya Deota is the godling of the cow-house, and to him are offered the earthen bowl (*gaurâiya*) of the tobacco pipe. Before the Holi fire is lit, a fire sacrifice (*hom*) is made under a cotton tree (*semal*), and its trunk is smeared with red-lead. The men are in the habit of using foul language to women not related to them from the Basant-panchami to the Holi. Fields are constantly injured by the thievish sprites, the *chor* and *chorni*, who are specially looked after by the Baiga. Like the Parahiyas (para. 14), they have a great respect for the goat, which they worship before they sacrifice it. Trees and animals they consider have souls like men. The only difference is that when the souls leave them, they do not go to Parameswar as those of men do. Beyond this they appear to have no tangible belief in a future world of rewards and punishments.

Social customs.

18. The women are tattooed in the style common to the Dravidian tribes;[1] there is no trace of a tribal tattoo. If they are not tattooed, they think Parameswar will brand them in the next world. The women wear heavy pewter anklets (*pairi*), glass bangles (*chûri*), and head necklaces. Their special oaths are taking a piece of hot iron in the hand, by the Ganges, putting their hands on their sons' heads, or touching a cow. These oaths are usually sworn in boundary disputes and caste quarrels, and the violation of them is believed to lead to poverty and death. They believe in the demoniacal theory of disease, and whenever a person is sick, an Ojha is called in. He puts some rice before the patient, who blows on it, gets into a

[1] For details see *Agariya*, para. 22.

state of ecstacy, and names the particular *Bhût* which has done the mischief. When he announces this, the patient also gets into a sort of fit and asks the *Bhût*, who answers by the Ojha, what offering he wants. They believe in the treatment of hysteria in girls by beating them with the sacred chain (*gurda*), which is in charge of the Baiga.[1]

Taboos.

19. They will not touch a woman during the pollution after parturition. A woman in her menses is kept in a separate room with another entrance, so that she can go in and out without passing through the court-yard.[2] They will not touch a Chamâr, Dharkâr, or Ghasiya, nor the maternal aunt of the wife (*mamiya sás*), nor the wife of a younger brother. They will not mention by name their wives, father-in-law, mother-in-law, or younger brother's wife.[3]

Festivals.

20. Their great festival is in the middle of Bhâdon, when a leafy branch of the *karam* tree is cut, daubed with red-lead and butter, and fixed up in the court-yard. This marks, as among the Orâons,[4] the time for the transplanting of the rice. The women and men, dressed in gala clothes, place themselves into opposite rows. The national drum (*mândar*)[5] is beaten, when they advance and retreat, and finally dance round the branch in a circle. Sometimes, in the course of the performance, one of the men is seized with the divine afflatus, and murmurs some broken words, which are taken as an omen of the prospects of the coming harvest.[6] The deity connected with agriculture is Baghesar, the tiger lord, who is worshipped by the Baiga with the sacrifice of a white cock; and at the same time a white hen is offered to Âd Chandi Devi, who appears to be a Hinduised representative of Chando Omal, the moon divinity of the Mundas in Bengal.[7] At the last Census, 1,326 persons recorded themselves as worshippers of Chandi Devi, but she has her seat at the Chandi hill overhanging Hardwâr, and is apparently different from the Dravidian goddess of the same name. They surround the

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[1] On this see *Majhwâr*, para. 45.

[2] On this see Frazer, *Golden Bough*, I., 238, *sqq*.

[3] See Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*, II., 122.

[4] Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 259.

[5] There are numerous instances of the respect paid to the drum. In the Atharva Veda (Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, V., 466) is a hymn to the sacred drum, and see Tylor, *Anthropology*, 293; *Calcutta Review*, LXXVII., 372.

[6] See a good account of the observances in *Calcutta Review*, LXIX., 364, for Shâhâbâd.

[7] See Dalton, *loc. cit.*,

piled grain with a ring of cow-dung or charcoal, and put on the top of it a piece of cow-dung which is called *barhdwan* or "that which gives the increase." Until the grain is measured they will not leave an open basket near the pile, lest Bhûts should remove the grain. After it is measured they never touch it.[1] When they are sowing they take five handsful of grain from the sowing basket and pray to Dharti Mâta, the earth goddess, to be benignant. They keep this grain, grind it, and offer it to her at her regular festival in the month of Sâwan (September). When they eat they call on Paramesar, and throw a little of the food on the ground.[2]

Food.

21. They will not eat the meat of the cow, buffalo, monkey, horse, elephant, camel, donkey, alligator, lizard, or rat. Men and women eat apart. The children eat first, and the head of the household after them. They use liquor freely, and chew tobacco (*surti*). The use of liquor they consider wards off disease, but drunkenness is discreditable. They will eat food cooked in butter (*pakka khâna*) from the hands of Brâhmans, and will drink water from a Chero, but the better class are giving this up.

Local organisation.

22. They are very clannish and have a local organisation called *eka*, including the people of two or three villages, which meets to consider public matters; but this is becoming weakened.

Occupation and social status.

23. Most of them are cultivators; a few hold land. Their social position varies: the more Hinduised claim the rank of Râjputs, those of the more primitive type are on the same level as Cheros and Majhwârs.

Khasiya.—A sub-division of hill Brâhmans, who take their name from the ancient Khasa race. Of these Mr. Atkinson writes:[3] — "The lists give some two hundred and fifty septs of Khasiya Brâhmans, of whom the majority are cultivators and plough themselves. They worship sometimes Siva and Vishnu, but chiefly Bhairava, the more common forms of the Sâktis and the village deities. It would be useless to give a list of their names, which are chiefly derived from the villages in which they live. Some claim common origin with the Brâhmans of the plains; thus the Shâranis, Dobhâls, Gahtyâris, Kanyânis, and Garwâls say that

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[1] See M. Conway, *Demonology*, II., 117.
[2] Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II., 270.
[3] *Himalayan Gazetteer*, III., 428, *sqq*.

they were originally Tiwâris; the Mûnwâlis, that they were Chaubês; the Papanois, that they were Upretis of Doti; the Chaunâls, that they were Chaubês of Mathura, who settled in Mânili, in Kâli Kumâun, and took the title Pânrê and their present name on emigrating to Chauni; the Kuthâris call themselves Pants; the Ghushuris, Daurbas, Shanwâls, and Dhunilas call themselves Pânrês; the Laimdaris, Chavanrâls, Phuloriyas, Oliyas, Naniyâls, Chaudâsis, Dalakotis, Burhalakotis, Dhulâris, Dhurâtis, Pancholis, Baneriyas, Garmolas, Walauniyas, and Birariyas allege that they are Joshis; the Bânaris and Nainwâls, that they were Phulâri Brâhmans; the Kaphulis, Dhankolas, and Bhagwâls, that they were Bhatts of Doti; the Jâlis, Nakhyâls, Thapaliyas and Haribols, that they were Upâdhyas; the Bhanautiyas, that they were Gaurs; the Mashyâls, that they were Kanaujiyas; the Pâtasis, that they were Pâthaks; and the Baraniyas, that they came from Benares and were astrologers to the Râja. Septs named after villages, and who do not attempt to give any account of their origin, are the Kholiyas, Kunwâlas, Lweshâlis, Kaphariyas, Baithariyas, Mehalkhâniyas, Nainoliyas, Moltis, Tarâriyas, Hâtwals, Pokhariyas, Chhatguliyas, besides some one hundred and fifty others. They do not know either *sâkha* or *prâvara*, and often have little knowledge even of their *gotra*. The Kanseris worship Siva as Bibhândeswar, a name for which there are few temples. Akariyas derive their name from the fact that they were free from taxation (*a* "privative" and *kara*, "tax"). Balariyas belong to Purnagiri in Kâli Kumaun. Ghughutyâls are Râjputs of Ryûni, degraded from Brâhmans on account of an offence committed by their ancestor. Rasyârs say they were so called because they were Brâhman cooks (*rasoiya*) to Râjas. The Namgis supply Purohits to the Bhotiyas of Juhâr. The Phulrâis supplied flowers for worship at the Nanda Devi temple. The Ghaibhanariyas perform funeral ceremonies for people who die without heirs. Panerus are suppliers of drinking-water (*pâni*). The Dobhâls of Doba village are also called Jagariya or exorcists, and are authorities on the possession by devils, and are called in on such occasions. The Oliyas, on the other hand, avert the evil effects of hail-storms (*ola*), and in Kuâr wander about from village to village begging their dues, a measure of rice. The Chilakutis act as priests of the village god Saim, in Chaugarkha. Nearly ninety per cent. of the Brâhmans in Kuı .un l to the Khasiya race, and are so classed by the people tl A w of the

better class worship the orthodox deities alone, but the great mass serve the Bhairavas, Bhûts, Bhûtinis, and are, to all intents and purposes, as much priests of non-Brahmanical deities, as their representatives further east who know not the name of Brâhman. They are a simple race, and not to be confounded with the Hill Pujâri or temple priest, or the Nâth; but in times of rejoicing assume the functions of religious directors in the very simple ceremonies deemed necessary. The Khasiyas never tried to connect themselves with the plains till late years, when they see that such connections add to their personal dignity."

Khasiya.—A sept of hill Râjputs who represent the great Khasa race. In the Vishnu Purâna we find Khasa as the daughter of Daksha, wife of Kasyapa and mother of the Yakshas and Râkshasas. In the same compilation they appear under the name of Yaksha. They are mentioned in the Karna Parvan of the Mahâbhârata as living in the Panjâb between the Arattas and Vasatis. In the Vayu Purâna, the Khasas are named as one of the tribes which Sâgara would have destroyed had he not been restrained by Vasishtha; and in Manu they are reckoned as degraded Kshatriyas. They inhabited the part of Tibet immediately north of Garhwâl, and we have here a hint as to the origin of the celebrated fable told by Herodotus about the ants who throw the gold out of their burrows. In the Mahâbhârata the Khasas are specially mentioned among the Northern tribes who brought presents of *paipilika* gold, so called because it was collected by ants (*pipilaka*). This would indicate that the Khasas were the carriers of Tibet gold dust. The same word occurs in various well-known geographical terms, such as Kashgâr, Hindukush, Kashmîr, and many others.[1] Even Bâbar had a very shrewd idea of this. "About these hills," he writes, "are other tribes of men. With all the investigation and enquiry I could make among the natives of Hindustân, I could get no sort of description or authentic information regarding them. All that I could learn was that the men of these hills were called Kas. It struck me that as the Hindustânis frequently confound *shín* and *sín*, and as Kashmîr is the chief, and indeed, as far as I have heard, the only city in these hills, it may have taken its name from that circumstance." [2]

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[1] Atkinson, *Himalayan Gazetteer*, II., 375, *sqq*.
[2] Leyden, *Bâbar*, 313.

2. "The account," writes Mr. Atkinson, "that the Khasiyas of Kumaun give of themselves tallies in all respects with the indication from other sources. They always profess to be Râjputs, who have fallen from their once honourable position by the necessity of living in a country and in a climate where the strict observance of the ceremonial usages of their religion is impossible; and undoubtedly this statement is supported by all the facts, so far as we are acquainted with them, which have any bearing on the question. It has been sometimes, but hastily, assumed, apparently from analogous circumstances in Nepâl, that the Kumaun Khasiyas are a people of mixed Tibetan and Indian race. The Khasiyas of Nepâl may have been less exposed to Aryan influences throughout their successive wanderings, or may have been modified by admixture with Tibetan tribes. For, as we proceed eastward from the Kâli, we find conditions of climate, which, however unlike those of Tibet, must still be less antagonistic than those of the Western Himâlaya to the diffusion of a Mongolian race. But this admission does not affect the Khasiyas of Kumâun, who, in physiognomy and form, are as purely an Aryan race as any in the plains of Northern India. The language of the Khasiyas is a purely Hindi dialect both in its vocables and in its grammatical structure, and no signs of foreign admixture have hitherto been discovered in it. Supposed resemblances in feature between the Khasiyas and the neighbouring Tibetan tribes have helped to lead some to a conclusion different from that now given, but this resemblance has no real foundation in fact. The people of the plains, no doubt, differ greatly in appearance from those of the hills, but not more so than might be expected, when we consider the great difference in the physical conditions of the countries that they respectively inhabit, nor more than the Aryan races of the plains, owing to similar causes, differ amongst themselves. The moist climate of Lower Bengal, the comparatively dry heat of the North-Western Provinces, and the still drier climate of the Panjâb, with its great extremes of heat and cold, cause those physical changes in the inhabitants that are so remarkable and clearly recognisable by the most casual observer. If, to the effects of climate, we add the influence of the various races which have from time to time invaded India, we shall have reason to believe that much of the variations observed in the plains is due to circumstances which have been wanting in the hills. However this may be, this much is certain at least, that, at the present time, the Khasiyas of Kumaun

and Garhwâl are in all respect Hindus. They are so in language, religion, and customs, and all their feelings and prejudices are so strongly imbued with the peculiar spirit of Hinduism that, though their social habit and religious belief are often repugnant to the orthodox of that faith, it is impossible for any one who knows them to consider them other than Hindus. Year by year, with increasing communication with the plains, the hill Hindu is more and more assimilating his practice with that of his co-religionists in the plains, whilst to the North, the Tibetan Bhotiyas are becoming more observant of Hindu customs."

3. "In Garhwâl there are numerous sections of the Khasiyas named after the parent village (*thât*), and carrying its name wherever they go, such as Patwâl, which gives its name to Patwâlsyân; Kaphola, hence Kapholsyûn; Bagarwâl; Ambâna, who were Bhatts of Benares, but are here Râjputs; Ramola; Dânas, or Dânavas, representatives of the old tribe of that name; the Khandawâris, Durhyâls, Sanaulas, Dalanis, and Bukilas call themselves Râwats; Boras, Kairas, and Choriyas come from Kumaun. All of these are engaged in agriculture and petty trade, and none of them will call themselves Khasiya. All style themselves Râjputs and many say that they were settled in their present village before Brâhmans and Râjas came. They worship principally the village gods, care little for Brâhman aid in their domestic ceremonies, unless he be a Khasiya, do not wear the sacred thread (*janeu*), and on occasions of joy or sorrow, marriage or deaths, the house is simply purified by cow-dung and cow urine. The marriage or funeral ceremonies are short or long according to the purse of the employers. They intermarry with each other according to local rules peculiar in some respects to each tract."[1]

Khatîk.[2]—(Sanskrit, *Khattika*,[3] "a butcher or hunter.")—A cultivating, labouring, and vegetable-selling caste found all over the Province. They are no doubt very closely connected with the Pâsis, of whom they are sometimes classed as a sub-caste. Of the seven sub-castes enumerated by Mr. Sherring, two—Bauriya and Pâsi—may be excluded. Of the remaining five, two are territorial—

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[1] Atkinson, *loc. cit.*, III., 276.

[2] Based principally on enquiries made at Mirzapur, and partially on a note by Nawab Muhammad Ali Khân of Bulandshahr.

[3] As an amusing instance of a folk etymology, a writer in North-Western Provinces. Census Report (1865), *Appendix* B, 42, derives the name from *khatka*—"rapping," because a man of this caste once had an intrigue with a married woman and used to rap at her door to gain admittance! Râja Lachhman Sinh derives it from "*ghât*," "to kill or watch." *Bulandshahr Memoir*, 185.

Ajudhyabâsi and Sunkhar. The Sunkhar are said to take their name from the town of Sonkh in Mathura. At the same time Sonkh does not appear[1] to possess any traditions of the caste, and their own legends point rather to Jaunpur and Oudh. The other three—Bakarqassâb or Qassâi are butchers, who sell and slaughter goats; the Chalan-mahrâo are workers in leather, especially using it for covering or lining; the Ghorcharâos are grooms. The Ajudhyabâsi sell fruit and vegetables and do general work for hire. All the sub-castes are endogamous.[2] In Mirzapur the sub-divisions are Ajudhyabâsi and Sunkhar, between whom the only difference is that the former eat beef and the latter abstain from it. To the West of the Province they have two endogamous sub-castes—Khara and Khalranga or leather dyers.[3] The last Census classifies them under the heads of Chauhân; Chik or Bakarqassâb; Kabâriya or Mewafarosh, "fruit-sellers"; Rajauriya, who probably take their name from the old Râjput Chauhân fort in the Etah District; and Sonkhar. The Kabâriya is often a sort of marine store-keeper, who buys all kinds of old rubbish (Hindi *kabâr*, Sanskrit *kapâla*). In Agra they have three sub-castes—Chik, Bûchar (our English "butcher"), and Sunkhar. There some of these Chiks make winnowing fans (*súp*) and sieves (*chhalni*); the Bûchar sell goats' flesh and mutton, not beef; and the Sunkhar sell fruit and work as grooms. In Bulandshahr we have the Khara or "pure," Khallu or "hidemen," and Chik. The complete Census returns show no less than 816 sub-divisions of the Hindu and 7 of the Musalmân branch. Of these, those of the most local importance are the Bilwariya of Meerut, the Bargûjar, Chauhân, Chauseni, Khatri, and Sanwariya of Bulandshahr; the Gandhîla and Tomar of Aligarh; the Ajudhyabâsi and Khokhar of Allahâbâd; the Sengarwâr of Mirzapur; the Kanaujiya and Sagahiya of Gorakhpur; the Bandichhor of Basti; and the Tanbina of Lucknow.

Marriage rules.

2. In Bihâr they regulate their marriages by the standard formula, calculated to five generations in the descending line.[4] In Mirzapur they do not marry into the family of the maternal uncle, father's sister, and mother's sister for three generations, and in their own family they

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[1] Growse, *Mathura*, 370.
[2] *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, I., 400.
[3] Râja Lachhman Sinh, *loc. cit.*, 185.
[4] Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I., 477.

do not intermarry for four generations. The occupations considered disreputable in forming alliances are those of a butcher, shoemaker, or carter of manure. Monogamy is the rule of the caste and concubinage is prohibited. In Bihâr they practise infant marriage, marrying their daughters between the age of five and twelve years. In Mirzapur the age is eight or ten. The bride price is fixed at seven rupees. They have a powerful tribal council (*panchâyat*) under a hereditary president (*Chaudhari*). When he is appointed he has to present the council with a gallon of spirits. If a man abduct another man's wife, he is fined twenty-five rupees. This, which is also the rule among some of the cognate castes, is known by the special name of *pachîsi*. Besides this, he has to provide a dinner, consisting of boiled rice, pork, and three gallons of liquor. If an unmarried girl intrigue with a clansman, her parents are fined two gallons of liquor, and then they are re-admitted to caste; but the man has to give something more to buy liquor before the clansmen will smoke with him. Men or women caught intriguing with a stranger to the caste are permanently excommunicated. All money fines are spent on liquor. If the Chaudhari or any member abuse the caste as a body, he is put out of caste. In former times the orders of the Chaudhari used to be enforced by corporal chastisement, but this has now ceased, and a fine is imposed. A wife can be expelled if she is proved faithless, and she can put away her husband if he is impotent or abandons his religion. No separation is permitted without leave of the council.

Widow marriage.

3. The levirate is permitted, but not enforced. A widow generally marries a widower. The only ceremony is that the pair are shut up in a dark room, and he rubs red-lead on the parting of her hair and puts a new suit of clothes and some ornaments on her. The clansmen are then treated to boiled rice, pork, and liquor, and next morning the bride is brought home. When she arrives the female relatives of her husband look in her face and give her a present (*munhdikhdi*)

Birth ceremonies.

4. The ceremonies at birth are as usual among menial castes. When the midwife cuts the navel string, she throws it outside the house, a fire is lighted near the mother, and some branches of the thorny *bel* (*ægle marmelos*) are hung to the house eaves to scare off ghosts. The birth pollution lasts for twelve days, and the husband does not cohabit with his wife for six months after her confinement.

5. Marriage is arranged by the father's sister's husband of the boy. The betrothal (*mangani*) is confirmed by the two fathers sitting together in a square in the court-yard of the bride's house. They exchange a leaf platter (*dauna*) full of liquor, drink it, and the bride's father receives one ser of rice and five pieces of turmeric. The clansmen feast and drink; next morning the bridegroom's father returns home and sends the bride price—seven rupees. Then follows the *matmangar* ceremony three days before the wedding. At this the drum of the Chamâr, who leads the procession of women as they go to dig the clay, is worshipped, and offerings are made at the village shrine (*deohâr*). The bridegroom's mother then smears his back with turmeric and barley flour, and the earth is brought home and put under the marriage shed, which is made of bamboo, with a bamboo in the centre. In the centre is the water jar (*kalsa*), which is smeared with cow-dung and decorated with red-lead and mango leaves. On the top is placed a saucer (*parai*) full of rice. The actual ceremony takes place towards morning. The bride's father's sister brings out the bride, and her father washes her's and the bridegroom's feet and drinks a little of the water. The bridegroom then rubs red-lead on the parting of her hair, and the pair walk five times round the central bamboo: at each revolution the bride's brother puts a little parched rice into a fan (*súp*), which the bridegroom holds, and then scatters the rice on the ground. Next follows the usual ceremony of the *Kohabar*.[1] After the bride is brought home, her father-in-law-sister plunges the water jars and marriage festoons (*bandanwâr*) in a neighbouring stream or tank, and on her way home offers sweetmeats and a burnt-offering (*hom*) to the ghosts which inhabit the old *pípal* and banyan trees in the village. The binding portion of the ceremony is the feet-washing and the rubbing of red-lead on the parting of the bride's hair.[2]

Marriage ceremonies.

6. The dead are cremated in the usual way. When the mourners return, a fire is kindled at the door of the dead man; on this a little oil is poured, and the mourners warm their feet in the smoke and then

Death ceremony.

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[1] For which see *Majhwâr*, para. 18.

[2] Mr. Sherring says that, at the marriage ceremonies of Khatiks and Pâsis boys dress themselves in women's clothes and dance in public; but the Bhars do not observe this custom and make use of the drum and other instruments of music on such occasions which the others do not. *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, I., 400.

chew some *nîm* leaves; liquor is then served round. Food is regularly laid out for the dead during the days of mourning. On the ninth day the mourners shave their heads, and the barber makes ten lumps of milk and rice cooked together, which the chief mourner throws into a tank or stream in the name of the dead. In the evening a pig is sacrificed in the name of the deceased, and the clansmen consume the flesh with liquor. In the first fortnight of Kuâr, they offer lumps of boiled rice and milk to the dead, and lay out cakes, rice, milk, and flesh for the spirits. No Brâhman officiates, and his place is taken by the barber.

Religion.

7. The great deity of the tribe is Karâr Bîr, who has his shrine at Jaunpur.[1] In Mirzapur they say that he was an Ahîr by caste, who was killed by the Muhammadans, because he would not renounce his religion. Karâr Bîr was found to possess 31,408 worshippers at the last Census. He was a demon who inhabited the site of the present Jaunpur. Râmchandra attacked him, tore him to pieces, and left his trunk in the form of a shapeless mass of stone, which is now worshipped. The fort is known as Karârkot to Hindus, and the neighbouring quarters of the city as Karâra Muhalla. He is said to have left his name in that of the Karâkat Pargana of Jaunpur.

He is now represented by a black stone, which is supposed to have marvellous powers. He last displayed his influence when the British tried and failed to blow up part of the Jaunpur fort. His offering is a loaf, five-and-a-quarter sers of rice, a pitcher of liquor, and the *laddu* sweetmeat. They also worship the deified ghost of some unknown Brâhman known as Bâmat, Bâbhan or Brâhman Deva. This worship of a dead Brâhman under the name of Brahm is most popular. No less than 406,787 persons recorded themselves as votaries of Brahm at the last Census. Some of the more famous Brâhms are Ratan Pânrê and Harshu Pânrê.[2] His offering is a Brâhmanical thread (*janeu*), a pig, and a cup of liquor. He is said also to have been a martyr to the faith. Some worship Bhawâni and others Birtiya, who is, according to them, a demoness. Her votaries have a mud altar (*bedi*) in the house, and on it, in the full moon of Sâwan, they offer a young pig, and drop a mixture of pepper, sugar, and water (*mirchwân*) on her altar. They have the usual worship of Sîtala Mâi performed by women when small-pox

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[1] *Archæological Reports*, XI., 104.

[2] For these worthies see *Introduction to Popular Religion and Folk-lore*, 121, *sq.*

prevails. The special time for worshipping Bhawâni is at the Nauráttra of Chait. Her offering is a pig, cakes (*púri*), and sweetmeats (*halwa*). In Bulandshahr they worship the Ganges, Devi, and the Mîran Sâhib of Amroha. On feast days they offer liquor to the village gods (*deokár.*) On the Pacheinyân festival they lay some milk and parched rice near the hole of a snake. Their festivals are the Khichari or Khincharwâr in Pûs, the Phagua in Chait, and the Kajari in Sâwan. On these days they drink liquor and offer some to the tribal deities. The ghosts of the dead, if not propitiated, appear in dreams and bring disease and death. Such cases are treated by the Ojha.

Social observances:

8. Women are tattooed on the arms. They wear no nose-rings nor glass bangles (*chúri*). They have ear-rings, armlets (*dharkasa*), and necklaces. Men swear on the heads of their sons and on Ganges water, in the form *Rám dohái*. Some will not eat beef. They will not touch food touched by a Chamâr, Dom, Dharkâr, Musahar, Pâsi, or Dhobi; the last they consider the foulest of all. They will not touch the wife of a younger brother or a daughter's mother-in-law, and will not speak of a wife by her name. Men and women eat together, but not out of the same dish. They salute a daughter's father-in-law in the form *Rám Juhárí*, and others with the *páélagi* and *asirbád*. To the West of the Province they are considered next lowest to the Bhangi.[1] In the West of the Panjâb they are tanners and rank higher than those to the East, who are pig-keepers.[2] To the East of these Provinces they hold a very low rank: no one will drink water touched by them. They will eat food touched by the Nâo, Bâri, or Ahîr. Their chief occupations are keeping and selling pigs and selling vegetables and fruits, which they buy wholesale from Koiris. On the whole they bear a good character, and seldom come before the Courts.

Distribution of Khatíks according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Hindus.						Muhammadans.	Total.
	Chauhán.	Chik:—Bakar-qassáb.	Kabáriya: Mewa-farosh.	Rajauriya.	Sonkhar.	Others.		
Dera Dún .	...	..	...	...	40	330	...	370
Sahárunpur .	...	...	...	...	...	2,522	...	2,522

[1] Rája Lachhman Sinh, *loc. cit.*, 185.

[2] Ibbetson, *Panjáb Ethnography*, para. 602.

Distribution of Khatíks according to the Census of 1891—contd.

District.	Hindus.						Muhammadans.	Total.
	Chauhán.	Chik :—Bakarqasáb.	Kabáriya : Mewafarosh.	Rajauriya.	Sonkhar.	Others.		
Muzaffarnagar .	23	9	36	9	...	2,751	...	2,828
Meerut . .	...	...	...	...	6,567	1,530	...	8,097
Bulandshahr .	2,954	...	...	2,210	...	16,305	...	21,469
Aligarh . .	52	...	...	22,623	...	17,656	...	40,331
Mathura . .	56	153	17	1,725	...	3,353	1	5,305
Agra . .	70	1,821	54	174	38	3,830	...	3,987
Farrukhábád .	...	...	...	...	10	950	17	977
Mainpuri . .	12	125	122	22	...	1,510	..	1,791
Etáwah . .	118	144	143	140	...	1,657	...	2,202
Etah . .	200	196	40	101	98	1,235	...	1,870
Bareilly . .	...	...	723	22	...	2,167	...	2,911
Bijnor . .	...	...	...	...	...	555	...	555
Budáun . .	1,102	...	...	234	36	2,430	...	3,802
Moradábád .	1	...	...	429	85	462	...	977
Sháhjahánpur .	...	...	...	...	14	1,906	...	1,920
Pilibhit . .	...	...	...	...	...	1,463	...	1,463
Cawnpur . .	...	3	116	...	2,698	4,650	...	7,467
Fatehpur . .	...	...	...	...	3,347	4,194	6	7,547
Bánda . .	...	...	...	...	1,153	1,255	13	2,421
Hamirpur .	...	15	...	...	425	1,025	...	1,465
Allahábád .	...	...	15	...	3,568	1,556	9	5,148
Jhánsi . .	...	47	104	5	10	1,105	12	1,283
Jálaun . .	19	27	2	34	12	768	...	862
Lalitpur . .	18	82	...	...	..	273	...	373
Benares . .	...	...	...	...	4,305	1,424	16	5,745
Mirzapur . .	...	...	...	...	4,738	248	...	4,986
Jaunpur . .	...	...	...	...	3,100	132	...	3,232

Distribution of Khatîks according to the Census of 1891—concld.

District.	Hindus.						Muhammadans.	Total.
	Chaubân.	Chik :—Bakar-qassâb.	Kabâriya: Mewa-farosh.	Rajauriya.	Sonkhar.	Others.		
Ghâzipur .	...	...	5	...	1,185	76	...	1,266
Ballia . .	...	...	...	...	...	32	...	32
Gorakhpur .	...	...	3,852	...	1,826	4,714	1	9,893
Basti . .	...	...	...	...	5,300	956	...	6,256
Azamgarh .	...	...	12	...	3,908	1,407	...	5,327
Kumaun . .	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
Garhwâl . .	...	...	...	...	...	9	...	9
Tarâi . .	...	...	...	22	...	96	187	305
Lucknow .	...	181	837	...	727	1,780	...	3,477
Unâo . .	...	...	...	...	258	538	...	796
Râê Bareli .	...	11	335	...	844	1,003	...	2,193
Sîtapur . .	...	...	...	...	99	59	...	158
Hardoi . .	...	...	...	...	...	36	...	36
Kheri . .	...	...	...	...	2	2	11	15
Faizâbâd . .	...	...	...	...	603	933	...	1,536
Gonda . .	...	...	...	...	9,287	582	...	9,869
Bahrâich . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sultânpur .	...	...	...	...	1,049	499	...	1,548
Partâbgarh .	...	...	...	...	286	218	15	519
Bârabanki .	...	...	...	...	271	456	...	727
TOTAL .	4,625	2,764	5,912	27,750	55,949	92,639	290	189,929

Khatri.—(Sanskrit *Kshatriya.*)—A mercantile caste which has its origin in the Panjâb, but is found in considerable numbers throughout these Provinces.

Sir G. Campbell's account of the caste.

2. One of the best accounts of the caste is that given by Sir G. Campbell in his paper on the "Ethnology of India" published in the "Journal

of the Asiatic Society of Bengal" for 1866. He writes:—"Trade is their main occupation, but in fact they have broader and more distinguishing features. Besides monopolising the trade of the Panjâb and the greater part of Afghânistân and doing a good deal beyond these limits, they are in the Panjâb the chief civil administrators, and have almost all literate work in their hands. So far as the Sikhs have a priesthood, they are, moreover, the priests or Gurus of the Sikhs. Both Nânak and Govind were, and the Sodhis and Bedis of the present day are, Khatris. Thus, then, they are in the Panjâb, so far as a more energetic race will permit them, all that Marhatta Brâhmans are in the Marhatta country, besides engrossing the trade, which the Marhatta Brâhmans have not. They are not usually military in their character, but quite capable of using the sword when necessary. Diwân Sâwan Mal, Governor of Multân, and his notorious successor Mûl Râj, and many of Ranjît Sinh's chief functionaries, were Khatris. Even under Muhammadan rulers in the West they have risen to high administrative posts. There is a record of a Khatri Dîwân of Badakshân or Kundûz, and, I believe, of a Khatri Governor of Peshâwar under the Afghâns. The Emperor Akbar's famous minister Todar Mal was a Khatri, and a relative of the man of undoubted energy, the great Commissariat contractor of Agra, Joti Prasâd, lately informed me that he also is a Khatri. Altogether there can be no doubt that these Khatris are one of the most acute, energetic, and remarkable races in India, though, in fact, except locally in the Panjâb, they are not much known to Europeans. The Khatris are staunch Hindus, and it is somewhat singular that while giving a religion and priests to the Sikhs, they themselves are comparatively seldom Sikhs. The Khatris are a very fine, fair, handsome race, and, as may be gathered from what I have already said, they are very generally educated.

3. "There is a large subordinate class of Khatris, somewhat lower but of equal mercantile energy, called Rors or Roras. The proper Khatris of higher grade will often deny all connection with them, or at least only admit that they have some sort of bastard kindred with Khatris; but I think there can be no doubt that they are ethnologically the same, and they are certainly mixed up with Khatris in their avocations. I shall treat the whole kindred as generally Khatris.

4. "Speaking of Khatris, then, thus broadly, they have, as I have said, the whole trade of the Panjâb and of most of Afghânistân. No village can get on without the Khatri, who keeps the accounts, does banking business, and buys and sells the grain. They seem, too, to get on with the people better than most traders and usurers of this kind. In Afghânistân, among a rough and alien people, the Khatris are, as a rule, confined to the position of humble dealers, shop-keepers, and money-lenders; but in that capacity the Pathâns seem to look on them as a kind of valuable animal, and a Pathân will steal another man's Khatri, not only for the sake of ransom, as is frequently done on the Peshâwar and Hazâra frontier, but also as he might steal a milch cow, or as Jews might, I dare say, be carried off in the Middle Ages, with a view to render them profitable.

5. "I do notknow the exact limits of Khatri occupation to the West, but certainly in all Eastern Afghânistân they seem to be just as much a part of the established community as they are in the Panjâb. They find their way far into Central Asia, but the further they get the more depressed and humiliating is their position. In Turkistân Vambery speaks of them with great contempt, as yellow-faced Hindus of a cowardly and sneaking character. Under Turkomân rule they could hardly be otherwise. They are the only Hindus known in Central Asia. In the Panjâb they are so numerous that they cannot all be rich and mercantile, and many of them hold land, cultivate, take service, and follow various avocations.

6. "The Khatris are altogether excluded from Brâhman Kashmîr. In the hills, however, the Kakkas, on the east bank of the Jahlam, are said to have been originally Khatris (they are a curiously handsome race), and in the interior of the Kângra Hills there is an interesting race of fine patriarchal-looking shepherds called Gaddis, most of whom are Khatris. Khatri traders are numerous in Delhi; are found in Agra, Lucknow, and Patna; and are well known in the Bara Bâzâr of Calcutta, though they are principally connected with Panjâb firms.

7. "The Khatris do not seem, as a rule, to reach the Western coast; in the Bombay market I cannot find that they have any considerable place. In Sindh, I find in Captain Burton's book an account of a race of pretended Kshatriyas, who are really Banyas of the Nânakshâhi (Sikh) faith, and who trade and have a large

share of public offices. They are evidently Khatris.[1] Ludhiâna is a large and thriving town of mercantile Khatris, with a numerous colony of Kashmîri shawl-weavers."

Tribal traditions.

8. The tribal tradition runs that when Parasu Râma, the sixth Avatâra of Vishnu, was engaged in subduing the Kshatriyas in the interest of the Brâhmans, of which caste he was a member, he violently caused the miscarriage of every pregnant woman he could find. Through fear some women who were pregnant took refuge with certain Brâhmans, and when their persecutor detected them their protectors saved their lives by declaring that they were Brâhmanis. In order to corroborate this assertion the Brâhmans ate food at the hands of the women. The children of these women were the progenitors of the present Khatris. It is said that these Brâhmans were of the Sâraswat tribe, and as a proof of their assertion the Khatris point to the fact of the Sâraswat Brâhmans still accepting food cooked by them. Another and more recent tradition is to the effect that up to the time of Alamgîr the Khatris did not abandon their old profession of soldiering; but when a large number of them were slain in the Dakkhin war, he felt pity on the condition of their widows, and proposed that they should be re-married. He summoned a council of the more respectable Khatris of Delhi, and proposed that they should adopt widow marriage. Their headmen Lallu and Jagdhar opposed the proposed reform, and the meeting was dissolved. Hence to this day *Lallu Jagdhar* is a term applied to a meeting which comes to no conclusion. The Emperor did not insist further on the adoption of the reform, but dismissed the Khatris from his military service; but gave them the duty of Dalâli or brokers, which is still their speciality. Another version of the story is that those who consented to the proposal of Alamgîr to adopt widow marriage are called the Bârahghar; those who dissented, Châr ghar; and those who induced the Emperor to abandon the scheme Âdhaghar. The Rora are said to be those who, when questioned by the Râja of Gaya, and a great persecutor of the tribe, denied being Khatris.

Ethnological affinities of the Khatris.

9. About the ethnological affinities of the tribe there is much difference of opinion.[2] Mr. Ibbetson says that the validity of their claim to be

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[1] For those Gujarât Khatris, see *Bombay Gazetteer*, V., 69.

[2] For some of the evidence on one side of the case a tract by the late Bâbu Harish Chandra of Benares may be consulted.

direct representatives of Kshatriyas[1] of Manu "is as doubtful as most other matters connected with the fourfold caste system." On the other hand, Mr. Nesfield thinks their claim to be valid, and adds that "the cause which detached the Khatri from the Kshatriya and shut out all possibility of a return to the ancestral caste was the establishment of a marriage union between fragments or clans drawn from several different sub-castes of Kshatriyas, between whom no connubial rights had hitherto existed, or from sub-castes of Kshatriyas mixed with Brâhmans. There is much reason to believe that Brâhmans as well as Kshatriyas have contributed to form the new caste of Khatri," and he goes on to allude to the fact, already referred to, that Sâraswat Brâhmans eat food at their hands. On the other hand, Mr. Risley[2] urges that the internal organisation of the caste "furnishes almost conclusive proof that they are descended from neither Brâhmans nor Kshatriyas, and that the theory connecting them with the latter tribe rests upon no firmer foundation than a resemblance of name, which, for all we know, may be purely accidental. Their features and complexion, indeed, entitle them to be ranked as Aryans of comparatively pure lineage, but among their numerous sections we find none of those territorial names which are characteristic of the Râjput septs. The section names of Khatris belong to quite a different type, and rather resemble those in vogue among the Oswâls and Agarwâlas. Were they descended from the same stock as the Râjputs, they must have had the same set of section names, and it is difficult to see why they should have abandoned them for less distinguished patronymics. In addition to their own sections, they have also the standard Brâhmanical *gotras*; but these have no influence upon marriage, and have clearly been borrowed, *honoris causâ*, from the Sâraswat Brâhmans, who serve them as priests. If, then, it is at all necessary to connect the Khatris with the ancient fourfold system of castes, the only group to which we can affiliate them is the Vaisyas. This conjecture is at least in keeping with the present occupations of the caste, and gets us out of the difficulty which led Sir G. Campbell to propound the doubtful theory that in the ordinary course of history the warlike conquerors of one age become the astute money-dealers of another. In truth, however, all specu-

[1] Punjâb Ethnography, para. 539.
[2] Tribes and Castes, I., 480.

lations which profess to connect existing castes with the four traditional castes are on the face of things futile and misleading. We do not know enough about these primitive groups to be able to apply to their internal structure that minute analysis which alone can determine their precise tribal affinities."

10. By another authority[1] an attempt has been made to connect the Khatris with the Jâts. It is urged that the *sehra* or veil, and not the *maur* or crown, is used in marriage among both races; that the Khatri women alone of Hindus wear shoes, though the custom down East is dying out and the only observance of it is the sending of a pair of shoes among the wedding presents of the bride. The Khatris deny that they ever had the custom of eating from vessels (*rikâbi khâna*) or that their women ever wore clothes of Muhammadan fashion (*turki kapra*), while the Pachhâda Jâts still openly practise both customs at marriage feasts. Again, there is a tradition that the Tagas were once Khatris, and expelled for drinking; the Tagas ridicule this, but the Khatris assert that it is the case. On the other hand, their connection with Jâts has been denied on the ground that no pious Brâhman eats food prepared[2] by a Jât, but most will if cooked by a Khatri. As Khatris mostly inhabit the Muhammadan capitals, Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Lucknow, etc., many Muslim customs, as wearing the *sâri* on marriage, the use of shoes by females, etc., have crept into their society as well as among Kâyasths, Agarwâlas, Oswâls, and other similar tribes, and Khatris and Kâyasths for the same reason use a greater number of Persian words in familiar language than other Hindus.

11. Another suggestion[3] is that their peculiar customs and modern immigration into these provinces indicate them to be one of the Hindu tribes which occupied the trans-Indus region at the time of Alexander's invasion, and an attempt has been made to identify them with the Xathri, who were recorded by the Greek historians to have been on the Chinâb when Alexander invaded the Panjâb.

12. On the whole, it seems quite clear from their physique and general appearance that the Khatris are of Aryan descent, and if we admit, which is probably the case, that the aggregate of tribes now known under the name of Râjput and Brâhman is of mixed

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[1] *Indian Antiquary*, I., 269, *sq.* [2] *Ibid.*, II., 26, *sqq.*
[3] Râja Lâchhman Sinh, *Bulandshahr Memo.*, 166.

origin, it is not difficult to imagine that the Khatris may have been an offshoot from one or the other, and Mr. Risley's argument based on the character of their sections does not seem conclusive. We know from numerous instances, such as the Benbans Râjputs of Mirzapur and some of the Oudh septs, that this internal structure is far from stable, and it may be true that the Khatris were once a higher race which accepted a lower status when they took to mercantile occupations.

Internal structure.

13. The internal structure of the Khatris is very intricate. At the last census of these provinces they recorded themselves in ten main sub-castes—Kakkar, Kapûr, Khanne, Lâhauri, Mohendra, Meherê, Rora, Seth, Surîn, and Tandan. The complete returns show 761 sub-divisions in which the endogamous sub-castes and exogamous sections are inextricably mixed together. To quote Mr. Ibbetson for the Panjâb branch of the caste:—"In recent times there has sprung up a system of social graduation in accordance with which certain Khatri tribes refuse to intermarry with any save a certain specified number of their fellow-tribes, and the distinctions thus created have been formulated in a set of names such as Dhâighar, 'he who only marries into two-and-a-half houses'; Châraâti, 'he who marries into four tribes'; Chhahsâti, 'he who marries into six tribes'; and so on. This purely artificial and social classification has obscured the original tribal divisions of the caste; for Khatris of the same tribe may be in one part of the province Châraâtis, and in another Bârahsâtis, and so forth. The returns then show three different kinds of divisions—first the four real tribal sections—Bunjâhi, Surîn, Bahri, and Khokhrain; then the four of the most important of the artificial divisions allied to above Dhâighar, Châraâti, Panjâti, and Chhahsâti; and finally six of the most important clans—Sodhi, Kohli, Kapûr, Khanna, Mathotra and Seth. The origin of the division into the four sections called Bunjâhi, Surîn, Bahri, and Khokhrain is said to have been that Alâ-ud-dîn Khiljî attempted to impose undue marriage upon the Khatris. The Western Khatris refused to accept the innovation, and sent a deputation of fifty-two members of their number to represent their case in court; but the Eastern Khatris were afraid to urge the innovation. They were therefore called Bâwanjâ Khatris, or the Muhammadan Khatris, since Bâwa was one of the nicknames given to Muhammadans, while the remainders were called Bâwan-jâ, from the number of the deputation or of the clans respectively,

represented by the members of the deputation; hence Bunjâhi. The Khokhrân section is said to consist of the descendants of certain Khatris who joined the Kokhars in rebellion, and with whom the other Khatri families were afraid to intermarry; and the Bahri section, of the lineage of Mahr Chand, Khân Chand, and Kapûr Chand, three Khatris who went to Delhi in attendance upon one of Akbar's Râjput wives, and who, thus separated from the rest of the caste, married only within each other's families. But these are fables, for the same division into Bahri and Bunjâhi appears among the Brâhmans of the Western plains. The number of clans is enormous. The most important in point of social rank are the Marhotra or Mahra, the Khanna, the Kapûr, the Seth, the first three of which are said to be called after the names of the three men just mentioned, while Seth is a term now used for any rich banker. These four clans belong to the Bahri section of the caste, and constitute the Dhâighar and Châr zâti divisions, which stand highest of all in the social scale. The origin of the term Dhâighar lies in the fact that the families of that division exclude not only the father's clan but also such families of the mother's clan as are closely connected with her, and thus reduced the clans available for intermarriage to two-and-a-half. I should say that each division will take wives from one below it, though it will not give its daughters to it in marriage. The Bedi and Sodhi clans belong to the Bunjâhi tribe, and owe most of their influence and importance to the fact that Bâba Nânak belonged to the former and Guru Râm Dâs and Guru Har Govind to the latter. They are commonly said to be the descendants of these men, but this appears to be a mistake, the two clans dating from long before Bâba Nânak. The Sodhis played an important part during the Sikh rule. They claim descent from Sodhi Râê, son of Kal Râê, king of Lahore; and the Bedis from Kalpat Râê, brother of Kal Râê and king of Kasûr, who, being deprived of his kingdom by his nephew, studied the Vedas at Benares and was known as Vedi. The modern head-quarters of the Bedis is at Dera Nânak in Gurdâspur, where Bâba Nânak settled and died, and of the Sodhis at Anandpur in Hoshyârpur, which is also the centre of the Nihang devotees."

14. In Mirzapur the tribal arrangement is very intricate. They name five main sub-divisions, Dhâighar, Châr ghar, Bâra ghar, Bâwan ghar, and Suratiwâl, who are lowest in rank. Each of these has four sections Meharhotra, Tandan, Kapûr, and Khannê.

These again are provided with sub-sections. Those of the Meharhotras are Lalwânê (Natkhol) and Kanauj kê Meharê; of the Tandan, Ranjît kâ Tandan, Pihâna kâ Tandan, and Billimâr Tandan; of the Kapûr, Kodokhânê Kapûr; and of the Khanna Nakhsikhana Khanna. The Dhâighar give their daughters only in marriage to members of their own sub-division and take wives from their own sub-divisions or from the Châr ghar. If one of the Dhâighar marry in the Bârahghar he is degraded. The daughters of the Dhâighar are sometimes married in their own sub-divisions or to members of the Dhâighar. The males of the Châr ghar take wives from the Bârahghar. There is thus a well-established rule of hypergamy in force in the tribe.

15. In Benares, according to Mr. Sherring[1] they are divided into two main branches—the Purbiya or "Eastern" and the Pachhainiya or "Western." The Pachhainiyas are divided into six sub-tribes, each of which has a number of clans (*gotra*). The Arhâighar or Chauzâti comprise the Khanna, Kapûr, Mehra, and Seth clans, whose *gotras* are for the first three Kausal and of the last Vatsa. They are the head of the Pachhainiya branch, and will marry their sons into any of the next four sub-tribes, though they will not permit Chhahzâti men to marry Chauzâti women. The second sub-tribe, the Chhahzâti, has six clans, Bahel, Dhanwân, Beri, Vij, Saigal, and Chopra. Of the third sub-tribe, the Panjzâti, Mr. Sherring does not give the clans. Of the fourth, the Bahri, there are, according to the same authority, twelve clans,—Upal, Dugal, Puri, Kochar, Nandê, Malhpê, Handê, Bhallê, Mangal, Badahrê, Sowâti, and Kulhar. All these clans intermarry. They also marry their daughters into the three preceding sub-tribes, but cannot receive their women in marriage. The fifth sub-tribe, Bâwanjâhi, has fifty-two clans which intermarry. The Bahri clan will receive their women in marriage, but will not give their own in return. Of the sixth sub-tribe, the Khokhrân, there are nine clans, who are—Kohali, Anad, Bhasirn, Chuadha, Sabrwâl, Suri, Sahani, Ghei, and Sethi. These nine clans intermarry, but Khokhrân are endogamous.

16. The divisions of the Khatris of Bengal are very similar. Mr. Risley names six sub-castes, Châr jâti, Panchjâti, Chhahjâti, Bârahjâti, Bahannajâti, and Piruwâl, each with a number of sections

[1] *Hindu Tribes*, I., 280, *sqq*.

which need not be detailed. He adds that the Châjâti sub-caste "is again divided into Arhâighar and Châghar, apparently hypergamous groups, the former of which is deemed superior to the latter. It seems probable that the first five sub-castes were originally hypergamous divisions, the order of precedence being that given above. Intermarriage between members of different sub-castes is not known at the present day, but it is considered right for a man to marry in his own group, and the sub-castes are practically endogamous. The Piruwâl sub-caste has always been endogamous."

Marriage.

17. Boys are married between the age of ten and twenty-five; but infant marriage is preferred. Girls are married between nine and fourteen. Polygamy is allowed, but there seems to be an increasing prejudice against it. Widow marriage is forbidden.

Religion.

18. Khatris are generally Vaishnavas or Nânakpanthis and their family priests are Sâraswat Brâhmans. Their domestic ceremonies are of the standard orthodox type.

Social status.

19. Khatris rank high among Hindus. Sâraswat Brâhmans eat *pakki* and *kachchi* with them; Banyas eat *pakki*; and Kahârs and similar castes eat *kachchi* cooked by them. They themselves eat *pakki* and *kachchi* cooked only by members of the caste or Sâraswat Brâhmans. Their women have a reputation for their beauty and fair complexion. A Bihâr proverb says—*Khatri sé gora pandu rogi, Kâyasth se chatur parbhogi*—"An albino only is fairer than a Khatri and an adulterer than a Kâyasth." Another runs—*Rúp na singár, Khatráni ki sádh*—"Without beauty or ornaments she would be a Khatri woman."

Distribution of Khatris according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Kakkar.	Kapûr.	Khannâ.	Lahori.	Mahendru.	Mehnâ.	Rora.	Seth.	Surîn.	Tandan.	Others.	Total.
Dehra Dûn . . .	...	...	7	...	...	130	22	8	10	1	399	577
Sahâranpur . . .	...	103	48	...	...	54	547	32	30	23	1,584	2,421
Muzaffarnagar . .	3	33	42	...	...	22	890	18	...	...	260	1,268
Meerut	9	77	121	10	...	91	624	16	86	8	935	1,977
Bulandshahr . . .	6	...	6	...	...	1	...	3	22	...	577	615
Aligarh . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	26	...	...	...	918	944
Mathura . . .	...	144	4	2	10	69	371	53	...	46	855	1,554
Agra	83	251	18	33	9	86	196	70	5	211	981	1,943
Farrukhâbâd . . .	6	154	9	...	...	260	164	24	...	698	80	1,395
Mainpuri . . .	17	11	27	...	...	7	...	1	129	...	28	220
Etâwah . . .	57	80	3	...	23	75	...	...	...	185	134	562
Etah	6	32	12	...	11	69	...	4	29	2	85	250
Bareilly . . .	12	243	589	8	...	316	69	154	14	299	793	2,497
Bijnor	570	34	...	...	...	36	...	...	318	...	23	945

Budâun	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	36	94	132
Morâdâbâd	4	285	368	35	...	174	329	64	56	368	781	2,464
Shâhjahânpur	2	221	7	11	11	211	26	262	7	307	412	1,477
Pilibhit	...	1	14	...	...	8	...	1	5	4	204	237
Cawnpur	...	338	128	4	138	322	88	150	...	405	1,145	2,718
Fatehpur	37	34	32	...	...	5	...	29	...	43	110	290
Bânda	13	9	40	...	...	...	...	9	17	9	33	130
Hamirpur	...	5	1	...	...	1	...	3	...	...	44	54
Allahâbâd	2	54	16	...	...	29	...	21	...	77	3,155	3,354
Jhânsi	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	460	469
Jâlaun	7	23	23	...	...	52	3	5	7	8	184	312
Lalitpur	3	1	...	...	2	209	...	...	...	...	44	259
Benares	...	273	1	...	...	173	2,024	502	136	122	1,054	4,285
Mirzapur	...	...	...	...	...	185	...	...	...	458	13	656
Jaunpur	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	290	292
Gorakhpur	1	2	4	...	...	16	...	62	5	12	86	188

Distribution of Khatris according to the Census of 1891—concld.

District.	Kakkar.	Kapûr.	Khannâ.	Lahori.	Mahendru.	Mehrâ.	Rora.	Seth.	Surin.	Tandan.	Others.	Total.
Ballia	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	255	255
Basti	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	...	...	...	117	128
Azamgarh . . .	...	1	4	...	12	1	7	1	9	...	217	252
Kumâun . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	46	46
Tarâi	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	389	389
Lucknow . . .	...	140	190	11	31	198	52	619	92	161	1,335	2,829
Unâo	25	...	7	...	...	13	15	...	...	145	147	352
Râê-Bareli . . .	8	...	1	...	...	2	...	...	11	...	117	139
Sîtapur	10	158	31	53	125	531	...	223	9	261	442	1,843
Hardoi	6	34	...	...	...	376	1	7	...	278	138	840
Kheri	8	55	1	...	7	176	39	...	...	64	188	538
Faizâbâd . . .	...	5	...	...	...	403	19	9	...	229	499	1,164
Gonda	...	41	10	...	...	81	...	...	...	41	187	360
Bahrâich . . .	8	2	53	...	...	50	1	14	...	...	476	604

Sultânpur . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	...	247	256
Partâbgarh . . .	...	...	18	...	...	8	...	...	...	...	137	168
Bârabanki . . .	...	11	...	...	...	158	...	59	...	280	35	543
TOTAL .	903	2,837	1,835	167	384	4,548	5,524	2,425	1,001	4,790	20,682	45,116

Khawâs, Khawâss.—(Plural of *Khâs* "peculiar"; *Khâss*, "distinguished people.")—A name specially applied to the offspring of slave girls, other than those of Brâhman origin, who have cohabited with the men of Nepâl. Their descendants along the Gorakhpur and Basti frontier are known by this special name.

Khichi.—A Râjput sept, a branch of the Chauhâns. In Lucknow they trace their origin to Raghugarh, near Narsinhgarh. Their old country is known as Khichwâra. In the Panjâb their traditions refer them to Ajmer, thence to Delhi, and from Delhi to the Satlaj, during the Mughal rule. In Oudh they have a ridiculous legend to account for their name. One of their sept was once distributing gold and silver in heaps as alms. "It is boiled rice and pulse" (*khichari*), said he. And ever since they have been called Khichi.[1]

Khumra.—A tribe found chiefly in Rohilkhand, of whom little is known, save that their chief business appears to be cutting and exporting millstones (*chakki*), an indispensable article in every native household. They carry about these stones by stringing them on an axle through the central hole and dragging them along the road behind a buffalo. In these Provinces they are called Muhammadans. The complete Census returns give their sections as Bâhman, Dulha, Gori or Gaur, Hataiwâlê, Quraishi, Multâni, Nawabâr, Pachhawi, Pathân Najuri, Sadîqi, Tarâi, and Tayâr.

2. From the Râmpur State it is reported that they are low-class Muhammadans, whose occupation is making mats and fans. As regards religion, they are indifferent Muhammadans, and their women dress like Hindus. They resemble Julâhas in their manners and customs, and are converts to Islâm from one of the low Hindu tribes.

Distribution of Khumras according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Sahâranpur . . .	216	Tarâi	108
Muzaffarnagar . . .	75	Lucknow . . .	106
Meerut . . .	350	Unâo	43
Bulandshahr . . .	2	Sîtapur	168
Aligarh	4	Hardoi	8
Bareilly	565	Kheri	242
Bijnor	2,166	Bahrâich	180
Morâdâbâd . . .	584	Bârabanki . . .	187
Shâhjahânpur . . .	149		
Pilibhît	55	Total .	5,198

[1] *Lucknow Settlement Report*, LXXI; Ibbetson, *Panjâb Ethnography*, para. 419.

Kinwâr.—A sept of Râjputs in the Eastern Districts, numerous in Bhâgalpur, but of no standing in Gorakhpur. In Ghâzipur one division of the sept is Chhatri, another Bhuînhâr. They say that a Dikshit Râja, named Mân Dikshit, lived at a place called Manchhatra Asthân on the Jumna, and that his descendants established a kingdom at Padampur in the Karnâtic. By another account they came from a place named Karnât Padampur, which they believe to be near Delhi. Two cadets of the family took service, one with the Gaharwâr Râja of Benares, the other with one of the Gautam Bhuînhârs, who were at war, and each married a daughter of his patron. They derive their name from Dankin on the river of the same name, of which all they know is that it is somewhere to the South and was their early home.[1]

2. From Ballia it is reported that they take brides from the Barwâr, Narwâni, Nikumbh, Chaudel, Ujjaini, Karchhuliya, Khâti, Pachhtoriya, and Sengar septs, and give brides to the Haihobans, Ujjaini, Narwâni, Nikumbh, Barwâr, Kausik, Raghubansi, Bisen, Chauhân, Palwâr, Sirnet, Râjkumâr, Sûrajbansi, Maunas, Bhrigbansi, Singhel, and Sengar septs.

Distribution of the Kinwâr Râjputs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Sahâranpur . . .	16	Gorakhpur . . .	680
Muzaffarnagar . .	1	Basti	538
Meerut	1	Azamgarh . . .	95
Cawnpur . . .	65	Kumaun . . .	56
Allahâbâd . . .	14	Tarâi	69
Jâlaun	164	Lucknow . . .	12
Benares . . .	19	Sîtapur . . .	149
Mirzapur . . .	6	Kheri	60
Jaunpur . . .	30	Gonda . . .	513
Ghâzipur . . .	103	Bârabanki . . .	177
Ballia	5,127	Total .	7,885

[1] Buchanan, *Eastern India*, II., 463; Oldham, *Ghâzipur Memoir*, I., 61.

Kingriya, Kingariya, Kingriha.[1]—A tribe of dancers and singers found in some of the Eastern Districts. They do not appear in the returns of the last Census, and have perhaps been classed in some places with the Dhârhi, to whom they are probably akin. The name Kingariya is derived from the *Kingri*, a kind of two-stringed gourd lute, which they play. The name Panwariya, by which they are also known, appears to be derived from the Hindi *Pânwara*, "a carpet" (*pânw*, "a foot"), on which they sit when they perform. They are in habits and occupation very like the Garris of the Panjâb, who carry a zither-like instrument called a *King*.[2]

Tribal organisation.

2. In Mirzapur they name seven endogamous septs:—Kingariya or Kingariha, Banhkata, Jogi, Sewara, Khapariya, Atît, and Banhchariya. The Banhkatas appear to derive their name from their custom of cutting their arms (*bânh-kâtna*) in order to extort alms. They are also known as Kaparchirwa, or people who wound their heads with the same object. They carry an iron spike on which a number of little bells are hung. They rattle the bells as they beg from door to door, and if any one refuses alms they strike their arms or heads with the spike and draw blood. The Jogis are in no way connected with the regular ascetics of that name. They are professional beggars who dress in clothes coloured with ochre (*gerua*) like the real Jogis. When they go on begging excursions they carry a rosary of *rudrâksha* beads, and a *sârangi* or fiddle, on which they play and sing songs in honour of Râja Bhartrihari, who is said to have been brother of Vikramaditya and to have abandoned his kingdom and become an ascetic. These people are really Sunni Muhammadans, who get themselves up as Hindu Jogis to deceive pious Hindus. The Sewaras, so called because they do service or attendance (*sewa*) to the gods, wear their hair long, and keep ponies and asses on which they carry their families and goods from one village to another in search of alms. The Khapariyas, who are possibly the same as the tribe of that name separately described, are said to derive their title from their habit of carrying about a human skull (*khapar*) in which they take alms. The Atîts get

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[1] Based on enquiries at Mirzapur and a note by Bâbu Mûl Chand, Subordinate Judge, Family Domains of His Highness the Mahârâja of Benares.

[2] *Panjâb Census Report*, 1891, page 338.

themselves up like the Hindu beggars of that name (*q. v.*), carry *rudrâksha* beads, and cover their bodies with ashes. The Banhchariyas beg, but they have some other occupations as well. They make petty ornaments of pewter. Some keep snakes and scorpions, which they exhibit, and some go about with dancing monkeys. The tribe so called is thus made up of very diverse elements, and is obviously of very mixed origin, a considerable part of it being probably derived from the Nats and similar vagrant races. Their only tradition is that they are descended from Bâba Abbâs, by whom they possibly mean the paternal uncle of the Prophet; in Mirzapur they say that they came from some place in the West and settled at Bijaypur.

Tribal council.

3. They have a tribal council (*panchâyat*) under a headman (*chaudhari*), who is an hereditary permanent official.

Marriage.

4. They follow the Musalmân prohibited degrees, and the ceremony is the regular *nikâh*. They have a curious rule by which an unfaithful wife is, on a charge for adultery being established against her, fined three rupees ten annas, and has then liberty to go where she pleases. Widow marriage and the levirate are allowed. When a betrothal is arranged the father of the boy pays two-and-a-half annas to the father of the girl. This makes the engagement binding. A date is then fixed with the consent of both parties, and on that day the boy's father goes to the house of the bride with some clothes and molasses. He presents these things to the girl, and her father pays in return two rupees, and the matter is settled. If either party after this breaks the engagement, he has to pay a fine of five rupees, and is awarded five blows of a shoe in presence of the council.

Purification.

5. After child-birth the mother is impure for one month and twenty-five days. During the first twelve days she is bathed thrice—on the sixth, tenth and twelfth. Then the thirteenth day ceremony (*terhín*) is performed, and after a month and twenty-five days elapse she is again bathed, and then becomes pure. After menstruation a woman is impure for four days, and is then purified by bathing. After a funeral they are impure for forty days. In the interval a feast is given on the third day (*tíja*).

Religion.

6. They are Muhammadans of the Sunni sect and venerate Ghâzi Miyân; some also make an occasional sacrifice to Kâli Bhawâni. The latter is worshipped in the house kitchen in the month of Sâwan with an offering of cakes (*púri*) and sweetmeats (*halwa*). They offer food to the spirits of the dead during the Muharram. They employ Brâhmans to give them the omens at marriages and other important occasions. Their regular priests, who perform the marriage service, are drawn from the Dafâli caste. Their great festivals are the Îd, Baqarîd, and Shabirât.

Social rules.

7. They will not eat or drink with a Dhobi, Dom, Chamâr, Bhangi, or Pâsi. They drink spirits and eat the flesh of cloven-footed animals, fish, and fowls; they will not eat the flesh of monkeys, beef, pork, whole-footed animals, snakes, jackals, crocodiles, or vermin. There is, however, a tendency in recent times to restrict the use of liquor, and now in Mirzapur if a man drinks he is fined five annas before he is allowed to take his seat in the tribal council. They use *gânja* and *bhang* like Hindu begging tribes. The women wear a sheet (*sâri*), a bodice (*jhúla*), and put red-lead on the parting of the hair, like Hindu wives. In their ears they wear rings of iron or silver, nose-rings, necklaces, bangles of glass, and anklets. The men wear the loin-cloth (*dhoti*) and jacket (*mirzâi*) like Hindus, and let their beards grow. When they go begging they carry an alms bag (*jhori*), dress like Hindu Faqîrs, and carry their musical instruments with them—the *tumba* or gourd drum and the *kingri*—from which they take their name. They attend the houses of rich Hindus and Muhammadans when a son is born and sing the *sohar* or song of rejoicing. Generally they wander about from house to house begging and singing. A few cultivate, but in a careless, unthrifty fashion.

Kirâr.—A caste which has been separately recorded at the last Census, but which is usually treated as a sept of Râjputs. In Aligarh,[1] where they appear in the largest numbers, though numbered among Râjputs, they are considered of very inferior rank. In Mainpuri,[2] where also they are numerous, they claim to be a branch of the Mathura Jâdons, and say that their ancestor Kun-

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[1] *Settlement Report*, 32.
[2] *Mainpuri Settlement Report*, 20.

war Pâl invaded the country about five centuries ago and conquered the fort of Kirarwa, now Karora, where they settled, and were named after it. But the process was evidently different, and Kirarwa was so called from Kirârgânw, the village of the Kirârs. They have been identified with the Kirâtas, who, according to Manu, with other Dasyu tribes, became Vrishala, or outcast, from the extinction of sacred rites and from having no intercourse with Brâhmans.[1] Of them Mr. Atkinson[2] says:—"There is every reason to suppose that the Nâgas, Kirâtas, and Khasas entered India by the same route as the Aryas, and that the Kirâtas were the first to arrive, then the Nâgas, and then the Khasas. The earliest notice regarding the Kirâtas brings them as far westward as the Jumna in the first century. Local tradition in Nepâl gives them an eastern extension to Bhutân, and at a very early date they held the Nepâl valley. Twenty-nine names[3] of kings of this race are given in the local history of Nepâl. We have collected the names of fourteen rulers attributed to the Khasa race in Kâli Kumaun, which are so similar in character that there can be little doubt of a close connection between them. Indeed the community in manners and religion between the different divisions of the snake-worshipping tribes would alone show a common origin, and will also explain how they all insensibly blend with each other. In the list of peoples given in the Vishnu Purâna[4] we have already seen that the Kirâtas or Kirâtis are said to have occupied the country to the East of Bharata, as the Yavanas dwelt in the West. In the Mahâbhârata we find them to occur with the Jangalas (or 'dwellers in thickets'), Kuruvarnakas (or 'dwellers in the Kuru jungles'), and Barbaras in one place, and again we have the 'Kirâtas, Tamasas, and Kirâtas Sudestas, and people near the mount called Yamuna.' All these indications[5] agree with the position already arrived at on the Upper Jumna and Ganges. The Tamasas are the people of the Tons or 'dark river,' so called from the effects of the forests on its banks, and itself an affluent of the Yamuna or Jumna. The Kirâtas are also joined with the Sakas and Savaras as Dasyus,[6] and in the Râmâyana they are described as 'with sharp-pointed hair.

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[1] X., 43, 44; Muir, *Ancient Sanskrit Texts*, I., 482, *sqq*.
[2] *Himalayan Gazetteer*, II., 363.
[3] Wright, *Nepál*, 89, 106, 312.
[4] Wilson, VII. 30.
[5] *Ibid.*, 171, 176, 187.
[6] Muir, *loc. cit*, II., 365, 491.

knots, gold-coloured, and pleasant to behold.' It was as a Kirâta that Rudra appeared to Arjuna in the valley of the Ganges. The local annals of Nepâl ascribe to the Kirâtas a dynasty, that ruled in the valley for ten thousand years in Dwaparayuga, where also there was a celebrated settlement of the Nâgas, and after expelling an Ahîr family, they continued in the valley, and were rulers of Nepâl when Asoka visited it in the third century before Christ. We are further told that they lived previously to the East, but that they were removed to Suprabha (Thânkot), to the West of the valley, before establishing themselves in Nepâl.[1]

"The Kirâtas are now a short, flat-faced people, powerfully built, and are Buddhist by religion. From Dr. Campbell we learn that on the frontier between Sikkhim and Nepâl they are regarded as generically one with the Limbus. According to him, the sub-divisions of the tracts inhabited by the Limbus are two in number—Kirântdes, extending from the Dûd Kosi to the Arun river east, and the Limbudes from the Arun to the Konki. Using the tribal name Limbu in its extended sense, we have the Hung and Râê divisions, the first of which carries us back to the Hunas and the Hingu of the Markandeya Purâna. This identification is strengthened by the marked Mongolian features of the people, who, owing to their isolated position, have had but little intercourse with Aryans or Aryanised tribes, and preserve the original type intact. We cannot be wrong in assigning these Kirântis to the Kirâtas, of whom we have recorded so much, but they have no connection in appearance, language, or religion with any important section of the people now inhabitants of the tract between the Tons and the Sârda."

2. The connection between any of these races and the present Kirârs of the Central Ganges-Jumna Duâb is only pure speculation.

3. Their sections do not throw much light on their origin, except that the occurrence among them of the names of other Râjput septs may tend to show that their claim to Râjput origin is unfounded. Thus we have the Dhâkara, Jâdon, Jâdonbansi, Jasâwat, Râwat, and Sengar, combined with local terms such as Maheshpuriya, Mathuriya, and Sherpuriya.

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[1] Wright, *Nepál*, 89, 106, 110, 312; *Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal*, 1849, pages 733, 766; 1856, 456.

Distribution of Kirârs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Aligarh	10,364	Morâdâbâd . . .	144
Agra	1,554	Pilibhît	3
Mainpuri	5,900	Jhânsi	374
Etah	6	Jâlaun	18
		Total .	18,363

Kisân.[1]—(Sanskrit *krishâna*, "a ploughman.")—A caste of cultivators found chiefly in the Central Ganges-Jumna Duâb. They are undoubtedly very closely allied to the Kurmi, Koeri, and Kâchhi. In Farrukhâbâd they are sometimes known as Kisân Mahur, and in the Oudh as Mahatiya (*mahto*, "a leader"). There are, according to the last Census, nine endogamous sub-castes:—Bâtham (named from Srâvasti); Gadhara, or donkey-men; Hardiya, or growers of turmeric (*haldi*); Jariya; Khâgi; Lodha; Patariya or Patariha; and Saksena, which take their name from the old town of Sankisa in the Farrukhâbâd District. There is a tradition in Hardoi that they were once extensive owners of the soil.[2]

Marriage rules.

2. A man must marry within his own sub-caste; a man does not give his daughter in marriage in a family where his son has been already married. Persons descended from a common ancestor do not intermarry for three or four generations. A man cannot marry the children or grandchildren of his sister or daughter. Two sisters may be married one after the other, but not at the same time, and the elder must be married before the younger. Marriage is both infant and adult, and sexual license before marriage is not tolerated. Polygamy is allowed, but is very rare, and only allowed when the first wife is barren. There are the usual three forms of marriage—that by the revolution, (*bhanwar*) round the sacred fire, which is the most respectable form;

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[1] Chiefly based on notes received through Mr. E. Rose, C.S., and Bâbu Sânwal Dâs, Deputy Collector.

[2] *Settlement Report*, 198.

the *dola* marriage, where all the ceremonies are done at the house of the bridegroom; lastly, there is the *dharauna* form for widows. The levirate is permitted, but not enforced, and, as usual, the widow can marry the younger, not the elder, brother of her late husband. A man can put away his wife for adultery, and all he has to do is to notify the fact to the tribal council.

Religion and social customs.

3. Kisâns are all Hindus and worship the ordinary gods. They venerate in addition the Miyân of Amroha as their patron saint. Goats and sheep are offered to Devi and Miyân on a Monday or Friday; the worshipper and his family consume the meat, while a share is given to the Faqîrs and Dhânuks, who tend the shrine. During the month of Kuâr offerings of water and sacred balls (*pinda*) are made to the sainted dead. If a man dies without a son, his nearest relative makes the offering. The ordinary *Srâddha* is performed at the anniversary of the death. The Kisâns eat the flesh of sheep and goats and fish; they will not eat, drink, or smoke with any other caste. Most of them are cultivators and a few field-labourers. They are a respectable, industrious people, and many of them practise the higher forms of agriculture, growing crops, such as sugarcane, tobacco, vegetables, etc.

4. The Khâgi,[1] who are nearly all found in Budâun, claim to be Chauhân Râjputs; but it is needless to say that their assertion is disputed. According to the tribal legend two brothers, by name Kanka and Mahesa, Chauhân Râjputs, with a few followers, left Ajmer in a year of famine and settled at Sahaswân in the Budâun District. Here they grew in importance, and were after a time raised by the Emperor of Delhi to the post of Sûbah or Governor. One of them ruled Sahaswân and the other the Pargana of Soron, in the Etah District. The terms on which they held these offices was that they should pay a quarter of the revenue collected into the Imperial treasury. This after a time they failed to do, a remittance which they sent to Delhi in charge of a Musalmân being embezzled by him. A punitive force was sent against them by the Emperor, and both the brothers with a considerable number of their followers were killed. Now the widows of the men who were killed, contrary to the custom of the tribe, married again, and such connections being locally known as *Kâj*, they came to be called Khâgi! There are two sites at Sahaswân, which they point to as monuments of their former

[1] Based on a note by Mr. C. S. Dolmerick.

glory: one is a mound (*Khera*) known as "the old fort," and the other a mango grove called Lakha Pera, or "the grove of one hundred thousand trees." The Khâgis are excellent agriculturists, industrious, thrifty, and well-behaved. Another explanation of their name is that it means "swordman" (Sanskrit, *Khadga*).

Distribution of Kisâns according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Bâtham.	Gadhara.	Hardiya.	Jaroya.	Khâgi.	Lodha.	Patariha.	Rajauriya.	Saksena.	Others.	Total.
Farrukhâbâd	6,741	3,240	222	26,046	...	1,293	53,094	...	...	1,418	90,563
Mainpuri	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	5
Bareilly	...	...	...	129	...	2,513	47,880	.	1,540	11,083	63,133
Budâun	...	...	...	...	684	...	3,166	...	771	10,790	21,336
Morâdâbâd	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	348	...	300	648
Shâhjahânpur	58,309	...	...	...	16	...	22,580	...	...	2,464	84,489
Pilibhît	10,368	...	...	...	.	...	41,139	26	7	3,769	55,309
Cawnpur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	9
Hamirpur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		...	1	1
Tarâi	16	...	...	...	...	...	3,466	560	...	351	3,393
Sitapur	...	...	...	.	...	...	...	...	.	4	4
Hardoi	20,703	...	...	...	.	...	8,822	...	...	4,890	34,435
Kheri	4,567	...	...	...	...		3,503	...	...	3,514	11,609
Partâbgarh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	10
Total	100,245	3,240	222	26,174	000	3,806	182,691	929	2,227	46,522	364,758

Koiri, Koeri.[1]—(Perhaps from Sanskrit *krishi kâri*, "cultivating." Mr. Nesfield's idea that the name implies that they are civilised Kols is not probable.)—They are undoubtedly closely allied to the Kurmis, with whom, according to Dr. Wise, in Bengal, they drink, but do not eat, while the Kurmis attend their marriages and partake of the feast.[2] Colonel Dalton believes them to be the descendants of the earliest Aryan colonists in Bengal.[3] It is possible that they may have some non-Aryan affinities, but how far this may be the case is at present very doubtful. Their only

[1] Based principally on a note by Pandit Bhân Pratâp Tiwâri, of Chunâr.
[2] Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I., 500.
[3] *Descriptive Ethnology*, 317, *sq.*

tradition, which is common to many of the gardening tribes, is that they were created by Siva to tend the raddish (*mûli*) (whence the title of Murâo, which is sometimes applied to them), and to work in the sacred garden of Benares.

Internal structure.

2. They are divided into a number of endogamous sub-castes, the titles of which vary in different districts. Some of these sub-castes are of local origin:—Sarwariya (from Sarjupâr, "country beyond the river Sarju"); Prayâgha (from Prayâg or Allahâbâd); Kanaujiya or Kanaujiha (from Kanauj); Illahâbâdi (from Allahâbâd); Brijbâsi ("residents of Brij, Braj, or Mathura"); Purbiha ("Eastern"); Dakkhinâha ("Southern"); Banarasiya ("from Benares"); Magahi or Magahiya ("from Magadha"). There are again the Kachhwâha, which assert connection with the Râjput clan of that name; the Narâigana; the Torikoriya, who appear to take their name from cultivating the *turai* or *taroi*, the *cucumis acutangulus*; the Hardiha or Hardiya, who take their name from the turmeric plant (*haldi*, *hardi*); the Bardawâr or "bullock men"; the Bhaktiya or "vegetarians" (*bhagat*), who wear a necklace made of the beads of the sacred *tulasi* and do not use meat, fish, and spirituous liquor, and offer no blood sacrifices (*baliân*); the Sakatiya, who are said to derive their name from their preference for the Sâkta ritual; and the Kori, who must not be confounded, as Mr. Sherring does, with the weaver class of the same name. It illustrates the fertility with which these sub-castes are developed that only two of the sub-castes in these provinces, the Kanaujiya and the Magahiya, agree with those enumerated by Mr. Risley in Bihâr. Of the 140 sub-divisions enumerated in the complete Census lists a large number are of local origin, such as Ajudhyabâsi, Audhiya, Azamgarhiya, Bhîmpuriya, Brijbâsi, Dakkhinâha, Desi, Jaiswâr, Jaunpuriya, Kanaujiya, Madhesiya, Rajauriya, Saksena, and Sarwariya. Others are the names of other well-known castes, as Bairâgi, Baiswâr, Hurakiya, Râthaur, and Sûrajbansi.

Marriage rules.

3. The sub-castes practise exogamy according to the standard formula, which prevents intermarriage with the families of the maternal uncle and paternal and maternal aunt within three generations. Within the sub-caste, again, they have a sort of phatria or brotherhood, known as *chaldi*, from the mat on which the council assembles. Thus, in Mirzapur there are fourteen *chatâi* of the Sakatiya sub-caste, each of which has

a headman (*chaudhari*) of its own; and unless he gives permission the members of another *chatâi* are not permitted to join in discussion on caste matters. But this organization seems to have only this connection with marriage that they generally choose their brides locally out of the *chatâi* to which they are attached, but the *chatâi* is not endogamous: at marriages, too, only the members of the particular *chatâi* are invited, and this acts as a check on expenditure. The marriage invitations are issued by the Chaudhari, each of whom keeps a tribal mat and a tribal cauldron (*panchâyati tât*, *panchâyati handa*). These are purchased out of the fines imposed on offending members, and are used at all marriage and funeral ceremonies within the *chatâi*. The mat is spread at the door of the person at whose house the meeting is held, and the cauldron is filled with water for the refreshment of the guests. At all meetings the house-owner has to provide two annas for tobacco and two annas for the pay of the barber who circulates the invitations. When the council assembles, the person who proposes a marriage stands in the middle with his hands folded and says—"I wish to marry my son or daughter. What is the opinion of the Panch?" He then names the family and *chatâi* of the person with whom he proposed the marriage. When the council gives its approval a Brâhman is called in who makes the calculation known as *râsbarg*, to ascertain if the omens are propitious. When this is settled, the Chaudhari sends for the parents on both sides and sanctions the alliance.

Marriage ceremonies.

4. On this the boy's father gives four pice and the girl's father two pice to the Brâhman, and the two fathers-in-law smoke together. This is known as *laka nikâoni*, or the "lifting of the copper coin." The marriage ceremony is usually in the *dola* form. When the lucky time for the betrothal (*tilak*) is fixed, the girl's father brings an eight annas piece, a handful of rice, five pieces of betelnut, five roots of turmeric, and some *dûb* grass to the boy's house. Before some of the clansmen he marks the boy's forehead with curds, on which some grains of holy rice (*achhat*) are stuck, and gives him the presents he has brought. Then the marriage date (*lagan*) is fixed by the Brâhman, and singing (*gît gauna*) begins in both houses, and is followed by the *matmangara*, common to all the lower castes to the East of the Province. On the day fixed the boy's father, accompanied by some clansmen and a litter (*dola*) and bearers, goes to the girl's house. For her he brings a white sheet and loin-cloth (*châdar*, *dhoti*), and

a white loin-cloth for her mother. The clansmen are assembled, and with the salutation *Râm ! Râm !* sit and smoke together and then eat. Meanwhile the women sing songs, usually of a very obscene character. Next morning her mother dresses the girl in her new sheet and loin-cloth, in the folds of which (*khoinchha*) she puts pice to the value of one anna, a handful of rice, and a ball (*piriya*) of coarse sugar. The marriage is usually performed after the pair arrive at puberty. Then the bride is sent off in the litter to her husband's house. When the litter arrives at the boy's house, it is rested on the ground outside. Some curds are placed in a saucer (*daheri*), and some pepper and sugar are mixed in water, and the whole poured on the ground as an offering to Dharti Mâta, the earth goddess. This offering is called *Mirchwân* (*mirch*, "pepper"). Then her husband's sister (*nanad*) takes the bride out of the litter, and receives as her perquisite the money which had been placed by her mother in the folds of the bride's loin-cloth.

5. On that day the bride is fed on cakes (*pûri*) and rice milk (*khîr*) sweetened with coarse sugar. Then the Brâhman fixes an auspicious time for the anointing (*tel hardi*). Some of the clansmen erect a nuptial shed (*mâuro*), and the Brâhman makes the pair sit down on stools. He reads only a few verses of the regular service and rubs them on the forehead, arms, and legs with a bunch of *dûb* grass soaked in oil and turmeric. Next comes the *bhatwân*, when the guests are entertained on boiled rice and pulse. On the day of the marriage the bride's father appears with his family priest (*purohit*), barber, and some of his clansmen. He brings with him a set of brass vessels (*lota, thâli*), a stool (*pîrha*), a yellow loin-cloth (*pîari dhoti*) for the bride, and a yellow upper sheet (*kanhâwar*) and a yellow loin-cloth for the bridegroom. He stays outside, at some distance from the boy's house. At the actual marriage he is allowed to stand near the door—obvious survivals of marriage by capture. The boy goes into the marriage shed and puts on the clothes brought by his father-in-law and a coat (*jâma*), a turban (*pagri*), and a nuptial crown (*maur*), provided by his own family. He sits facing the east on the stool which his father-in-law brought with him. Then the barber's wife brings out the girl and seats her on a leaf mat (*patari*) to his left, and ties her loin-cloth to his upper sheet. Then the bride's father washes the feet of his son-in-law, and putting the bride's hand into that of the bridegroom places on them a lump of wheat dough on which an eight-anna piece is

stuck. Over this the girl's brother pours some water, and this constitutes the giving away (*kanyádán*) of the bride. Then the Brâhman recites a verse known as the song of prosperity (*sumangali*), which runs—"O Bhagwân and Vishnu, may the marriage be lucky! O Garuda, vehicle of Vishnu, be auspicious! O Vishnu, with eyes like the lotus, be auspicious! O Hari, you are the incarnation of prosperity!" Then the bride's father gives the vessels to the bridegroom, who takes some red lead in his hands and makes a dedication to Gauri and Ganesa, whose images are made in cowdung. Then some cloths are spread round to conceal them from view, and the boy takes five pinches of red-lead and applies it to the parting of the girl's hair. After this they march five times round the pavilion, the bridegroom leading the way and the bride following. Then the barber's wife takes them both into the retiring room (*kohabar*), the walls of which are decorated with five streaks of a mixture known as *aipan*. The bride and bridegroom fold their hands, and the latter takes off his bridal crown (*maur*) and places it at the foot of the wall where the marks have been made. On that day the girl's father fasts—a survival of marriage by capture. The clansmen are entertained that evening. Next morning comes the ceremony of "sugar and curds" (*gurdahi*). The bridegroom's father feeds the bride's father with sugar and curds, and receives a present of eight annas. In the evening the girl's father with his clansmen goes to the bridegroom's house and eats there. When he has done eating, he presents eight annas to his daughter's father-in-law.

6. On the third day the bride's father takes her home on foot, and on the fourth day is the regular departure (*gauna*). The bridegroom goes with a litter and bearers, his barber, and some clansmen to the bride's house. As is the usual custom, his father does not accompany him, because it is believed that if he hears his daughter-in-law weeping as she leaves her parents, his son will die. That night they are entertained by the bride's relations, and next morning bring her home. When her litter approaches the house of her husband, the ceremonies of *daheri* and *mirchwán*, as already described, are repeated, and her mother-in-law, taking the bride out of the litter, escorts her into the house, feeds her on cakes (*púri*) and rice milk (*bakhír*), and presents her with four annas for the privilege of looking at her face (*munh dikhái*). In the evening the women of the clan are entertained, and the men eat after them. This

custom appears to be a speciality of the Koiris. The Brâhman receives two rupees and four annas as the marriage fees (*bydh kâ neg*). A wife can be divorced by the tribal council for infidelity.[1]

Birth ceremonies.

7. The umbilical cord is cut by the midwife (*Chamâin*), and a fire (*pasanghi*) is lighted over it. This fire is intended to protect the child from the evil spirit Jamhua, the terror of Indian mothers.[2] A lamp lit with castor oil is also burnt in the room for twelve days. They have the usual sixth (*chhathi*) and twelfth day ceremony (*barahi*). On the latter occasion they have what is called the "nail-cutting" ceremony (*nakh kataiya*). The women of the neighbourhood collect and rub their bodies with oil and turmeric, and going to the house contribute each an anna and receive a little candle (*sukhauri*) in exchange. This is done when a son is born.

Death ceremonies.

8. The dead are cremated in the usual way. On the thirteenth day after death they make the mourning oblation (*khorasi ka pinda*), and distribute dry grain to Brâhmans. The only *mantra* used is *Pitr rupi Janardhana*—"Vishnu is present in the form of your ancestors." They have no ceremony at six months or a year after death.

Religion.

9. Whenever Koiris follow any of the recognised sects, it is usually the Vaishnava. Those of the Bhakta sub-caste initiate their children as Bhagats or vegetarians at a very early age. They are specially devoted to the worship of the Pânchonpîr and Mahâbîr, and the followers of these two deities do not intermarry. Mahâbîr is worshipped on Tuesday in the month of Sâwan with an offering of sweetmeats (*laddu*), a Brâhmanical cord (*janeu*), and a burnt offering of barley, butter, and sugar. On tenth light half of Sâwan, tenth light half of Kuâr, and first dark half of Chait they worship the Pânchonpîr with offerings of crushed grain and cakes. At the Naurâtra of Chait and Kuâr, milk and rice are cooked and made into long cakes (*phur*), which are offered at the house shrine (*diukari*), a lamp is kept lighting for nine days, garlands of flowers

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[1] *Sagâi* wives, *i.e.*, widows married in accordance with the custom of *sagâi* prevailing among the Koiris and other low castes of Bihar, are so far the legal wives of their husbands as to justify the punishment of persons committing adultery with them.—*Bissurâm Koiri* versus *The Empress*, III, *Calcutta Law Reports*, 410.

[2] Jamhua appears to be a form of Yama, the god of death. It is really infantile lockjaw caused by careless cutting of the cord.

are offered, and incense is burnt. During this festival they meet at the house shrine, and some member of the family generally becomes possessed by the deity and falls into a state of religious ecstacy, in the course of which he utters what are taken for prophecies.

10. As among many of the middle class Hindus, when a man eats with a person who has offended against the rules of caste (*kupadi*), or intrigues with a woman of another caste, or uses unseemly language to the tribal council, he is excommunicated, until he has a recitation at his house of what is known as the Katha Satnârâyan. This among the Koiris and the tribal feast which accompanies it costs about twenty-five rupees. The offender has to fast all day ; in the evening he bathes and employs a Brâhman to do the Satnârâyan worship. The Sâlagrâma, or ammonitic pebble representing Vishnu, is washed in a compound of five ingredients (*panchamrit*) made of curds, milk, butter, honey, and sugar, and is then bathed in Ganges water. If any one is invited to hear the recitation and fails to attend, it is believed that he will die or fall into trouble. Every spectator brings with him a garland of flowers, some sweetmeats (*batâsha*), and money, which are the perquisite of the officiating Brâhman. After the recitation is over, the Brâhman performs the *ârti* ceremony by burning some camphor over the Sâlagrâma, in the smoke of which all rub their hands, touch their foreheads, and give a copper coin to the officiating Brâhman. There are five parts (*adhya*) in the *katha*, and at the end of each the conch shell (*sankh*) is blown, and a bell is rung. At the close a burnt offering (*hom*) is done and each one receives a little portion of the offering (*prasâd*) laid before the Sâlagrâma. This offering is called *panjîri*, and consists of wheat, flour, and sugar. If he does not take it with him, he falls into misfortune. At the next tribal meeting the offending person receives some of the *panjîri* and *panchamrit*, and is restored to caste privileges.

11. Koiris are excellent cultivators, and generally devote themselves to growing the more valuable crops, such as opium, tobacco, garden vegetables, etc. They maintain a fairly high standard of social purity. Among the sub-castes in the east of the province only the Prayâgaha drink spirits. The Bhakta sub-caste do not eat flesh; the others eat mutton, goat's flesh, and fish. The Prayâgahas eat *pakki* cooked by Brâhmans, but the others do not eat even *pakki*, except when cooked by their own caste-fellows. Brâhmans drink water from their

Occupation and social status.

hands, and low castes, such as Dhobis and Chamârs, eat both *pakki* and *kachchi* cooked by them. They never accept personal service, and are a thriving, industrious, well-conducted class.

Kol.—A Dravidian tribe found in considerable numbers along the Vindhya Kaimûr plateau. There is considerable difference of opinion as to the meaning of the name. *Kola* in Sanskrit means "a hog"; and, according to some, the tribal designation is simply a term of contempt applied by the Aryans to the aborigines. According to Herr Jellinghause,[1] the word means "pig-killer." According to others, like the tribal terms Ho and Orâon, it is derived from the Mundâri *Ho*, *Horé*, or *Horo*, which means "a man."[2] The change of *r* to *l* is familiar and needs no illustration, while in explanation of the conversion of *h* into *k* we may cite *kon*, the Mundâri for "child," which in Korwa becomes *kon*, and *koro* the Mudâsi form of *horo*, "a man."[3] It may be added that the Khariyas of Chota Nâgpur call the Mundas Kora, a name closely approaching Kol.[4] The name Mundâri or Munda, which is the usual title of the tribe in Chota Nâgpur, does not appear to be known in the North-Western Provinces. According to Mr. Risley, this term is of Sanskrit origin (*munda*), and is a titular or functional designation used by the members of the tribe as well as by outsiders, much in the same way as the Santâls call themselves Mânjhi, the Bhûmij, Sardâr, and the Khambu of the Dârjîling hills, Jimdâr. Colonel Dalton[5] tentatively connects it with *mon* or *mân*, the Assamese term for the Burmese. Others, again, take the term Munda to mean "the shaven people (Sanskrit, *munda*). A sept of Baigas in the Central Provinces are called Mundiya, as it is alleged, because their heads are shaved with the exception of a single lock."[6]

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[1] Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, II., 101.

[2] Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 178.

[3] In Kâthiawâr the Kolis derived their name from *kol*, a boat, seafaring being a distinctive occupation of Kolis, or, as Dr. Wilson alleges, Koli means a "clansman" (*Bombay Gazetteer*, VIII., 140). In the Dakkhin the word Koli is said to mean "clansman," from *kul*, a clan, as opposed to *Kunbi*, "the family man," from *kutumb*, "a family." The mystic Brâhmanic origin of the Kolis is that they are the same as the Kirâta of the Purânas, who are said to be descendants of Nishâda, who was born from the arm of Vena, a king of the sun race. The Kolis claim descent from Vâlmîki, the compiler of the *Râmâyana*.—Mackintosh, *Transactions, Bombay Geographical Society*, I., 201, 202, quoted in *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVII., 193; also see a curious dissertation on the subject in Oppert, *Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarsa*, 121, *sqq*.

[4] Risley, *loc. cit.*, II., 101.

[5] *Loc. cit.*, 119.

[6] *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 379.

KOL.

Appearance.

2. Among the Mundâris of Lohârdaga, who are certainly identical with the Kols of Mirzapur, Colonel Dalton[1] describes the males as averaging five feet five or six inches in height:—"In features they exhibit much variety, and, I think, in a great many families, there is a considerable admixture of Aryan blood. Many have high noses and oval faces, and young girls are at times met with who have delicate and regular features, finely chiselled straight noses, and perfectly formed mouths and chins. The eyes, however, are seldom so large, so bright and gazelle-like as those of pure Hindu maidens, but I have met strongly marked Mongolian features, and some are dark and coarse like the Santâls. In colour they vary greatly, the copper tints being about the most common. Eyes dark-brown, hair black, straight or wavy, and rather fine, worn long by males and females, but the former shave the forehead. Both men and women are noticeable for their fine erect carriage and long free stride."[2] In Mirzapur there is a curious belief prevalent that no pure Kol woman has any hair on the pubes. Mahâdeva, so the story goes, once caught a Kol girl and parched some gram on that part of her person, on which ever after hair refused to grow.[3] The Mirzapur Kols are a very dark race, but their features are hardly so coarse as those of the Mânjhis or Kharwârs.

Traditions of origin.

3. According to one legend, Yayâti, the fifth king of the Lunar race, divided his empire among his five sons. The offspring of his son Turvasu, according to the Harivansa, settled in the South, and the tenth generation from him inclusive, consisting of four brothers, Pândya, Korala, Chola, and Kola, divided the empire they had inherited. The descendants of Kola were the present Kols.[4] The Munda myth, as recorded by Colonel

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[1] *Loc. cit.*, 190. The Bengal statistics show the curious fact that the Bhûmij and Kol, who are the first in the rank of fecundity in Orissa, are at the bottom of the scale in Chota Nâgpur. The great tribe of Larka Kols in Sinhbhûm marries less than any race in the Lower Provinces, there being in every 100 males between 15 and 40 years of age as many as 55 unmarried men, and in a similar female population 49 unmarried women. This is due to the pre-nuptial infidelity of the Dravidian woman, which enables the men to postpone marriage till they are well advanced in age and desire to found homes for their old age (*Census Report*, 175, 189).

[2] *Loc. cit.*, 190.

[3] De indigenis Tanembaris et Timorlaonis, dum loquitur Riedel, adulescentes et puellas dicit saepe consulto abradere pilos pubis nullâ aliâ mente, nisi ut illae partes alteri sexui magis conspicuae fiant.—Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 201.

[4] Colonel Wilford, *Asiatic Researches*, IX., 91. *sq.*, quoted by Dalton, *Ethnology*, 161; Elliot, *Glossary*, s. v. *Cole*.

Tickell,[1] tells how the self-existent primeval deities Olé Borâm and Sing Bonga created a boy and girl, and put them together in a cave to people the world, and finding them to be too innocent to give hope of progeny, he instructed them in the art of making rice beer, which inflames the passions, and, in course of time, they had twelve sons and twelve daughters. As is usual in myths of the class, the children were divided into pairs, and Sing Bonga set before them various kinds of food for them to choose from before starting in the world. The fate of their descendants depended on their choice. "Thus the first and second pair took bullocks' and buffalos' flesh, and they originated the Kols (Hos) and the Bhûmij (Matkum); the next took of the vegetables only, and are the progenitors of the Brâhmans and Chhatris; others took goats and fish, and from them are the Sûdras; one pair took shell-fish, and became Bhuiyas; two pairs took pigs and became Santâls. One pair got nothing, seeing which the first pair gave them of their superfluity, and from the pair thus provided sprung the Ghâsis, who toil not, but live by preying on others." This legend, by identifying the Kols with the kindred Dravidian races, must be much closer to the truth than the Brâhmanical story, which would make them akin to the Râjputs. The Kols of Mirzapur state that they are emigrants from a place called Kiutali, in the territories of the Bardi Râja in the Rîwa State. They name one Nânhu as their ancestor, and, like the Musahars (*q. v.* para. 2), have a tribal temple at Pipri, near Chunâr, where is the shrine of Birmha Devi, the goddess of the shrine. She must be worshipped either in the months of Chait or Kuâr with a fire sacrifice (*hom*), and the offering of a goat or lamb. Their other tribal deity is Râja Lâkhan or Lakhana Deva.[2] Like many of the kindred tribes, they have legends of a kingdom in the Gangetic valley, whence they were expelled by the Savaras, and retired into the hill-country to the South. What is now Saktîsgarh in the hill-country above Chunâr was formerly called Kolâna, and the Pargana of Kol Asla in Benares still bears their name.

Tribal organisation.

4. The Kols in the North-Western Provinces seem to have shed off the elaborate system of totemistic septs which are found among the Mundas of

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[1] *Asiatic Researches*, IX., 797; Dalton, *loc. cit.*, 185.

[2] For whom, see para. 16.

Bengal.[1] They are divided into a number of endogamous septs, such as the Rautiya or Rautel (Râwat, Sanskrit *Râjputra*, "a prince"). They are also known as Dahait or villagers, and have another sub-division, the Mahtiyân (*mahto*, "a leader"), with whom they intermarry on equal terms; Thakuriya (Thâkur, "a lord"); Banaj: Pahariya, or "mountaineers"; Barwâr, "descendants of the fig tree"; Bin, who may be the same as the Binds; Harwariya, "ploughmen"; Rajwariya, who may take their name from the Bengal Rajwârs[2]; and Hanriyânwa or "people of the cooking pot" (*hânri*), which is also a sub-sept of the Murmu Santâls.[3] Some Kols also name as one of their septs the Chero, who are now regarded as a distinct tribe, but have clearly parted from the parent stock in comparatively recent times.

Tribal council.

5. They have a tribal council (*panchâyat*), at which only the heads of families have a seat.[4] The council decides questions regarding marriage and morality. There is no special time for meeting, but these questions are considered when the brethren assemble at marriages and funeral feasts. The office of the headman (*chaudhari*) is hereditary.[5] All offences are reported to the headman, who, if he thinks the matter worth enquiry, calls in a few of the brethren, consults them, but does not necessarily follow their advice, and then issues his order. The usual punishment is a cash fine, which is spent in feeding the clansmen. In serious offences, the culprit is put out of caste, sometimes for a considerable period, and only restored on feeding the brotherhood. Any resistance to the order of the headman is dealt with very severely. If the headman happen to be a minor, one of his kinsmen is nominated to perform his duties until he comes of age.

Marriage rules.

6. The septs (*kuri*) are endogamous, and they do not intermarry as long as any relationship between the parties is remembered, or into the family of the maternal grandfather (*nâna*) or father's sister (*phûa*). The negotiations are commenced by the father of the bridegroom, who, when he approves of

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[1] Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, II. *Appendix*, 102. *sq. q.*

[2] Risley, *loc. cit.*, II., 192; Dalton, *loc. cit.*, 326.

[3] Risley, *loc. cit.*, I., 313.

[4] This contempt for persons unmarried is common among similar people; Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 137.

[5] This corresponds to the Munda Parha system of the Mundas. Dalton, *loc. cit.* 168.

the girl, makes over to her father one-and-quarter rupees to clench the engagement. Like most Hindus, they will not marry in the dark fortnight of the month.[1] They generally marry in the months of Mâgh, Phâlgun, Baisâkh, and Jeth, and have the usual prejudice against Pûs and Chait, which are prohibited (*kharwâs*) for this purpose. After the bride comes to her husband's house, she is not allowed to cook for the family until a village astrologer fixes an auspicious time. This is known as the *khichari* or meal of boiled rice and pulse. All the bridegroom's friends eat the food cooked by her, and give her a present known as "the dowry" (*daija*). Kols profess a prejudice against polygamy, but this is a counsel of perfection, and most of them who can afford it marry more wives than one. Women are worked so hard that the first wife often selects her husband's second partner: the wives very seldom quarrel among themselves, and in a Kol family there is very little of the wrangling, wife-beating, and nose-cutting which goes on in ordinary Hindu households.[2] As a matter of fact every man and woman is married. The only bachelors are those who are so miserably poor as to be unable to pay the bride-price, and the only unmarried woman is one who suffers from blindness, leprosy, or some incurable disease; and in the same way all widows are married to some one or other. Her relations in fact insist, like the parents of Penelope,[3] on this being done. Concubinage with a woman outside the tribe is forbidden; but a man may cohabit with any woman of the tribe, provided he gives a feast to the tribesmen, and her children rank as heirs with those of a regular marriage. Sexual intercourse with an unmarried girl is tolerated, as in the case with the Bengal Mundas,[4] but if she is detected in an intrigue with an outsider, she is expelled from the tribe. Infant marriages are not customary, except among the more Hinduised branches of the tribe; but to keep a girl unmarried after she attains the age of puberty involves disgrace to her parents.[5] While the parents of both parties are alive, the assent of them to the marriage is considered

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[1] On this see Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 424.

[2] Westermarck, *loc. cit.*, 495, *sq.*; for nose-cutting, *ibid.*, 122; on hard labour as a cause of polygamy, Letourneau, *Evolution of Marriage*, 123.

[3] *Odyssey*, XIX., 158, and see the instances collected by Westermarck, 134, *sqq.*; 438, *sq.*

[4] Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, II., 102; Westermarck, *loc. cit.*, 364.

[5] See instances in Westermarck, *loc. cit.*, 136.

essential; and if the father and mother are dead, their power of veto and arranging the marriage devolves on the paternal uncle or elder brother of the boy or girl. As a rule, the parties themselves have very little to say to the matter.[1] The relatives on each side examine the bride and bridegroom so carefully that no physical defects can escape detection: if between betrothal and marriage one party turn out to be leprous, crippled, blind, or impotent, the marriage can be broken off; but when once married, such defects are not a ground for the annulment of the marriage. Among the Kols of Mirzapur there appear to be no tradition of polyandry or of the custom of the *jus primæ noctis*; but the latter certainly existed in a modified form in comparatively recent times in Rîwa and Palâmau. It is said that the Râja used to make tours in his dominions and visit those of his subjects who had pretty daughters. There was a special phrase for such visits (*bijay karna*, "to conquer, enjoy"), and he used often to give a village to a girl who pleased him. Such villages are to this day known as *Bijáya gánw*.

Divorce.

7. There is no regular form of divorce. A husband or wife can be separated for habitual infidelity or for eating food not permitted to the caste. But divorces for infidelity are uncommon, as the matter must be proved to the satisfaction of the tribal council by the evidence of actual witnesses, and proof of general repute or suspicion will not be accepted. Women who have children are very seldom divorced, unless the evidence against them is absolutely overwhelming.[2] If a woman is divorced for adultery with a stranger to the tribe, she is permanently expelled, and cannot be re-married in the tribe; but this is not the case with divorce for offences against caste rules regarding food, in which case, if her friends care to satisfy the tribesmen by a feast, she can be restored to caste and re-married. Divorced women often form connections with males of the tribe in secret, or live apart from their friends by labour or begging, or become Muhammadans and drift into cities as prostitutes. But prostitution in the tribe is unknown, and married women have generally a better character than Hindus of the same social grade. A seducer of a married woman is often

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[1] On this see Westermarck, *loc. cit.*, 219, 221.

[2] See cases collected by Westermarck, *loc. cit.*, 525.

forced by the council to repay the marriage expenses to her husband.[1] Men feel shame, it is said, in bringing about their babies in their arms in the presence of their father or uncle; and if two brothers live together, they generally each carry about the child of the other. This can hardly be anything but a survival of the system of female kinship.[2] This is further proved by the fact that many of the quarrels between husband and wife result from this practice, the refusal of the husband to take his own children in his arms being looked upon by the mother as an imputation on her character. Children of a concubine of the tribe are, as already stated, recognised as legitimate. Children by a strange woman follow the caste of the father,[3] but are not admitted to rights of commensality and marriage. It is understood, however, that in the next generation the prohibition is removed. Such people marry among themselves, and a class of half-breeds, known as *ardhel*, is occasionally found. But tribal discipline is so strong that such cases are uncommon.

Widow marriage.

8. So far from any prohibition extending to widow marrage, it is considered right and proper that marriageable widows should be married, and the only restriction is that it is understood that she should not make a fresh alliance until a year after her husband's death.[4] When a woman becomes a widow she takes off the toe-rings (*angūlha*), and does not put them on until she marries again. She also washes the red lead out of the parting of her hair. The levirate is permitted, under the usual restriction, that a widow can marry only the younger, not the elder, brother of her late husband. In fact, it is the duty of the levir to take her over,[5] and it is only on his refusal that she can ally herself with a stranger, who, in most cases, is a widower. The widow, if she remains unmarried, has a right to maintenance; but if she marries again she loses all rights

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[1] This is the case with the Bengal Mundas also.—Dalton, *Ethnology*, 194.

[2] Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*, 145, *sqq*. The taking up of the child in the arms of the father was by the Romans an admission of paternity, and they had special term—*suscipio*—for the practice.

[3] Westermarck, *loc. cit.*, 102.

[4] Westermarck, *loc. cit.*, 128.

[5] As among the Gonds—Forsyth, *Highlands of Central India*, 158. Mr. O'Donnell, *Census Report*, 186, remarks that the smaller number of widows among the Dravidian tribes is not due to their re-marrying more often than Hindus, but simply to virgin marriages being made so very much later in life, with the necessary result that widows are absolutely fewer at twenty years of age.

in her husband's estate, and her children remain with their paternal uncle, who acts as trustee of their property till they come of age, when, if they are sons, they inherit; if daughters, the estate goes to the associated brethren. The children of a second marriage have no claim to the first husband's property, and there is no fiction by which they are supposed to be the issue of the first husband. There are no traditions of *sati* among the Kols and allied tribes.

Adoption.

9. The Mirzapur Kols profess to have an elaborate series of rules on the subject of adoption; but it is almost certain that most of these have been borrowed from their Hindu neighbours. The more primitive basis of the practice among them seems to be that a soulless man can adopt his brother's son, and that this is done without any religious sentiment in connection with the *srâddha*. They say that if a man have a son or grandson he cannot adopt; that he need not consult his heirs; that he may adopt his daughter's son; that he can adopt, if his son adopts another faith or has committed such an offence against tribal rules as to be beyond forgiveness by the council; that, while an adopted son is alive, a second cannot be adopted; that a bachelor, a blind or impotent man, can adopt, but not a person who adopts a religious life (*Sáihu*, *faqír*); that a woman cannot adopt as long as the younger brother of her husband (*dewar*), her husband's elder brother (*bhasur*), or her husband's father (*sasur*) are alive, nor can she adopt at all except under the death-bed instructions of her husband. The eldest or only son of a man may be adopted, and the person adopted should be of the same family (*kul*) as the adopter. But if a suitable relation cannot be found, a boy may be selected from any sept (*kuri*) except that of the Rautel. A boy adopted loses all rights to the property of his natural father, unless the latter die without heirs.

Succession.

10 A man's heirs are his sons, and they inherit equally, except that the eldest son gets something (such as a bullock, a brass vessel, etc.) in excess of the others.[1] It is, however, an understood rule that the inheritance is not divided among the sons until the youngest comes of age, and the feeling seems to be in favour of maintaining the union of the

[1] On the rights of the eldest son, see Westermarck, *loc. cit.*, 100.

associated brethren. Daughters have no rights, except to maintenance, if they cannot agree with their husbands and are obliged to return to their father's house. There seems to be no custom, as among the Bengal Mundas, by which unmarried sisters are divided among the brothers.[1] The sons share equally, no matter how many mothers there may be; nor is the rank of the mother taken into account in deciding the right to succession. A sister or her children have no right to succeed. If a widow who has a child at the breast re-marries, she takes it to her new husband, who is understood to be bound to support it till, if a girl, she marries, or a son, till he is able to support himself. It is said that if a man becomes a *sádhu* or ascetic he can take away his personal goods, but loses his rights of inheritance. Such cases are, however, so uncommon that it can be hardly said that any definite rule prevails.

Relationship.

11. Besides persons descended from a common male ancestor, members of those families from which brides are taken, or into which daughters are married, are considered relations, and the relations of the wife are held to be relations of the husband. The following scheme of relationship applies to all the kindred tribes except the Mânjhis, who are more closely allied to the Gonds, than the surrounding races.

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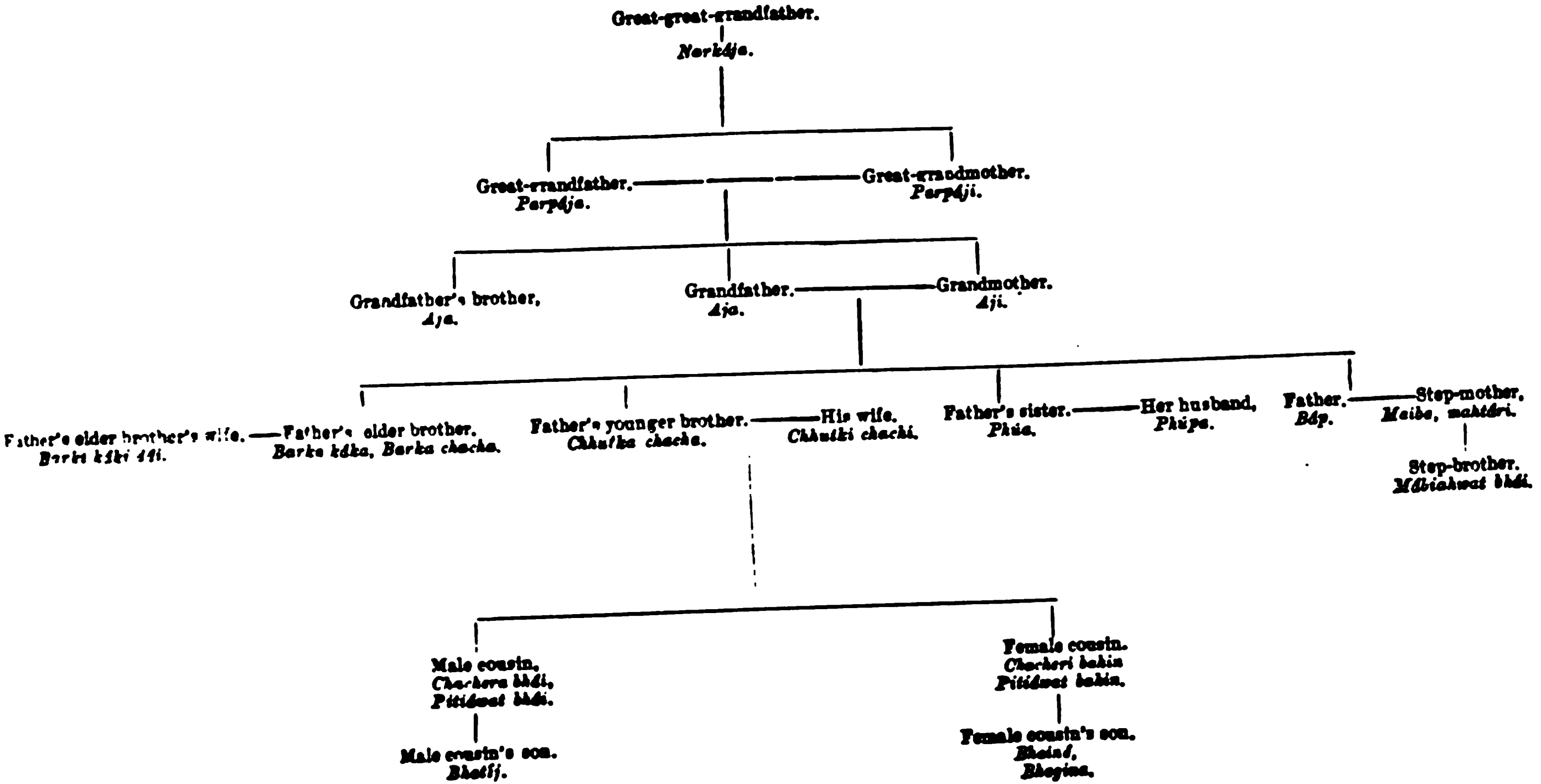
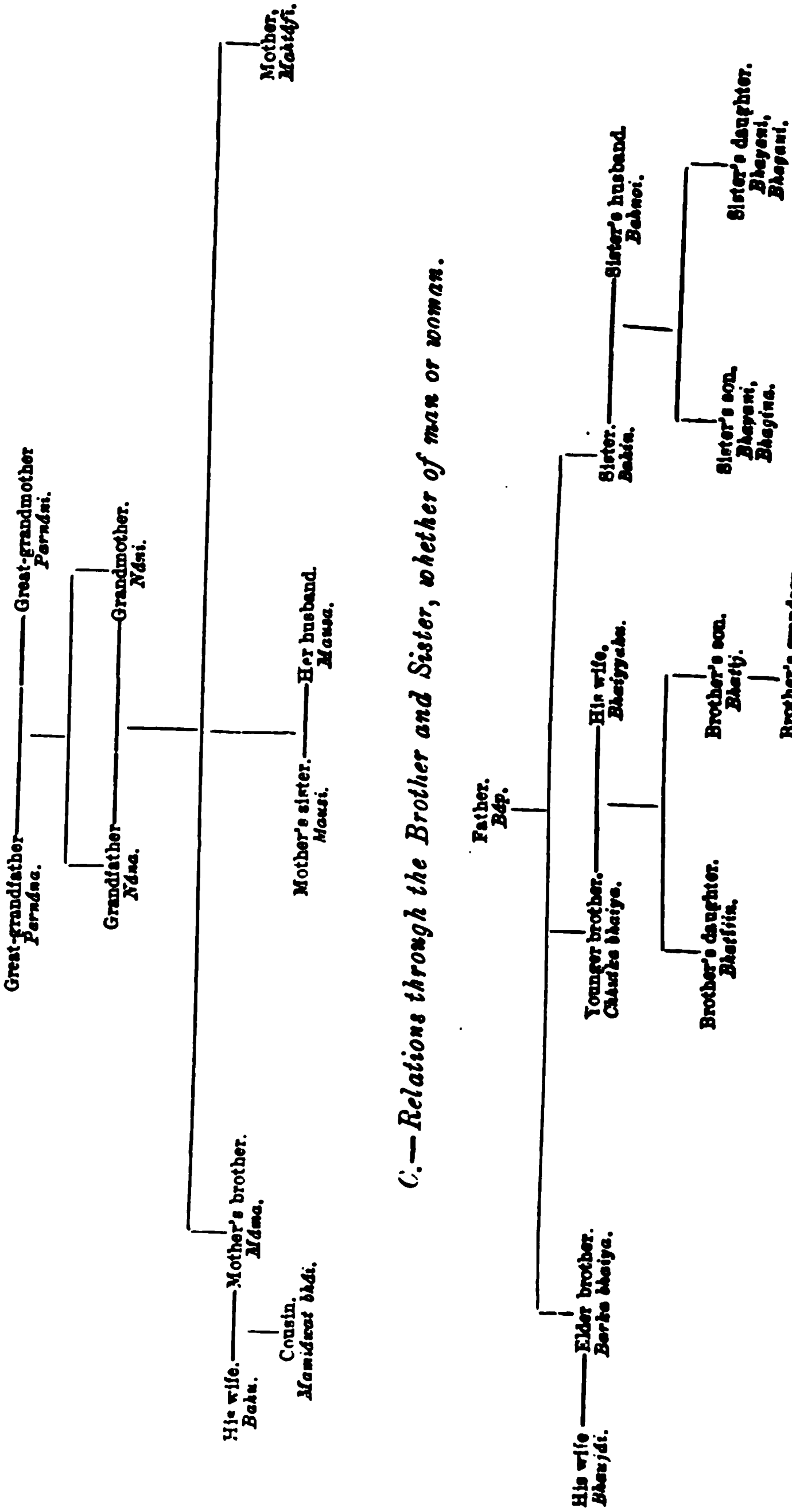
[1] Dalton, *Ethnology*, 201, *sq.*

A.—Relations through the Father, whether of man or woman.

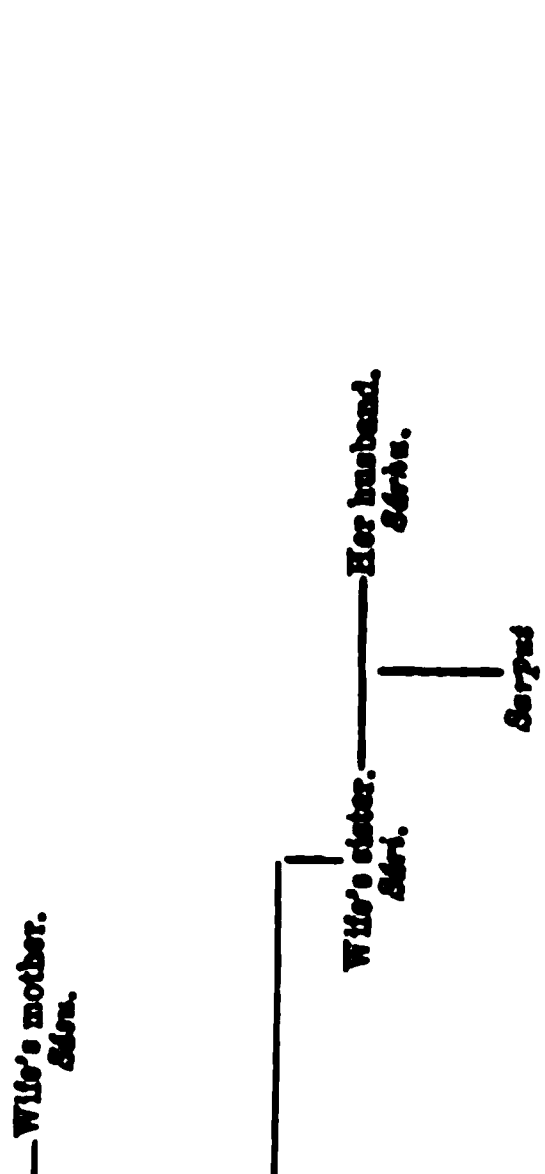


B.—Relations through the Mother, whether of man or woman.

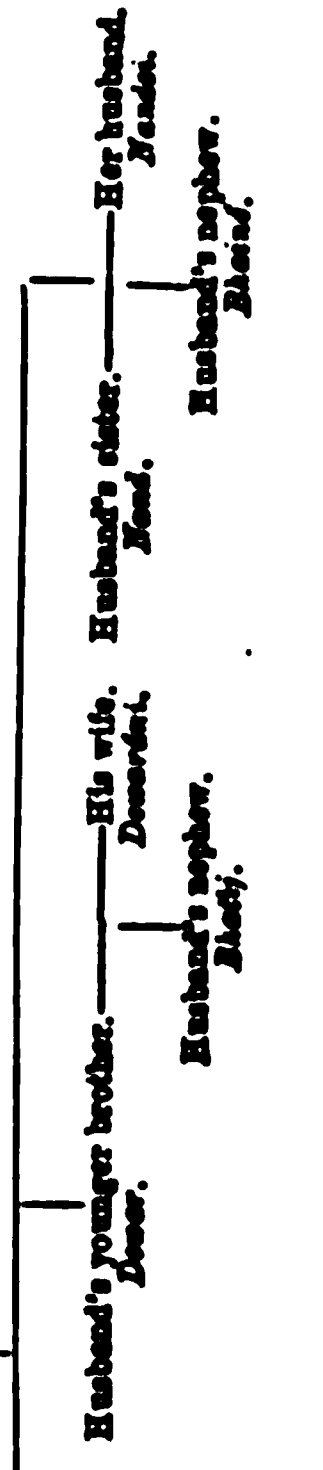


C.—Relations through the Brother and Sister, whether of man or woman.

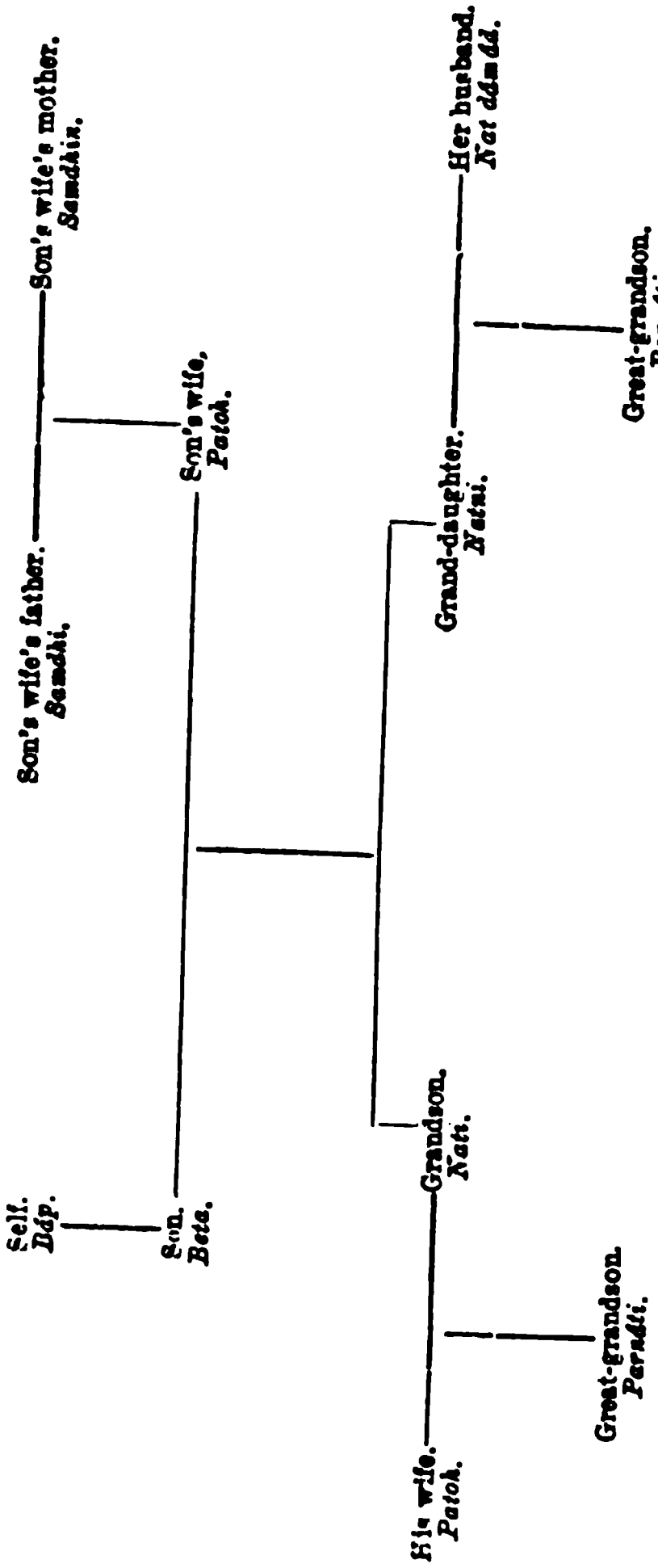
D (1).—Relations through the Wife of a man.



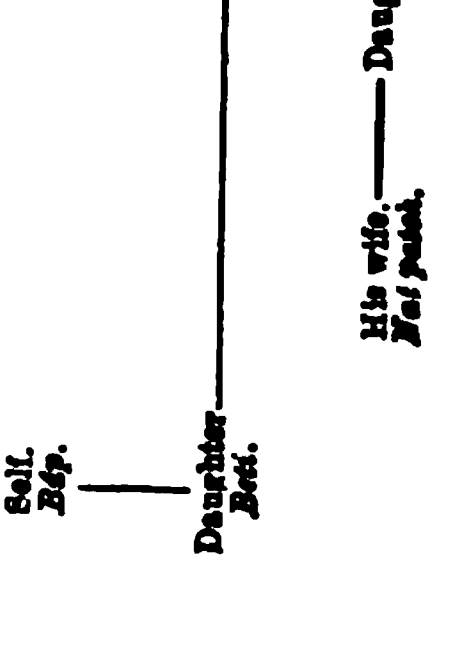
D (2).—Relations through the Husband of a woman.



E (1).—Relations through the Son, whether of a man or woman.



E (2).—Relations through the Daughter, whether of a man or woman.



The family in which the father's sister (*phúa*) is married is *phuphuáwar*; where a sister is married, *bahiniáwar*; the grandmother's family, *ajiáwar*; the mother's family, *naniáwar*; where one is married, *sasurár*; the family in which a son or daughter is married, *samdhiyán*. The father is called *bábu*, *dáda*, *káka*; his father's elder brother, *chacha*; his younger brother, *kakka*; father's father, *bába*; elder brother, *bhaiyya*; elder sister, *dîdi*, *bahin*; father's mother, *barki mái*; elder paternal uncle's wife, *barki káki*; younger paternal uncle's wife, *chhutki káki*; elder brother's wife, *bhauji*; younger brother's wife, *dulaiya*; son's wife, *dulaiya*; maternal uncle's wife, *mámi*; mother's mother, *náni*; mother's sister, *máosi*; mother's father, *nána*; wife's father, *makto*; brother-in-law's elder sister, *jethsar*; brother-in-law's younger sister, *sári*; sister's husband, *bahnoi*; his father, *makto*. A man calls his wife "mother of his son"—*Rám ki mái*, "Mother of my son Râma."[1] When they call a friend they say *bhaiyya*, "brother," or *ár* (*yár*), "friend." They remember genealogies up to the third or fourth generation, and the names of women up to that of their grandmother.

12. They observe the usual taboo for five days in the case of menstrual women. There is no ceremony during pregnancy. When a boy is born, a song of rejoicing (*sohar*) is sung by the women of the clan. It is etiquette that the child should be born in the house of the father as an admission of paternity.[2] When the child is born, the cord is cut and buried in the room, and over it a fire is lit in an earthen pot, into which a bit of iron is put as a protection against evil spirits which may assail mother and child.[3] There is an elementary form of the couvade in the theory that the husband is impure, as well as his wife, sits apart and cooks for her, and receives a sip of the purifying draught which is administered to her. Among the more advanced Kols the woman is regarded as impure up to the twelfth day, when the barber's wife comes, bathes mother and child, and removes the foul clothes. Among the more primitive Kols a Dhobi is not employed, and the cleaning of the clothes is done by the mother herself, or some other woman in the family. The child is usually named in the sixth month, when it is first fed on grain (*anna*

Pregnancy and birth.

[1] On this see Westermarck, *loc. cit.*, 378.
[2] See Westermarck, *loc. cit.*, 105.
[3] Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, 195.

prâsana, pâsni). They do not seem to have any form of ordeal in selecting the name,[1] but the child is generally named after some deceased ancestor, whose spirit is supposed to be embodied in the infant. The husband does not cohabit with his wife until the child is weaned, for about nine months after her confinement.

Marriage.

13. After the match is arranged, there is a regular form of betrothal, in which in some places part of the bride-price is paid in advance.[2] The bride-price is low, five rupees in cash, a loin-cloth (*dhoti*), and five measures (*paseri*) of paddy. This is much lower than among the Bengal Mundas, where the extravagance of the bride-price has become a serious obstacle to marriage.[3] Among the Kols of Mirzapur the moderation of the bride-price encourages marriage and promotes tribal morality.[4] Before the marriage they do the ceremony of the lucky earth (*matmangara*),[5] which is brought home by the barber's wife and made into a platform, on which the wedding jar (*kalsa*) is placed. The pavilion (*mânro*) is erected at both houses on the fifth day before the wedding. The poles are of the wood of the *sâl* tree (*shorea robusta*), and it is roofed with bamboos. Inside are placed the marriage jar, images of parrots (*suga*) made out of the wood of the cotton tree (*semal*), and an iron spike is fixed in the ground in the centre. The bride and bridegroom are carefully anointed for five days—the former by her sister-in-law (*nanad*) and the latter by his sister. The bridal party, on arriving at the bride's village, presents an offering of money, cloves, betel, etc., to the village headman, which may possibly be a relic of the commutation of the *jus primæ noctis* already described, but is more probably one of the ordinary dues levied by the landlord from his tenants. In return, he is expected to give wood, the use of a horse or cart, or other assistance to the marriage. The more advanced Kols have a ceremony of the usual Hindu type. The bride and bridegroom worship Gauri and Ganpati. The bridegroom sits on a stool, and the bride's father pours water on his hands, with which the boy washes his feet. The Pandit reads the usual verses; but among the more primitive Kols, no Pandit is called in, and the sister's son of the bridegroom performs

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[1] As among the Bengal Mundas.—Dalton, *loc. cit.*, 191.
[2] For betrothal among kindred races, see Westermarck, *loc. cit.*, 234.
[3] Ball, *Jungle Life*, 479; Dalton, *Ethnology*, 193.
[4] On this see Westermarck, *loc. cit.*, 133.
[5] See *Bhuiya*, para. 14.

the ceremony.[1] While the women sing the song of rejoicing (*gîtmangar*), the bridegroom rubs red-lead on the parting of the bride's hair, and this is the binding part of the ceremony. This is clearly a survival of the original blood covenant.

14. Next the pair are led into the retiring room (*kohabar*), where rude jokes are played on the bridegroom by the women of the bride's family. One form of this is to say—"This rice pestle (*lorha*) is your bride's father, and this lamp (*chirâgh*) is your bride's mother." On this the boy breaks the lamp with the pestle. The whole ceremony appears to be a survival of the primitive custom of the immediate consummation of the marriage after the wedding.[2] Then follows the wedding feast, which is an important part of the ceremony among all primitive races,[3] and after this is the regular *confarreatio* (*khichari*) of bride and bridegroom, in which the latter refuses to share until he gets a present from the girl's father.[4] This is the regular form of marriage called *sindûrdân*, so called from the red lead (*sindûr*) which the bridegroom applies to the parting of the bride's hair. Besides this there is the *dola* form, where the bride is brought to her husband's house and the marriage performed with a much less elaborate ritual. Two other forms are also recognised—the *gandharap*,[5] or marriage by mutual consent of the parties, and the *udhâr*, or marriage by abduction. These terms are of course due to the Brâhman priests of the tribe, but the forms are primitive. These marriages are so far prohibited that in the former a fine of three rupees, and in the latter four rupees, is levied, and then, after a tribal feast, the wife is recognised and her children are legitimate.

Death ceremonies.

15. The dying person is taken outside the house and laid on the ground.[6] The Mirzapur Kols have quite abandoned the primitive form of funeral rites in force among their Munda brethren in Bengal,[7] and they do not erect the curious *menhirs* or monuments which are described

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[1] This is the usual custom among the Kolarian races of Bihâr.—Dalton, *loc. cit.*, 63.

[2] The rite in its primitive form is maintained among the Bengal Mundas.—Dalton, *loc. cit.*, 194.

[3] Westermarck, *loc. cit.*, 418.

[4] Westermarck, *loc. cit.*, 419, 427.

[5] For the real Gandharva marriage see Manu, III., 26.

[6] Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I. 453.

[7] For this see Dalton, *Ethnology*, 202.

by Dr. Ball.[1] People dying of small-pox and cholera are always thrown into a river. Children who die while being nursed by their mothers are buried, and among the less Hinduised branches of the tribe the body is taken into any convenient place in the jungle and burnt in a very perfunctory way by the relatives, without any special ritual or the services of any funeral priest. The more Hinduised Kols north of the river Son cremate the body in the way common to low-caste Hindus. After cremation the way home is led by the chief mourner, who is protected by the companions, who follow him, from the spirit of the dead. On arriving at the house of the deceased, each of the mourners chews a small piece of pepper pod, which he spits out, and then, after rinsing his mouth and washing his hands, returns home.[2] From that time till the next evening the tribesmen fast, and then assemble and eat together. This feast is known as the "milk" feast (*dúdh*); and the chief mourner who lit the pyre plants in the ground a few blades of the sacred *kusa* grass near some water, and on this, as a dwelling-place for the wandering ghost, the tribesmen pour water daily after bathing. The man who fixes the pyre goes about with a brass vessel (*lota*) and a piece of iron in his hand as a preservative against ghosts. They do not hang a vessel (*ghant*) on a *pípal* tree, and have no regular *srâddha* ceremony; but on the tenth day some of the more Hinduised Kols give a little grain to a Brâhman. Like the Bengal Mundas,[3] they lay some ashes on the floor of the house. On the night of a death, and if, in the morning, a mark like the foot of a fowl is found in it, they conclude that the spirit of the deceased has quitted his former abode.[4]

Ancestor worship.

16. Whenever there is a tribal feast, a fowl is offered to the spirits of the dead and a little liquor is poured on the ground. The victim is con-

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[1] *Jungle Life*, 64, 162, 347; and Dalton, *loc. cit.*, 203.

[2] This perhaps represents the leaf of the bitter *nim* tree, which is used in the same way by Hindus.

[3] Dalton, *loc. cit.*, 205.

[4] "Every night for one moon two old men went to the grave about dusk and carefully swept all round it; each morning for the same period they visited it to see if there were any tracks of the dead man on the swept space."—Brough Smith, *Aborigines of Victoria*, I., 119. "After a death has taken place in a family the straw or chaff from the bed of the departed is taken into an open space and burned. Among its ashes the survivors look for a footprint, and that member of the family whose foot fits the impression will be the next to die."—Henderson, *Folklore of the Northern Countries*, 51.

sumed by the worshippers, who also make a fire offering (*hom*) with butter and coarse sugar. When the offering is made they say—"Do not injure us or our children." They do not make any special offering to the dead at funerals or cremations, but they fear them greatly. Such ghosts appear in dreams and trouble those who do not duly propitiate them. They appear in the form of the night-mare, sit on the chest, squeeze the throat, or suck the blood like the vampire.[1] These ghosts most usually appear at the Naurâtra in the months of Chait and Kuâr. Persons who have died in an unnatural or unusual way, such as by drowning or snake-bite, are specially propitiated, and this department is in charge of the village Baiga, who fixes down these wandering vicious spirits in a special shrine (*thân*) under a tree, where, when any trouble visits the village, he offers a fowl, which he eats himself, and makes an oblation (*tapauni*) of spirits.

Religion.

17. The Mirzapur Kols appear to have lost all recollection of Sing Bonga, the Sun god, revered by the Mundas of Bengal—"a beneficent but somewhat inactive deity, who concerns himself little with human affairs, and leaves the details of the executive government of the world to the gods in charge of particular branches or departments of nature."[2] In Mirzapur the Kol bows before Sûraj Nârâyan the Sun god, when he leaves his house in the morning, but does not seem to venerate him more than all Hindus do. There is a regular sect of Sauras, or worshippers of Sûrya, the Sun god, who numbered at the last Census 41,904 persons. These are quite distinct from the ordinary domestic worship of the sun. The Kol worships demons and spirits (*bhût, pret*), whom he greatly fears, and the souls of the dead—those of women being propitiated by women and those of men by men. He also worships the aggregate of the local gods (*dih, deohâr*) through the village Baiga. Besides these there are several special Kol deities. Of these the chief is Gansâm, who is usually identified with Bara Deo,[3] "the great god." Gansâm, who is certainly a non-Aryan deity, is now becoming gradually admitted into the Brâhmanic pantheon as Ghanasyâma, "the dark-blue rain cloud," which has become on epithet of Krishna. The current explanation

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[1] Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II., 189, 191.

[2] Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, II., 103; Dalton, *Ethnology*, 186, *sq.*

[3] Bara Deo is a well-known deity of the Gonds.—*Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 104.

that Gansâm is a debased survival of an Aryan nature god is much less probable than that after a Sanskrit etymology has been discovered for his name, this deity is becoming recognised by Hindus.[1] Gansâm is worshipped by the Baiga in a rude hut outside the village, inside which is a mud platform (*chaura, baithak*), on which the deity rests when so disposed. A red flag marks his temple. He is the protector of crops, and is propitiated by the Baiga with the sacrifice of a fowl, goat, or young pig, with an oblation of liquor, in the month of Kârttik, when the transplanted rice is ripening. He very often too resides in a *nîm* tree, and near his shrine is generally a rude stone representing Devi, some vague manifestation of the female principle in nature.

18. Râja Lâkhan is a godling of another type. He is a deified mortal, Râja Lakhana Deva, the son of the great Râja Jay Chandra of Kanauj, who was killed by Shahâbuddîn Ghori in 1194 A. D.[2] The dominions of Lakhana Deva must have reached close to the Kol country, as there is a pillar with an inscription in his honour at Belkhara near Chunâr.[3] There is reason to believe that he led a campaign against the Muhammadan invaders, and this is perhaps the cause of his deification. Now nothing is known of him, except that, by an obvious folk etymology, he is said to have a shrine somewhere near Lucknow. Besides these there are several minor deities, such as Rakhsel and Phûlmati Devi, who are the local guardians of men and cattle, and are little more than village gods of a somewhat higher rank than the undescribed aggregate of divinities who reside in the village shrine. The Nâg or snake-god is worshipped at the Nâgpanchami. The Baghaut or tiger-ghost, Bansapti Mâta, the goddess of the jungle, Chithariya Bîr, "the hero of tatters," who lives in a tree on which rags are hung, and many similar deities of forest and mountain are respected, particularly when disease attacks men and animals. On this occasion the usual ceremony of the scapegoat (*chaldwa*) is managed by the Baiga. Brâhmans of an inferior type are occasionally called in, and are even paid to eat cakes (*pûri*) in the houses of the more Hinduised Kols. The house-god is Dulha Deo, the bridegroom god, who is specially revered by women and at mar-

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[1] A similar instance is Siva in his form as Bhairava, who is a direct adaptation of the non-Aryan Bhairon.

[2] See Elphinstone, *History of India*, 365.

[3] Cunningham, *Archæological Reports*, XI., 129.

riages with the bloodless sacrifice of cakes and milk. To the souls of the dead the house-master occasionally offers a fowl, ram, or goats, which is then eaten by the family.

Festivals.

19. They appear in Mirzapur to have abandoned the regular tribal festivals of the Mundas.[1] They now observe the usual Hindu festivals of the Naurâtra in the first nine days of the light half of Chait and Kuâr; the Phagua on the first of Chait; the Khichari in the end of Pûs; and the Nâgpanchami.[2] On the fifth of the light half of Sâwan, at the Naurâtra they fast; at the Phagua drink liquor and eat good food; at the Khichari they eat rice and pulse (*khichari*) and give some to Brâhmans; at the Nâgpanchami they offer milk and parched rice at the hole of some snake; at the Naurâtra they get into an ecstatic state (*abhuâna*), and some one falls into a frenzy and screams out oracles. The spirits of the dead reside in a special mud platform erected in the south room of the house. Dulha Deo has his abode in the cook-room. The women also pay particular honour to a deity called Bâsdeo, who resides in a *pîpal* tree. This is really Vasu-deva, which is an adaptation of the Hindu cult of Krishna. The axe and sickle are looked on as a kind of fetish: no one will spit on them or defile them, and they are kept in a place safe from injury.

Omens.

20. They have the usual meeting, sneezing, twitching omens, and their regard for lucky days and directions is the same as those of the other Dravidian races.

Oaths.

21. They swear by putting the hand on the axe or sickle, by the religious preceptor (*guru*), by the Ganges, by taking up the shoe of a Brâhman—"May my children die if I lie," is the usual form.

Dreams.

22. Dreams are believed to indicate the future, and in particular imply the dissatisfaction of the sainted dead when they are neglected. The oldest man in the family interprets them. The only way to ward off evil dreams is to propitiate the souls of the dead.

Amulets.

23. All disease is due to demoniacal influence, and the Ojha is called in to define the offended demon, and present suitable offerings. The Evil-eye

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[1] For which see Risley, *loc. cit.*, II., 104.

[2] According to Dalton, *Ethnology*, 177, there are no traces of snake worship among the Kols, except in the name of the rainbow (*lûrbeng*), which means "serpent." There are, however, Nâgbansis and Nâgesars allied to them.

is avoided by amulets, particularly the soap-nut, which bursts when the glance falls on them.

24. They revere the cow and buffalo, and will not injure them

Taboos.

Every hair on a cow's body is a godling (*deota*), and he who kills a cow offends as many godlings as there are hairs on its body. They appear to have almost entirely lost the prejudice against the use of milk which is common to other Kolarian races.[1] They will not eat food touched by a Dhobi, Chamâr, Dom, Dharkâr, Dusâdh, Kharwâr, Majhwâr, Panka, Agariya, Ghasiya, Chero, or Bhuiyâr. They have an especial abhorrence for Dharkârs, whom they consider particularly polluted. Children are not allowed to join in any worship, and it is only the head wife who does worship to the ancestors or Dulha Deo. A man will not touch his younger brother's wife, the mother-in-law of his son or daughter, nor his wife's elder sister.[2] They will not call by name their wives, nor the wife of a younger brother, nor the mother-in-law of their son or daughter. Nor will they name their religious teachers (*guru*). They prefer not to name the dead. Certain villages, where murders have occurred or where misers or bad characters live, are tabooed in the morning. So in the morning they will not speak of death or beasts of prey. When they have to mention an unlucky place or persons, they point in that direction and say the first letter of the name. If they have to speak of an elephant in the morning they call him *dantiha wa*, "he with the teeth," the tiger, *panjaha wa*, "he with the claws," and so on.

25. The best day for commencing agricultural operations is Fri-

Agricultural ceremonies.

day. They do not plough on the Nâg-panchami. They do the Kûnrmundan ceremony with an offering to the local gods when sowing is over.[3] Fields should be ploughed five times for luck. Before sowing they sacrifice to "the goddess of verdure," Hariyâri, Hariyari, or Hariyâi Mâi. She is worshipped by breaking up some cloves in a brass vessel (*lota*), which are mixed with water and poured on the ground. If cloves are not procurable, a simple stream of water is poured on the ground in honour of the goddess.

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[1] Dalton, *Ethnology*, 190.

[2] On this see Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*, II., *sqq.*

[3] This perhaps corresponds to the Damurai of the Bengal Mundas.—Dalton, *loc. cit.*, 198.

26. They eat the flesh of pigs, fowls, and all kinds of fish. They will not eat the flesh of cows, horses, donkeys, camels, elephants, alligators, snakes, lizards (*bistuiya*), or jackals. They certainly do not eat carrion, as appears to be the case in Sinhbûm.[1] They do not eat meat during the fortnight sacred to the manes of the dead (*pitrpakshа*): women are not allowed to eat pork, and have their meals separate from the men.[2] Liquor and tobacco are freely used, and oblations of spirits are made to the godlings. The women are treated fairly well, and little quarrelling goes on among them, but it is doubtful if there is much affection between husband and wife, though the contrary has been asserted.[3] They have the fondness for children which is characteristic of most primitive races.[4] The senior wife is honoured and respected. Youngers salute elders with the *pâélagi* form, and the answer is *jiyo síkó raho*—"may you live and thrive." To strangers they *salâm*. When guests arrive they are saluted, and the wife washes his feet and gives him a tobacco pipe. If any woman in the family is connected with the guest by blood, she seizes him round the waist and weeps, and then provides him with food with the elders of the family. It is the custom for a guest to bring with him some parched grain for the children of his host. The lowest caste who will accept food from their hands is the Kurmi. They only use pipes smoked by Kols. Only Doms, Dharkârs, and Chamârs drink water from their vessels. They wear the scalp-lock, but never shave the beard and mustache, except in mourning. They have a special kind of music known as *koljhari*.

Social rules.

27. Most Kols are ploughmen; a few have land of their own. The usual wages of a Kol ploughman are two sers of grain *per diem*, and a leaf umbrella (*chhopi*, *kholâur*), a blanket, and a rupee-and-a-half in cash *per annum*. They also get some special food at the festivals of the Dasahra, Kûnrmundan and Pachhcinyân on 20th Sâwan. They also get a *bígha* of land free of rent. This is known as *kola*, *koliya*. The village landlord takes two days' forced labour in the year from

Occupation.

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[1] Ball, *Jungle Life*, 159.
[2] For similar restrictions among savages see Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*, 447.
[3] Jellinghause quoted by Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 358.
[4] Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, I., 66.

all ploughmen, one for ploughing and the other for thatching his house. The more primitive Kols practise the system of cultivation by burning (*dahya*) down the jungle.

Kori.[1]—The Hindu weaver caste. Their name has been derived from that of the Kol caste, of whom they have by some been assumed to be an offshoot. In Sanskrit, *kaulika*, in the sense of "ancestral," has also come to mean "a weaver." According to their own story, the Saint Kabîr was one day going to bathe in the Ganges, and met a Brâhman girl who saluted him. He said in reply—"May God give you a son." She objected that she was a virgin and unmarried; but he answered that his word could not fail. So she immediately got a blister on her hand, out of which a boy was born. She was ashamed and left the child on the banks of the river, where a heifer that had never calved gave him milk, and he was adopted by a weaver who taught him his trade. He got his name because he was born of a virgin (*kuári*) or of a girl untouched by man (*kori*). Hence the verse popular among them—

Kori koré kalas ké, nirgun ké jáya;
Káya dhánké apni bhava ságar áya.

"Born of an undefiled jar, of him free from passion, he lowers his body and enters the ocean of existence."

They are probably an occupational caste derived from various sources.

Internal structure.

2. At the last Census the Koris were recorded in a large number of principal sub-castes:—Aharwâr, taking their name from the old town of Ahâr in the Bulandshahr District; Bais, the name of a well-known Râjput sept; Ballâi; Bhadauriya, which is also another Râjput sept; Bhainhar; Bunkar (*bunna*, "to weave"); Dhaman; Jaiswâr, from the town of Jais in the Râê Bareli District; Jatua, who say they have some connection with the Jâts or were born direct from the matted hair (*jata*) of Siva; Juriya; Kabîrbansi, called after Kabîr, the forefather of the caste; Kaithiya, who spring from the Kâyasths; Kamariha or Kamariya; Kanaujiya, from Kanauj; Katua; Korchamra, who spring from Chamârs; Kushta; Mahuré; Odh or Orh; Parsutiya (Sanskrit, *prasava*, "procreation"); Sakarwâr,

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[1] Based on enquiries at Mirzapur and notes by Munshi Râm Saran Dâs, Faizâbâd; Munshi Râm Sahây, Teacher, Tahsili School, Maholba, Hamirpur; Munshi Mai Dâyâl Sinh, Deputy Collector, Shâhjahânpur; and Munshi Gopâl Prasâd, Nâib Tahsildâr, Phaphûnd, Etâwah.

or those from Fatehpur Sikri; Sankhwâr. There are many other sub-castes spread over the province. Thus in Shâhjâhânpur we find Jaiswâr, Kanaujiya, Kachhwâr, Manwâr, Gangapâri, or "those from beyond the Ganges, Banswâr, Baiswâr, Katyâr, Patra, Gujarâti, Khatiya, and Chapar. In Hamîrpur are the Kutar, Kamariha, Jaiswâr, Sakhwâr, Dhiman, and Sunwâni. In Bijnor those who practise the occupation of applying leeches on patients are called Jonkiyâra (*jonk*, "a leech"). In Etâwah are the Mahur, Sakhwâr, Bhandauliya, and Chandauliya. In Mirzapur they class themselves as Chamâr-Kori who follow the usages of Chamârs and the Kori who connect themselves with Kahârs. Here they say that they are emigrants from Udaypur. The Juriya or Joriya of Faizâbâd claim to be Brâhmans and immigrants from a place called Katwi in the Jaunpur District. They admit Brâhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, Ahîrs, Kurmis, Murâos, and similar people into their caste. This generally occurs when they have contracted illicit intercourse with women of the tribe. They are worshippers of Mahâbîr and Bhâgawati, to whom they offer sacrifices of sheep and goats. Formerly they used only to weave in silk; now they make cotton cloths and do masonry. The Koris have been extraordinarily fertile in the development of sub-divisions. The complete Census lists contain no less than 1,040 names.

Manners and customs.

3. In their manners and customs Koris agree very closely with the Chamârs and people of a similar social grade, which it is unnecessary to repeat. In Hamîrpur, they are reported to have a special form of introducing the bride into her husband's house. The oldest man of the household prepares some cakes fried in butter, known as *mâ'n*, and offers them with the sacrifice of a pig to a local godling known as Baltai. Then comes the *nikâran* ceremony, when three wheaten cakes are baked, which the newly-married pair tread under foot, and are then allowed to enter the house. There are regular marriage brokers in Hamîrpur, each of whom receives a pair of loin-cloths (*dhoti*) contributed by the parents of the pair at betrothal, marriage, and the coming home of the bride, should she not have arrived at puberty when the wedding takes place. In most cases, however, the marriage is arranged by the sister's husband of the boy—apparently a survival of the matriarchate. A woman married by the *Karâo* ceremony is not allowed to enter her husband's house in the day-time; she must do so secretly and at night. Hence of such marriages the

proverb runs—*Kâla munh, andhiyârê pâkh*, "with a black face and in the dark fortnight of the month." A widow cannot re-marry by the *Karâo* form until at least the thirteen days of mourning for her late husband are over. Authorities differ as to whether they admit outsiders into the caste. A correspondent from Etâwah asserts that it is a well-known fact that they admit Brâhmans, Râjputs, Banyas, Kâyasths, Ahîrs, Gadariyas, Kâchhis, Kahârs, Bhurjis, Barhais, Khâtis, and Kurmis into their community, but draw the line at Chamârs, Telis, Dhobis, and Bâris, as well as sweepers and Dhânuks. This is said not to take place in other districts. The same correspondent also asserts that in Etâwah it is well ascertained that in the levirate the widow is allowed to marry the elder as well as the younger brother of her late husband. This, if correct, is very remarkable, as it is totally opposed to the usage of all other castes of the same social status.

Religion.

4. The Koris are all Hindus. In Faizâbâd they are said to follow the Râêdâsi or Sivanârâyani sect, of which some account has been given in connection with Chamârs. In Bijnor they are Kabîrpanthis. This is also the case in Hamîrpur, where their religious ceremonies are performed by the daughter's husband, another relic of the matriarchate. To the West they also worship Zâhirpîr and the Miyân of Amroha and Jalesar, and to the East the Pânchonpîr and Sîtala Mâta.

Occupation and social status.

5. The status of the Kori is very low. In Mirzapur it is said that Brâhmans will drink water from the hands of the Kahâr Koris, but not from the Chamâr Koris. Only Dhobis and Chamârs will eat *kachchi* or *pakki* cooked by the latter; Koris will, to the East, eat *kachchi* cooked by Brâhmans and Kshatriyas and *pakki* prepared by all Vaisyas, except Kalwârs. Their occupation is weaving coarse country cloth, but some take to service and field labour or hold land as tenants. Kushta or Koshta, one of their sub-castes, is the general name for a weaver in the Dakkhin.[1]

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[1] *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVII, 113, *sqq.*

Distribution of the Koris according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Ahareṛā.	Bain.	Bālāl.	Bhadauriya.	Bhoinhar.	Dunkar.	Dhanuk.	Jaiswār.	Jātua.	Jurīya.	Kahārbaruā.	Kathiriya.	Kumarbhā.	Kausalīya.	Kātua.	Korbhamra.	Kushta.	Mahurā.	Oli.	Parautiya.	Sakarwār.	Bankhwār.	Others.	Total.
Dehra Dūn	.	.	..	..	...	...	.	...	94	...	...	383	...	...	.	...	...	...	41		..	...	3,966	4,444
Sahāranpur	.				...	...	.	36	165	...	...	3,077	...	...	114	...	441	...	..	...	...	...	13,669	17,490
Muzaffarnagar	.	..	...		...	...	..	...	6	...	...	3,330	...	...	...	...	...	—	..	...	...	...	.	9,483	11,819
Meerut	.	.	...		...	...	...	—	—	...	...	408	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	936	...	...	...	160	1,504
Saharanpur	.	.	...			...	...	...	9	...	...	1,701	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	5,876	...	...	...	16,715	24,296
Aligarh	.	.				...	...	...	.	—	.	873	...	...	..	...	..	...	7,466	2,966	...	..	..	21,324	32,348
Mathura	.	.			73	...	...	...	2	2	14	..	340	14	—	5	...	...	18	15,698	763	...	181	263	1,921	19,892
Agra	.	.	8	275	14	1,130	...		28	114	...	...	36	6	...	2	...	...	...	21,730	15	...	323	6,677	2,506	33,945
Farrukhabad	.	134				...	...	.	79	341	600	..	366		2,971	110	...	406	...	894	5	113	345	5,969	3,309	15,413
Mainpuri	.			13	...	1,000	...	..	...	21	64	...	79		1,210	...	...	10	...	732	..	...	6	9,869	1,157	14,226
Etawah	.	.	640		..	—	...	...	..	98	...	...	114	1,964	3,821	36	...	64	...	605	1	998	2,830	9,407	2,333	23,317
Etah	.	.	...			...	...	..	7	70	..	...	377	943	338	...	...	30	..	4,483	96	1,173	...	3,193	1,596	12,237
Bareilly	.	.		...		...	6	.	...	...	...	...	396	...	...	1,013	...	43	109	...	...	3,996	...	611	43,899	49,069
Bijnor	.	.	...	...		...	99	...	...	...	..	...	..	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7,569	7,668
Budaun	.	.	..			...	...	..	3	...	...	...	6,103	1,004	—	...	...	...	...	1,007	...	...	..	194	4,894	13,205
Moradabad	.	.				...	1,186	..	...	22	...	...	1,309	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	60	...	...	...	3,383	6,796
Shahjahanpur	.	.	...	...	...	...	...	...	603	712	80	7	179	469	136	687	...	4	..	29	...	263	664	7,469	9,777	20,371

Distribution of the Koris according to the Census of 1891—continued.

District.	Aharwár.	Bais.	Bálai.	Bhadauriya.	Bhainhar.	Bunkar.	Dhaman.	Jaiswár.	Jatua.	Juriya.	Kabirbansi.	Kaithiya.	Kamariha.	Kanaujiya.	Katua.	Korchamra.	Kushta.	Mahure.	Odh.	Parsutiya.	Sakarwár.	Sankhwár.	Others.	Total.
Pilibhit	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,543	615	145	...	500	31	1	35	7	...	379	...	...	394	1,408	515	2,681	8,253
Cawnpur	2,330	...	...	...	...	...	3,755	1,003	...	...	199	...	20,489	51	...	69	66	177	...	374	...	842	14,620	44,003
Fatehpur	...	...	...	...	...	...	6,471	3,921	...	...	149	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13	9,939	20,483
Bánda	55	...	...	...	...	...	620	13	...	...	525	...	...	17	...	3	465	...	...	...	2,448	...	23,719	27,780
Hamírpur	7,548	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	29	...	616	1	...	...	89	25	...	67	2	4,090	14,808	27,279
Allahábád	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	5,043	...	1,397	15	...	...	...	...	...	30	...	...	...	...	...	12,938	19,427
Jhánsi	21,899	...	...	...	...	612	6	108	...	...	128	...	2	...	...	...	859	208	2	22	36	2,106	1,473	27,465
Jálaun	12,208	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	95	...	9	...	...	...	161	...	...	494	...	7,980	1,554	22,489
Lalitpur	1,070	...	...	...	...	6,805	51	...	...	...	158	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	...	...	1	21	2,138	10,374
Benares	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	146	...	...	...	...	...	...	146
Mirzapur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	27	28
Gházipur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	67	67
Gorakhpur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	180	...	...	887	1,087
Basti	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	870	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	22	...	...	1,500	2,391
Azamgarh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	308	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	570	881
Gaziwál	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3
Tarái	...	...	...	...	480	...	...	...	...	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	18	...	...	...	...	581	977
Lucknow	...	...	...	...	...	...	12,806	230	...	...	40	20	...	...	...	3	...	20	...	111	144	...	6,075	19,072

Unâo	...	...	...	...	...	...	10,878	87	...	...	4	...	...	123	...	...	...	...	...	136	5	...	11,750	22,680
Râê Bareli	...	...	...	...	...	...	27,888	5,468	...	1,891	...	190	...	298	...	18	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,014	37,457
Sitapur	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,802	68	...	...	11	1,821	...	...	...	17	...	3,835	...	718	...	149	1,964	11,386
Hardoi	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	22	...	...	...	3,527	...	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	163	5,157	3,616	12,499
Kheri	...	...	...	...	2	...	6,601	477	50	...	...	3,304	...	182	...	...	...	770	...	...	969	...	7,265	19,620
Faizâbâd	...	576	...	...	...	...	15,461	702	...	3,721	...	...	...	...	...	...	184	...	...	...	...	...	16,131	36,775
Gonda	...	...	...	...	...	...	27,986	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	115,527	143,813
Bahrâich	...	...	...	...	...	...	9,360	34	...	12	...	...	...	...	...	58	...	...	...	...	89	...	42,449	52,002
Sultânpur	...	...	...	...	...	69	12,281	2,463	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,111	19	...	...	...	...	...	4,328	20,271
Bârabanki	...	14	...	...	6	...	24,290	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,099	25,409
TOTAL	46,140	877	744	2,219	1,683	7,586	163,349	21,782	1,013	7,398	20,439	13,300	29,208	2,915	309	2,286	2,574	57,341	10,751	8,957	10,288	64,299	444,227	919,649

Kormangta.—A Hindu religious order, so-called because they are said to beg only from members of the Kori tribe (*Kori mángna*). We have similarly the Chamar-mangta, who beg from Chamârs, and the Pasmangta from Pâsis. The Census shows them only in Oudh.

Distribution of the Kormangtas according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.
Unâo	82
Râê Bareli	223
Bârabanki	582
Total	887
Males	439
Females	448

Korwa.—A Dravidian tribe found in the part of Mirzapur south of the river Son and along the frontier of Sarguja. They assert that they have emigrated from Sarguja within the last two or three generations. They appear to be the aborigines of Sarguja, Jashpur, and Palâmau, and this "claim is in some measure borne out by the fact that the priests who propitiate the local spirits are always selected from this tribe."[1] Among the offshoots of the original tribe now residing in Mirzapur there appears to be no trace of the singular legend that they are descended from the scare-crows set up to frighten wild animals by the first men who raised crops in Sarguja, which were animated by the great spirit to save his votaries the trouble of continually making new ones.[2] There seems little doubt that they are in name and origin closely connected with the Kûrs, whose name Mr. Hislop connects with Kol, and describes as "found on the Mahâdeva hills and westward in the forest on the Tâpti and Narbada until they come in contact with the Bhîls. On the Mahâdeva hills, where they have been much influenced by the Hindus, they prefer the name of Muâsi, the origin of which I have not been able to ascertain, unless it be that the word is derived from the *mahua* tree."[3] Like the Kûrs, the Korwas of

[1] Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I., 511.

[2] Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 226; Risley, *loc. cit.*, II., 511; Driver, *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1891, page 25.

[3] *Papers*, 25. A scattered tribe with a very similar name, Mahwaiya, are found in some of the jungles in Pargana Barhar of Mirzapur and seem now to be disappearing by amalgamation with the Kols.

KORWA.

Chota Nâgpur have some traditions connecting them with the Mahâdeva hills as the first seat of their race.[1] The word Korwa seems to be another form of Kol. Herr Jellinghause interprets the word Kol to mean "pig-killer,"[2] but the better opinion seems to be that it is a variant for *horo*, the Mundâri for "man." The Khariyas of Chota Nâgpur call the Mundas Kora—a name closely approaching Kol.[3]

Tribal organization.

2. No trace can be found in Mirzapur of the sub tribes of Agariya Korwa, Dand Korwa, Dih Korwa, and Pahariya Korwa found in Bengal,[4] nor of the Birhor and Kisân Korwas mentioned by Mr. Driver.[5] There is, again, no trace of the interesting series of totemistic sub-divisions recorded from Rânchi by Mr. Risley.[6] The Mirzapur tribe say that there are two sub-tribes, Korwa and Korâku, both of whom are mentioned by Colonel Dalton.[7] The former live in Pargana Dudhi, the flat country north of the Sarguja plateau, and the latter in the Sarguja hills. The former have almost abandoned the use of the bow and arrow, which is said to be habitually used by the latter. Among themselves the Mirzapur Korwas call the males Korâku and the women Koriku.

Appearance.

3. Colonel Dalton's description applies very well to the Mirzapur tribe. He describes them as "short of stature and dark-brown in complexion, strongly built and active, with good muscular development, but, as appeared to me, disproportionately short-legged. The average height of twenty Sarguja Korwas whom I measured was five feet three inches, and of their women four feet nine inches only. In feature the characteristic types are not very prominent: a breadth of face from the lateral projection of the zygomatic arches and narrowness of forehead are the most remarkable traits: the nose, chin, and mouth are better formed than we generally find them among the rude tribes of the Dravidian stock; and, notwithstanding the scare-crow tradition, the Korwas are, as a rule, better looking than the Gonds and Orâons. The males, I noticed, were more hirsute than

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[1] Driver, *loc. cit.*, 24.
[2] *Kola* in Sanskrit means "a hog."
[3] Risley, *loc. cit.*, II., 101.
[4] Risley, *loc. cit.*, I., 512.
[5] *Loc. cit.*, page 25.
[6] *Loc. cit.*, *Appendix*, 81.
[7] *Descriptive Ethnology*, 230, 231.

the generality of their cognates, many of them cultivating beards or rather not interfering with their spontaneous growth, for in truth in their toilettes there is nothing like cultivation. They are as utterly ungroomed as the wildest animals. The neglected back hair grows in matted tails which fall behind like badly frayed ropes or is massed in a chignon of gigantic proportions, as preposterous as any that the present tactless period has produced, sticking out behind sometimes a foot from the back of the head. The women appear ground down by the hard work imposed upon them, stunted in growth, black, ugly, and wretchedly clad, some having only a few dirty rags tied round their persons, and in other respects untidy and unclean."[1] Dr. Ball noticed particularly "the unkempt condition of their matted locks of hair, in which they commonly hitch the shafts of their arrows."[2]

Tribal organization.

4. They have a tribal council (*bhaiyâri*), in which, degraded as they are, they are superior to the Cyclopes Homer's type of "a froward and lawless folk."[3] This is summoned by invitation (*neota*) when necessary. It is presided over by a permanent hereditary president (*pradhân*). The leader of all the Korwas in Mirzapur is Somchand Korwa of Bisrâmpur in Pargana Dudhi. Every adult male has a right to sit on the council, which deals with cases of adultery, etc. Only clansmen are accepted as witnesses. No one is sworn. The sentence is usually to give a feast, and if any offender disobeys the order, he is excommunicated and remains outcaste until he obeys.

Marriage rules.

5. There are in Mirzapur no exogamous sub-divisions. The family of the mother's brother (*mâmu*) and that of the father's sister's husband (*phûpha*) are barred: and when a family lives together the members do not intermarry within four or five degrees.[4] As a rule, they have only one wife and do not indulge in concubinage or polyandry. The marriage age is twelve for males and ten for girls. The marriage is usually arranged by the brother-in-law (*bahnoi*) of the

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[1] *Descriptive Ethnology*, 226.

[2] *Jungle Life*, 661.

[3] *Odyssey*, IX., 112.

[4] In Chota Nâgpur, according to Mr. Driver, "Korwas are divided into several families, each of which is known by its *gotra*, and no two people of the same *gotra* are allowed to marry."—*Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1891, page 26.

bridegroom. The bridegroom has, however, generally a voice in the matter. There are many runaway marriages. In selecting a wife working capabilities are more regarded than beauty. The bride-price is five rupees and one or two maunds of rice. After the betrothal the appearance of any physical defects is not a ground for breaking off the match, nor are idiocy, lunacy, impotence, or mutilation a sufficient cause.

Divorce.

6. Sufficient grounds for divorce are eating from the hands of, or intriguing with, a Dom, Chamâr, or Dharkâr. The only ceremony is the announcement of the fact before the council; but the council will put a man out of caste if he maltreats his wife, and she can complain against him to the council and get him fined. A divorced woman cannot re-marry.

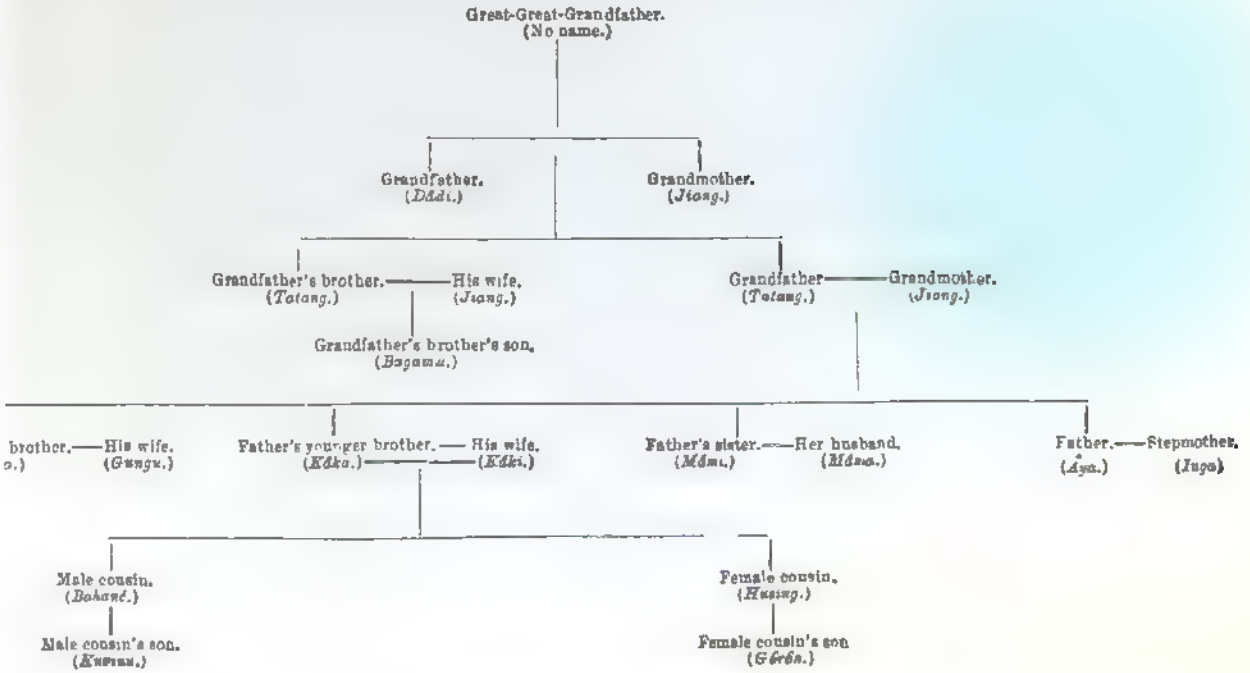
Widow marriage.

7. Widows may be married again by the *sagâi* form. They generally marry widowers, and it seems unusual for a bachelor to take a widow to wife. The man has to give the relations of the widow a rupee and a quarter and then takes the woman home. The levirate is permitted under the usual restriction that it is only the younger brother of the husband who can take his widow: and if he chooses to claim her she cannot marry an outsider. If she have a child at the breast, she takes it with her to her new husband. Older children remain with their paternal uncle.

Relationship.

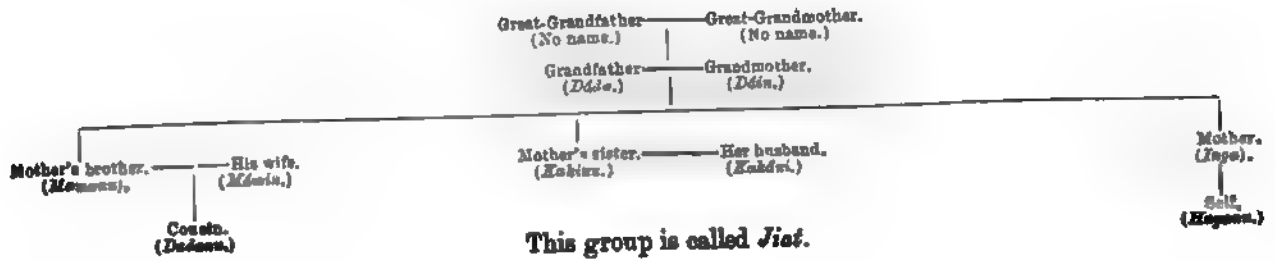
8. The family into which his son marries or into which his daughter is married are relations. They call a father *apa*; grandfather, *tatang*; great-grandfather, *dâdi*; a son is *hopon*; a grandson, *kurin*; a great-grandson, *baholu*. The following is their system of relationship:—

A.—Relations through the Father, whether of man or woman.



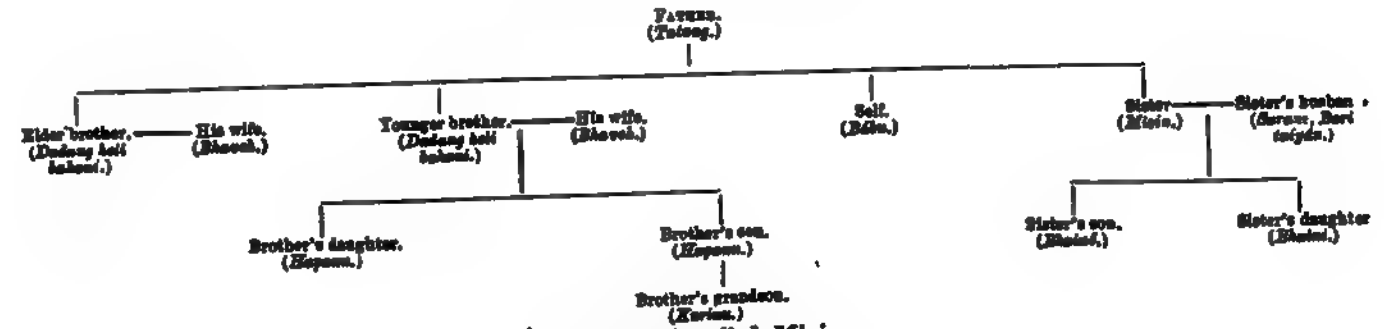
This group is called *Jiat*.

B.—Relations through the Mother, whether of man or woman.



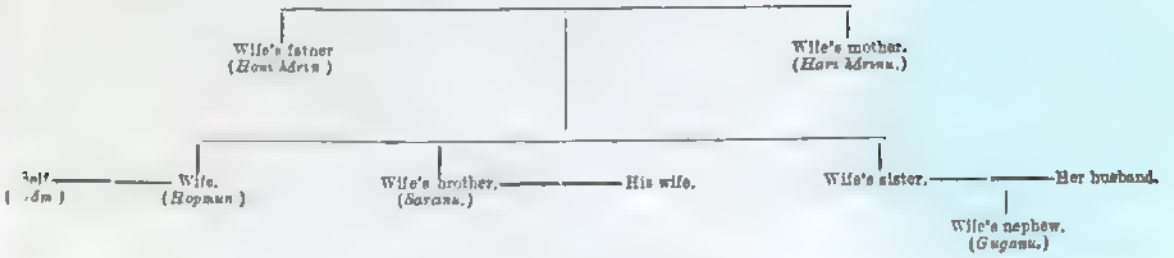
This group is called *Jiat*.

C.—Relations through the Brother and Sister, whether of man or woman.



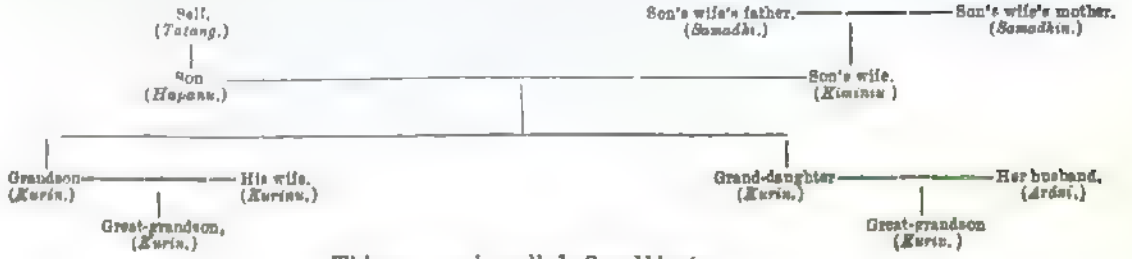
This group is called *Misisu*.

D.—Relations through the wife of a man.



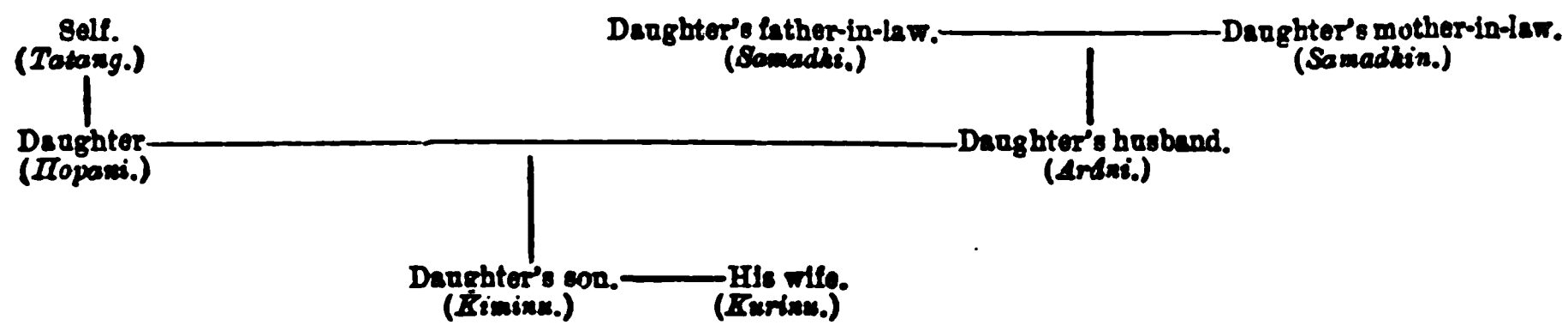
This group is called *Sasurál.*

E (1).—Relations through the Son, whether of man or woman.



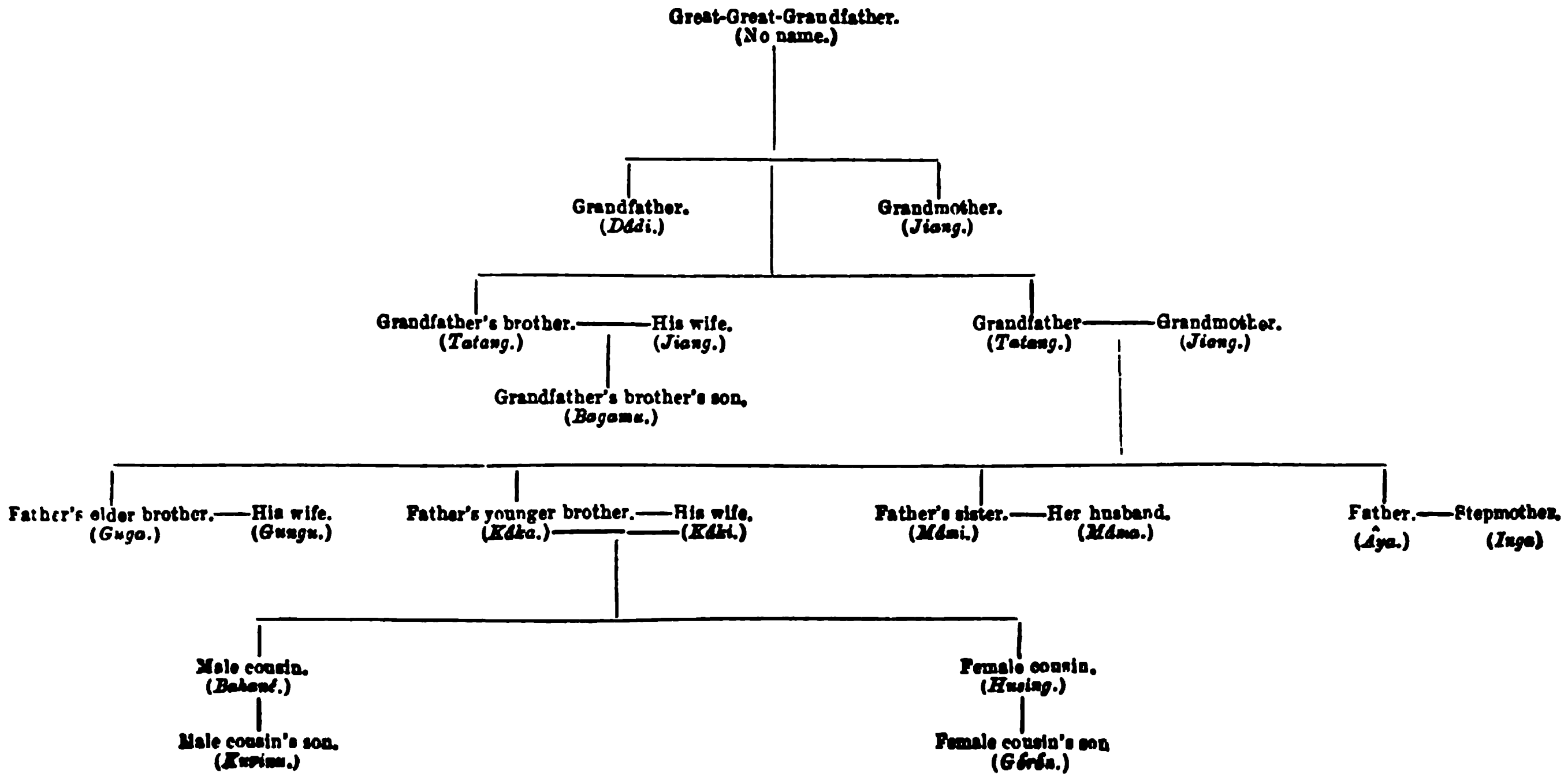
This group is called *Samdhimán.*

E (*z*).—*Relations through the Daughter, whether of man or woman.*



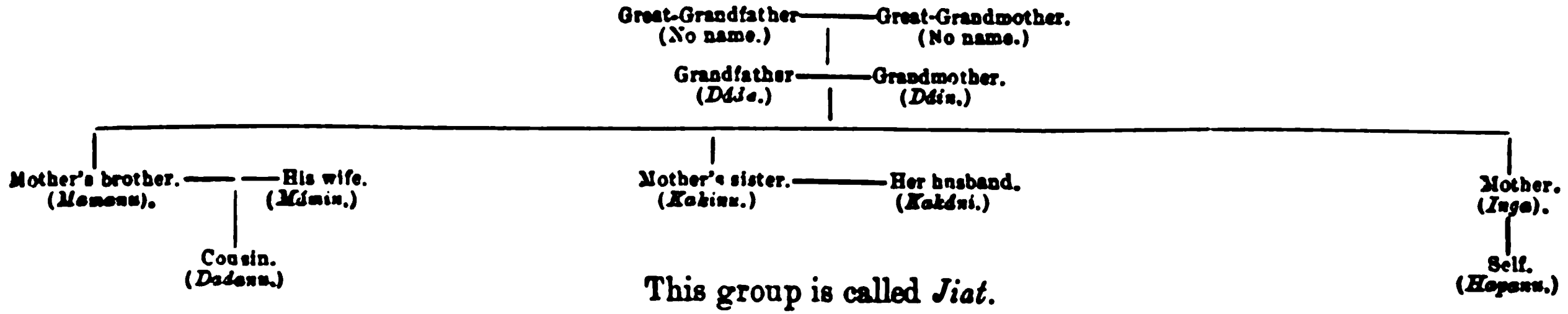
This group is called *Samadkinu*.

A.—Relations through the Father, whether of man or woman.



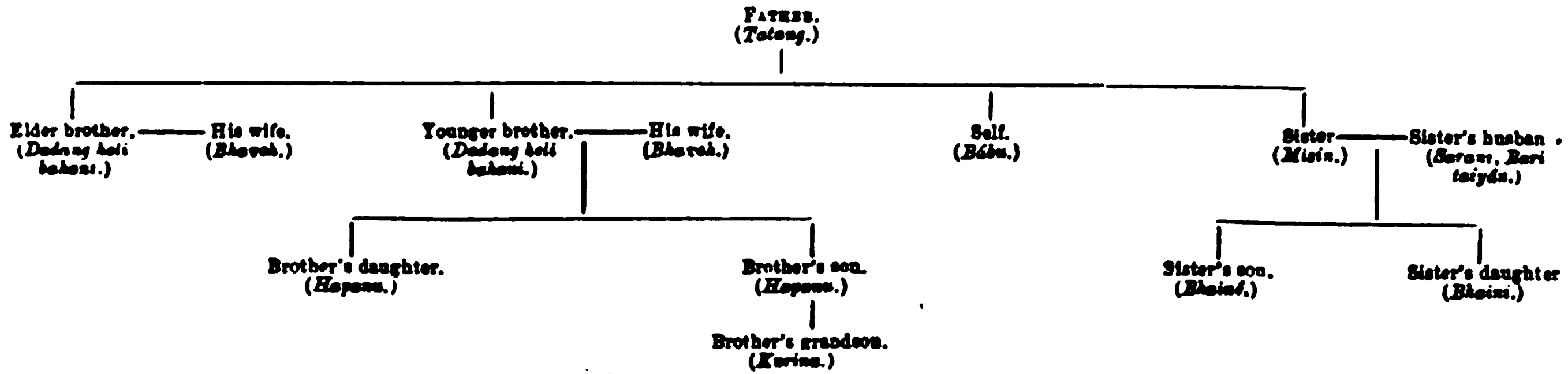
This group is called *Jiat*.

B.—Relations through the Mother, whether of man or woman.



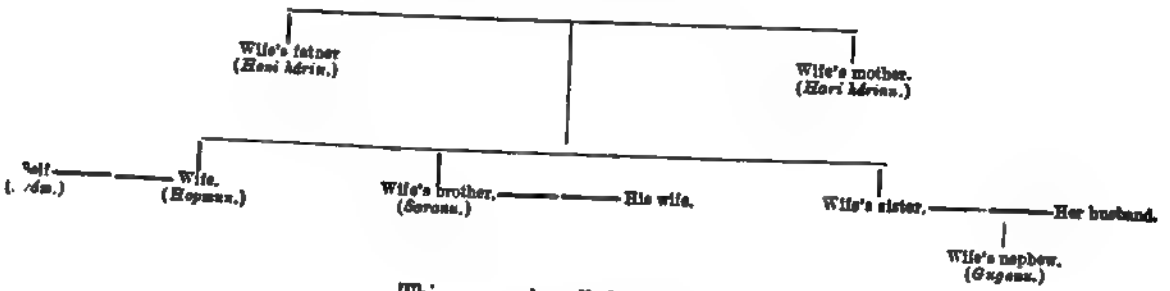
This group is called *Jiat*.

C.—Relations through the Brother and Sister, whether of man or woman.



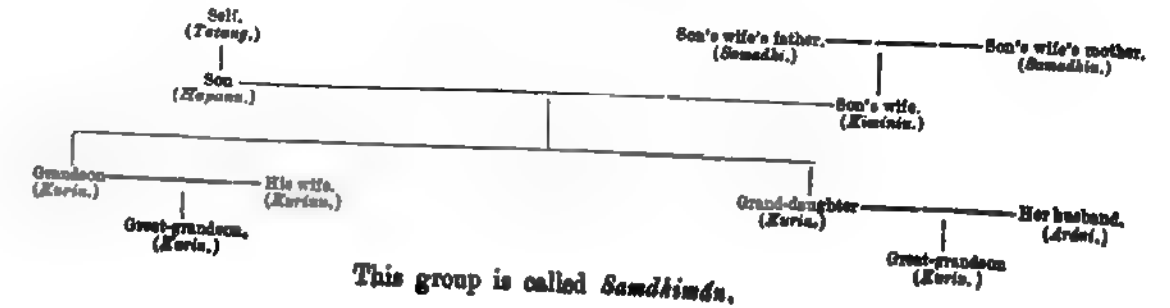
This group is called *Misinu*.

D.—Relations through the wife of a man.



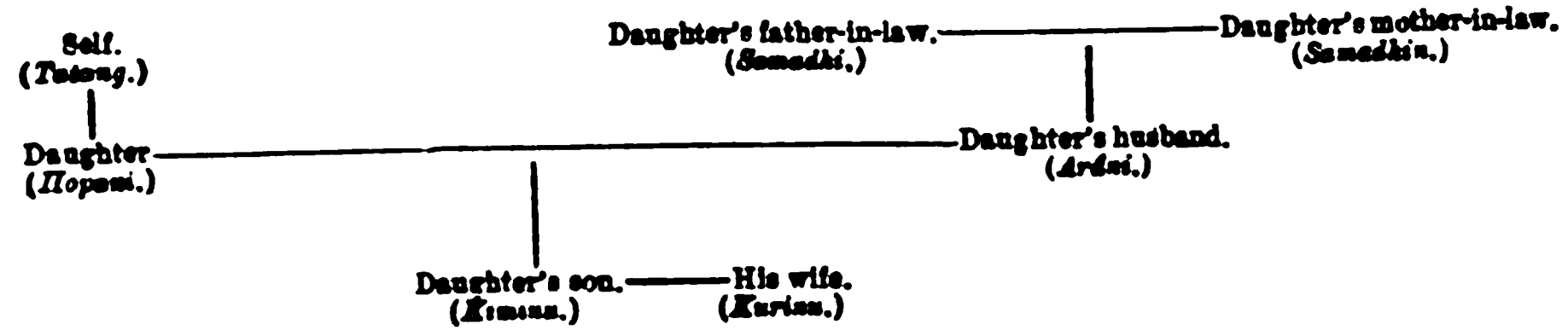
This group is called *Sasurâl.*

E (1).—Relations through the Son, whether of man or woman.



This group is called *Samdhimâu.*

E (2).—*Relations through the Daughter, whether of man or woman.*



This group is called *Samadkinn.*

This is not the place to attempt systematic analysis of these records of relationship. It may merely be noticed that there is no term for a great-grandfather or great-grandmother; that the names for the grandmother and grandfather's brother's wife are the same; that the term for the father's younger brother and his wife are purely Hindi, as is the case with the wife of the younger brother, sister's son, sister's daughter, and for the father and mother of the son's wife. This illustrates the vagueness of the marriage tie among these people.[1] Among themselves they call the sister *aya*; their own wife, *Bâbu kai inga*; elder brother's wife *bhauk*; mother's brother, *mâma*; mother's father, *tatang*; sister's husband *taiyân*; wife's brother, *saranu*; father's sister's husband, *mâma*; father's sister, *mâmi*; a woman's father-in-law *bûrha* ("old man"); wife's sister's husband, *saddhu*; wife's brother's son, *dangera*; son's wife, *bâi*; son's or daughter's son, *kurin*.

Birth ceremonies.

9. The woman is delivered sitting on the ground. Some old woman of the tribe cuts the cord with a sickle, and throws it outside the house. The Chamâin midwife is not employed. The moment the child is born a fire is lit in the house and kept burning for twelve days. The husband does not enter the delivery room for five days. On the sixth day the old woman bathes the mother and child, and two or three of the clan are fed on pulse and rice. The woman's clothes are washed, and she goes back to the delivery room (*saur*). On the twelfth day the mother goes and bathes in a stream, washes her clothes, and comes home and cooks for the family. On the twelfth day the child is named by the father or grandfather, and is generally called after some deceased ancestor, who is understood from a dream to be re-born in the baby.[2] There appears to be no trace of the

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[1] For a discussion of the system of nomenclature see McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History and the Patriarchal Theory*; Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity, passim*; Starcke, *Primitive Family, Chapter* V.; Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation, Chapter* IV.

[2] Mr. Driver notes in Chota Nâgpur that children are named a month after they are born. "They are only named after their grandparents, when the mother dreams of a visit from the said ancestors. If a girl is to be born, the woman dreams that either her own or her husband's mother came with an offering of *tarpâl* earrings or beads; but if a boy is expected she dreams that either her own or her husband's father came with an offering of a *dibi* or *batua* (small brass pots for eating out of). The child is then called its grandparent's embodiment (*dalar*) and is named after the said ancestor. A big feast is always given at a christening. Boys are preferred to girls."—*Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1891, *page* 28.

couvade. These people have the intense fear of pollution from the menstrual or parturition discharge which is characteristic of all primitive races.[1]

Marriage customs.

10. The boy's father goes and inspects the girl: when he approves of her, the maternal uncle (*mâmu*) of the boy completes the negotiations. If the girl's father approves of the proposal, he feeds the envoy. On the marriage day, which is fixed by mutual arrangement, the bridegroom goes to the bride's house with some of his relations. Once the procession starts, neither party can withdraw from the match; and if either object, he is forced to consent by an order from the council. At the marriage the oldest man present calls the bride and says to her—"We have made you over to the son of so and so. You must never leave him, no matter what trouble you undergo. Don't disgrace your family by an intrigue with a man of another caste." After this exhortation the bridegroom rubs red lead on the girl's head. This is the binding portion of the ceremony. After this the clansmen are fed on goat's flesh and rice, and next day the bridegroom brings the bride home and feasts his clansmen. There is no trace of the professional match-maker, the best man and the bridesmaids, and the knotting of the garments of the pair which are part of the ritual in Chota Nâgpur.[2] When a girl is married a piece of jungle is assigned her as a hunting ground where she can dig roots and collect wild fruits. No one else dares to interfere with her domain, and the right is strictly enforced by the council.[3]

Mr. Campbell (*Notes* 4) remarks:—"Another ground for the belief in the return of ancestors was the likeness of children to the dead. The Konkan Kunbis, and even Bráhmans, believe that the dead ancestors sometimes come in children, and so in many cases children are named after their grandfathers or grandmothers. Among Gûjarât Musalmâns, if a child is naughty or peevish, its mother or nurse says—'Its kind has come on its head.' It is the belief of the Khonds that an ancestor comes back in a child (Macpherson, 56). Among the American Indians when a man dies the medium puts his hands on the head of one of the mourners, and the spirit of the dead enters him, ready to appear in his next offspring (Bancroft, III., 517). Among the Laplanders of Europe an ancestral spirit tells the mother that he has come into the child, and to call the child by his name.—Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II. 4."

[1] Frazer, *Golden Bough*, II., 238, *sq.*

[2] Driver, *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1891, *page* 27.

[3] See similar cases in Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*, 455, and compare *Bhar*, para. 10.

11. The dying person is taken into the open air before death.[1]

Death customs.

The tribe is in a transition stage between burial and cremation.[2] Some families practise one form and some the latter. Those that bury the dead have regular tribal, or family, burial-grounds. Even among those who cremate the dead, young children and those who die of epidemic diseases are buried. When they cremate, they take the corpse to a place north-east of the village. It is laid on its back, with the feet to the south. Wood is piled over it, and the son of the deceased, or if he has no son, his brother or other male next of kin, walks five times round the pyre with a grass torch and fires it. When it is well alight they leave it, bathe, and return home. Next day the chief mourner goes to the pyre and collects the ashes. Then a message is sent round to the effect that the funeral ceremony (*khoiya, khaur*) will take place on a certain day. The clansmen collect and shave themselves.[3] A barber is not employed. Then they wash their clothes and have a feast at the house of the deceased. From that day all are pure. They have, as far as can be ascertained, no ceremony to propitiate the spirits of the dead. When they burn or bury a corpse, they place with it the ornaments, clothes of the deceased, and an axe, none of which are broken. These are to be the support of the deceased in the after world, but as to any abode of happiness or retribution they have no idea. All they know is that the spirit goes to Paramesar, but this is the case with the souls of trees and animals as well as men.

12. They do not even pretend to be Hindus, and have no connection with the Bráhmans. They worship as their tribal god Râja Chandol in the month of February (Phâlgun) with an offering of a cock, some red lead (*sendûr*), and flowers. This offering is made by the Baiga, many of whom are found in the tribe.[4] They are much beset by malignant ghosts (*bhût*), particularly those of strange villages, who are excluded by the Baiga, who goes round the village circuit once a year dropping a little liquor as he walks, and thus forming a magic

Religion and superstitions.

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[1] Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I., 453.

[2] There is a good note on this fact among the Greeks in Blackie's *Iliad* on VII., 328.

[3] On this ceremonial shaving after a death compare Homer, *Iliad*, XXIII., 135; *Odyssey*, IV., 198.

[4] This is also the case with the Bengal Division of the tribe, Dalton, *Ethnology*, 180, 221. For the worship of Raja Chandol, see *Majhwâr*, *para*. 40.

line over which foreign ghosts are unable to cross. When the Baiga is a drunken rascal, as is often the case, this performance takes a considerable time, and the heavy charges for liquor are received badly by his parishioners. When Bhûts attack people and bring disease, particularly fainting or epileptic fits, an Ojha is called in to exorcise the Bhût, or if the patient is a young woman, she is taken to a local shrine and thrashed by the Baiga with his heavy iron magic chain (*gurda*).[1] There is hardly any trace of ancestor worship, except in times of extreme sickness, when a Korwa will sacrifice a goat in the name of his late father or mother. They do not consider any more remote ancestors deserving of any propitiation. When they make an offering of food to the dead they throw a morsel on the ground. They do not appeal to any deity when eating. They believe in the local gods (*dih*) which live in the tree over the village shrine (*mánrar*). They respect the house and will not bathe inside it. They will not touch the threshold on entering or coming out. When there is small-pox or cholera in a Korwa village, the Baiga makes a daily burnt offering with sugar and butter. When cholera appears, he goes to the village gods and says—"If you remove this pestilence, we will do extra worship to you." In cases of fever, which are regarded as of demoniacal origin, the Baiga prays to the local gods and prescribes a decoction of various jungle roots for the patient. Thursday and Friday are their lucky days, and the north and east the auspicious quarters of the sky. When a snake hisses rain is near; when the bees swarm it is an omen of good rain, but when they abandon their hive famine may be expected. Their only oath is to swear by their mothers, and this is the strongest oath which a Korwa can take. A man will not touch the wife of his younger brother or his sister. They sow, if possible, on the first Friday in Asârh. At sowing time the Baiga first makes an offering of butter and molasses in his field, and he is paid to make a similar offering at the village shrine (*mánrar*). They count the new year from the beginning of February (Phâlgun), when they give the Baiga a sieve full of grain, a contribution known as *kharwan*.

Food and social customs.

13. They will not eat the flesh of the snake, tiger, hyæna, jackal, iguana, tortoise, house lizard, and similar animals. Among birds they do not eat the

[1] See *Majhwár*, para. 45.

vulture. They will not eat locusts. They will eat the flesh of the bear, monkey, pig, ox, buffalo, and all kinds of deer. They also on occasions eat carrion. They use liquor, hemp, and tobacco as intoxicants, but not *gânja*. Liquor they believe keeps off malaria. Most of their food is, however, jungle products, such as the *makua* (*Bassia latifolia*), the *piyâr* (*Buchanaria latifolia*), the *tend* (*Diospyros ebenum*), *sarai* (*Boswellia thurifera*), *ber* (*Ægle marmelos*). They also eat a number of seeds, leaves, stems, roots, and fungi, some of which are bitter or poisonous and require special treatment to make them wholesome.[1] Roots are dug with a special instrument called a *khanta* or "digger," which every Korwa carries.[2] It consists of a stick, on the end of which is fastened a long iron spike. They procure what they want in the way of food by exchanging forest products, such as *bahera* (*myrobalan*), lac, silk cocoons, and various jungle dyes and seeds. The young salute the elders by *pâélagi* or bending the left hand on the hollow of the right elbow: the right hand is then lifted up to the face with the word *pâélagi*, "I touch your feet," in reply to which the senior says "*Jiyo pâta!*" "Live long, my son!" They are considered so degraded that they will eat and smoke with Doms. The clothes of both sexes are disgracefully scanty. But the women wear brass rings (*churia*) on the arms and pewter anklets (*pairi*). A few have now taken to working as ploughmen, but as a rule they pick up their living as best they can in the jungle and practically do no cultivation. The women are worked hard and roughly used at times. The tribe certainly does not do any iron work, as would seem to be the case in Bengal.[3] They are very expert in the use of the axe (*tângi, bhalua*), and some can shoot fairly well at short distances with the bow and arrow. They are also expert in making fire by the friction of two pieces of dry bamboos. They smoke tobacco out of leaf pipes made of the leaves of the *sâl* (*Shorea robusta*).[4] The Korwas, on the whole, are much the most primitive and miserable tribe to be found in these Provinces.

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[1] A full list of jungle products used by the Dravidian tribes is given by Dr. Ball in *Jungle Life*, 695 *sqq*.

[2] This is exactly like the *gadahla* or *gahdal* which Mr. Neefield, *Calcutta Review*, LXXXVI, 23, describes as the distinctive weapon of the Musahars, *q.v.*

[3] Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I. 513.

[4] Of some of these pipes recently sent to the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, Mr. Balfour writes that he smoked one nine times, and that it drew excellently and was little burnt.

KUMHÂR.

Kotwâr.—(*Kotwál*, "the keeper of a castle.")—A small tribe containing only 97 persons recorded at the last Census only in the Mirzapur District. In Bengal the term is applied to a special tribe of village watchmen.[1] In the Central Provinces it is the name of one of the sections of the Halba Gonds.[2] In Mirzapur the name is only an occupational term applied to the Pankas (*q. v.*), in relation to their duty as watchmen.

Kunera, Kundera.—(Sanskrit *kunda-kára*, "a bowl-maker.")—A caste of village turners found along the Rîwa border in the Mirzapur District. Their business is making on the lathe the stems of tobacco pipes (*huqqa*) out of the wood of the acacia catechu (*Khair*). They are evidently closely allied to the Kharâdi (*q. v.*). They do not appear in the Census lists. They say that they were originally Bais Râjputs, and were driven by the tyranny of some conqueror to take to their present occupation. They are endogamous and say that they do not intermarry with a family with whom they have a previous connection by marriage until eight generations have passed or all knowledge of the connection has disappeared.

Kumhâr, Kumbhâr.—To the east of the Province, *Kohár*; *Konhár*.[3] (Sanskrit *kumbha-kára*, "a maker of jars.")—The caste of potters. There are various traditions of their origin. According to the Brâhma-vaivarta Purâna they are born of a Vaisya woman by a Brâhman father; the Parâsara Sanhita makes the father a Mâlakâra or gardener and the mother a Chamâr; while the Parâsara Padhati holds that the ancestor of the caste was begotten of a Teli woman by a Pattikâra or weaver of silk cloth. Sir Monier Williams, again, in his Sanskrit Dictionary describes them as the offspring of a Kshatriya woman by a Brâhman.[4] As a matter of fact, this respectable lineage is claimed by only one subcaste, the Chauhâniya Misr. According to a Bengal story, a water jar was wanted at the marriage of Siva, and as no one knew how to make one, the god took a bead from his necklace and created a potter out of it; while with a second he made a woman, who became the potter's wife. By a legend current in these Provinces

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[1] Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I., 515.

[2] Hewitt, *Rápur Settlement Report*, 36.

[3] Based on enquiries at Mirzapur and notes by Munshi Sayyad Ali, Bahádur, Deputy Collector, Partábgarh, and Mr. W. H. O'N. Segrave, District Superintendent, Police, Basti.

[4] Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, I., 518.

the progenitor of the caste was one Kopa Bhagat, a Rishi, who was ordered by Parameswar to make earthen vessels. One day he put some vessels into his kiln, and it so happened that in one of them a cat had given birth to kittens. In those days it used to take a full year to make earthen pots; but by the prayers of the saint the pots were baked in a single day, and the kittens came out safe and sound. This happened on the Sakat chauth or birth-day of Ganesa; and since then, in honour of this event, Kumhârs will not load their kilns on that day. This Kopa Bhagat is said to have lived at Jagannâth, and hence Kumhârs regard it as their head-quarters. Another account is that in old days people used to work up the clay for pots with their spittle, and Parameswar, deeming this unclean, revealed the secret of the wheel. That the trade is an ancient one is shown by the fact that earthen vessels are mentioned in the Rig Veda.[1]

Internal structure.

2. The Kumhârs of these Provinces are divided into a number of endogamous sub-castes. The last Census enumeration classes them under the main heads of Bardiya or Bardiha, Bardhiya or Bardhiha, "those who convey their clay on oxen" (*barda, bardha*); Chakbais, or "the Bais of the wheel" (*chák*), who claim kindred with the famous Râjput sept of that name; the Gadherâ who carry their clay on asses (*gadhá*); the Gola who make round (*gol*) vessels, or who, according to another account, are of impure blood; the Kanaujiya from Kanauj; Kasgar or Kûzagar, "makers of goblets" (*kas, kúza*), who are usually Muhammadans; Mahar; and Mathuriya, "those from Mathura." This, however, does not exhaust the catalogue. Thus, in Mirzapur we find, in addition to the Bardiha or Bardhiha, the Kanaujiya and the Gadhilaha or Gadhaiya already referred to; the Suariha or Suariya, who keep pigs (*súar*) and are the lowest of all; the Churiha or Churiya, who are so-called because their women wear glass bangles (*chúri*), instead of the ordinary metal bracelet (*mállá*); and the Athariya or Athariha, who are said to be so-called because they use vessels of the shape of the Muhammadan *sahnaki*, of which the local name is *athári*. In Benares Mr. Sherring adds the Hatheliya, who take their name from the handle (*hathelí*) with which the wheel is turned; the Kastora, who are the same as the Kasgar and

[1] Rajendralâla Mitra, *Indo-Aryans*, I., 274.

make water gobblets (*surâhi*), cups, plates, tobacco pipe bowls of the *maddri* shape, and the ordinary pipe bowl (*chilam*); and the Chauhâniya Misr, who claim descent from Chauhân Râjputs and Misr Brâhmans. In the Central Duâb we find, in addition to the Mathuriya and Gola, who work by wheel, the Parodiya, who are moulders of toys. In Partâbgarh are found the Bardiya, the Purbiya or Purabiya or "Easterns," the Agarwâla, who follow the name of the well-known Banya sub-caste, and the Pahâriya or hill men. In Basti are the Dakkhinâha or "Southerns," the Chamariya, who have something to say to Chamârs, the Bardiha, the Kanaujiya, the Tikuliya, who make the forehead spangles (*tikuli*) worn by women, and the Kasgar. In Agra are the Bardhiya and Gadhwâr, which latter corresponds to the Gadhaiya already mentioned. The complete lists give no less than 773 sub-divisions of the Hindu and 52 of the Muhammadan branch. Those of most local importance are the Badalna and Mehra of Sahâranpur; the Baheliya, Baresra, Bharatduâri, and Desi of Bulandshahr; the Bidaniya and Chakhri of Agra; the Dilliwâl of Bareilly; the Baheliya of Budâun; the Gaur of Morâdâbâd; the Gadhila of Shâhjahânpur; the Bakhri, Chakhri, and Pundîr of Bânda; the Kasauncha of Jaunpur; the Ajudhyabâsi, Bolkhariya, Dakkhinâha, Desi, and Sarwariya of Gorakhpur; the Birhariya and Dakkhinâha of Basti; the Bahrâichiya and Daryâbâdi of Bahrâich; and the Râmpuriya of Gonda.

3. All these sub-castes are endogamous. Their rules of exogamy do not appear to be very strictly defined. To the East they generally follow the standard formula—*chachera, mamera, phuphera, mausera*, which bars the line of the paternal and maternal aunt and uncle as long as any recollection of relationship prevails. From Bareilly it is reported that they marry in their own sub-caste, but not in the families of relatives or strangers. In other places, again, this clannish habit of the Kumhârs is noticed, and it would seem that there is a tendency to marry in the families of neighbours and acquaintances. There is no trace, as far as can be ascertained, of the exogamous, totemistic sections found by Mr. Risley in Bengal. They generally practise monogamy; but a second wife may be taken with the permission of the tribal council if the first be barren. Marriage is both infant and adult, the former being invariably adopted by any one who can afford it. The actual ceremony is

Marriage rules.

performed in the way common to the castes of the same grade which has been already described. The respectable form is *byâh* or *charhaua*, the second *dola*, and the *sagâi* or *kâj* or *karâo* for widows. Widow marriage and the levirate are allowed on the usual conditions.

Domestic ceremonies.

4. The ceremonies at birth and death present no feature of interest. Those who are Hindus cremate, and those who are Muhammadans bury their dead. When a man wishes to separate from his wife or *vice versâ*, they appear before the council, and whichever desires a separation, breaks a tile before the other with his or her foot.

Religion.

5. The Kumhârs are mostly Hindus, but are seldom initiated into any of the recognised sects. To the east of the province their deities are the Pânchonpîr, Bhawâni, the village godlings (*deohâr*), and Hardiya or Hardiha. He who is properly the deity who presides over cholera, Hardaul or Hardaur Lâla, has become among them a household godling with much the same functions as the Dulha Deo of the Dravidian races. He is worshipped in the months of Kârttik and Baisâkh in the light fortnight with an offering of a pair of loin-cloths (*dhoti*) dyed with turmeric, two saucers full of rice with a piece of coarse sugar in each, some betel and areca nut (*pân supâri*), catechu (*khair*), cardamoms (*ilâchi*), and cloves (*laung*). The worshipper puts on the loin-cloths and his family eat the offering. Nearly every house has some sort of family shrine dedicated to this deity. The Pânchonpîr receive an offering of cakes (*pûri*) and sweetmeats (*halwa*) on the tenth day of the months Kuâr and Baisâkh. They are also, when sickness or other serious trouble comes, propitiated by the sacrifice of a goat, of which the head goes to the Dafâli or hedge priest and the rest of the meat is cooked then and there and eaten by the worshipper and his relations and friends. A young pig, cakes (*pûri*), and sweetmeats (*halwa*) constitute the offering to Bhawâni, and she also receives by deputy through the worshipper, who himself wears it in her honour, a coloured loin-cloth at the Naurâtra of Chait. Brâhmans do little for them, except fixing the lucky days for marriages and the commencement of other business, and their place at marriages and cremations is taken by the family barber. But, as in most of these tribes who hold rather a low rank in the social scale, there is a tendency to secure, if possible, a rise in the world, and this can be most easily

done by shedding off low customs like widow marriage and the like, and accepting the services of a Brâhman priest. Hardly any have as yet risen to the performance of a regular *srâddha*; but some of them offer sacred balls (*pinda*) and pour water on the ground in honour of the sainted dead in the holy fortnight (*pitra paksha*) of Kuâr. When a child is born, during a small-pox epidemic and in the month of Chait, women worship Sîtala or Mâta. The Kumhârs are, as the keepers of Sîtala's vehicle, the donkey, much addicted to this worship. They also, as we have seen in the case of the Agarwâla Banyas, bring their donkeys for use in the marriage ceremony. The potter's wheel (*châk*) is looked on by them as a sort of fetish, and is worshipped as a representation either of Krishna or of Prajapati, being the emblem of reproduction. In many places Kopa Bhagat, the tribal saint, is worshipped under the title of Barê Parukh, or "the great old man." This worship is mostly done by women, and his offering consists of bread, rice, and some *urad* pulse. In Basti they have a collection of local deities—Samai, Devi, Kâli, the village godlings (*dih*), Bhawâni, Chamariya, Korhaniya, and the Pânchonpîr. Samai is a jungle goddess like Bansapti Mâi, who is worshipped with blood sacrifices. At the last Census 37,584 recorded themselves as her worshippers. All these, except the Pânchonpîr, are worshipped with sacrifices of pigs, goats, and buffaloes, and with cakes, betel, and flowers. They are generally worshipped at the Naurâtra or the nine days of the waxing moon in the month of Kuâr. The objects of worship are consumed by the worshipper and his relations and friends. All the above-mentioned things are offered to the Pânchonpîr, except the pigs. They employ Brâhmans only in the worship of Kâli when a fire offering (*homa*) is made to the goddess.

Occupation and social status.

6. A very complete and interesting account of the Panjâb Kumhârs and their industries has been given in the "Monograph on the pottery and glass industries" of that Province compiled by Mr. C. J. Halifax, C S. The Kumhâr of the plains is represented in Garhwâl by the Pajai, some of whom come from the plain country, but some of whom are indigenous HandKiya or vessel-making (*bâsi-karna*) Doms. In the Panjâb he is more often called Gumiyâr. Mr. Ibbetson describes him as "true village menial, receiving customary dues, in exchange for which he supplies all earthen vessels needed for household use, and the earthenware pots used in the Persian

wheel, wherever that form of well gear is in vogue. He also, alone of all the Panjâb castes, keeps donkeys, and it is his business to carry grain within the village area, and to bring to the village grain bought elsewhere by his clients for seed or food. But he will not carry grain out of the village without payment. He is the petty carrier of the villages and towns, in which latter he is employed to carry dust, manure, fuel, bricks, and the like. His social standing is very low, far below that of the Lohâr and not very much above that of the Chamâr; for his hereditary association with that impure beast, the donkey, the animal sacred to Sîtala, the small-pox goddess, pollutes him, as also his readiness to carry manure and sweepings. He is also the brick-burner of the Panjâb, and he alone understands the working of kilns, and it is in the burning of pots and bricks that he comes in contact with manure, which constitutes his fuel." As he cannot make pots during the rainy season, he is obliged to take to some other form of day labour, such as working as a carrier, plasterer, etc. At the same time it must be remembered that he deals only with the purer forms of manure, such as cowdung, road sweepings, and the like, and has no connection with ordure. In some of our towns such as Lucknow, Chunâr, and Azamgarh, he makes various kinds of ornamental pottery, toys, images of the gods, and the like. Only the Suariya sub-caste keep pigs and eat pork. The others eat mutton and goat flesh and all fish, except the river shark (*gûnch*). In these Provinces their social status is very low. One reason assigned for this is that he is a kind of butcher, because he cuts the throats of his pots as he takes them from his wheel. "Had they cut human throats," drily remarks Dr. Buchanan, "they would probably have attained a higher station." They profess not to eat food cooked by any caste but themselves; but this rule does not apply to the women and children. In the villages many have taken to agricultural work. Mr. Halifax calculates that in the Panjâb only one-third or one-fourth of the Kumhârs actually work at the pottery trade, and the proportion is probably not much higher in these Provinces. They are a quiet, respectable, industrious people, and seldom come before our courts.

Distribution of Kumhárs according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Bardiha.	Chakbais.	Gaderi.	Gola.	Kanaujiya.	Kasgar.	Mahar.	Mathuriya.	Others.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Dehra Dún	14	1	...	435	...	...	...	..	874	...	1,324
Sahárunpur	1,886	...	...	..	...	94	6,625	...	5,904	936	15,445
Muzaffarnagar . . .	...	...	...	8,548	3	58	4,329	...	954	1,148	15,040
Meerut	...	...	...	22,909	...	869	562	...	2,277	1,111	27,728
Bulandshahr	...	...	...	4,214	...	319	45	30	11,679	591	16,878
Aligarh	...	...	244	4,491	...	...	...	...	11,742	42	16,519
Mathura	...	...	511	7,114	...	...	190	191	2,795	5	10,806
Agra	1,256	3,972	5,568	3,476	...	...	10	132	1,724	...	16,138
Farrukhábád	7,169	214	91	288	11	...	83	41	135	1	8,033
Mainpuri	4,269	...	3,835	415	...	...	203	3	1,726	18	10,469
Etáwah	9,597	345	312	11	5	3	...	...	614	121	11,008
Etah	...	40	1,632	7,090	...	...	...	297	1,430	37	10,526

Distribution of Kumhârs according to the Census of 1891—continued.

District.	Bardiha.	Chakbais.	Gaderi.	Gola.	Kanaujiya.	Kasgar.	Mahar.	Mathuriya.	Others.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Bareilly	131	...	100	7,454	...	...	...	1,602	1,289	57	10,633
Bijnor	...	...	...	3,768	...	40	7,255	...	557	2,550	14,170
Budâun	67	...	...	6,960	655	28	...	107	3,610	40	11,467
Morâdâbâd	...	...	...	20,108	...	6	393	392	2,307	467	23,673
Shâhjahânpur	7,626	65	...	834	23	12	27	70	1,325	1	9,983
Pilibhît	3,881	...	155	667	...	56	...	...	708	115	5,582
Cawnpur	7,947	6,227	...	...	38	4	...	7	850	...	15,073
Fatehpur	2,040	7,339	...	...	38	...	...	...	555	50	10,022
Bânda	309	16,130	19	11	2	...	...	...	2,626	...	19,097
Hamîrpur	848	4,854	11	...	...	...	...	...	10,768	...	16,481
Allahâbâd	16,121	1,686	...	...	4,565	85	...	...	3,468	117	26,042
Jhânsi	3,733	...	2,179	...	...	...	...	...	898	...	6,810
Jâlaun	6,627	30	654	...	...	13	...	54	889	...	8,213

Lalitpur	3,113	...	47	...	...	...	...	...	371	...	3,615	
Benares	...	...	...	...	14,382	...	...	...	2,144	...	16,426	
Mirzapur	...	...	...	...	18,512	...	...	...	786	...	19,298	
Jaunpur	1,848	332	...	...	23,110	...	...	...	1,742	...	27,032	
Ghâzipur	145	...	...	...	15,830	...	...	...	195	29	16,199	
Ballia	...	...	...	...	10,227	...	...	...	1,487	...	11,714	
Gorakhpur	3,913	18	...	...	39,759	...	76	...	12,505	76	56,347	
Basti	29,910	1,391	...	...	...	18	...	...	5,402	...	36,721	
Azamgarh	...	133	...	...	31,170	...	...	...	1,256	11	32,560	
Kumaun	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	
Garhwâl	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	34	...	34	
Tarâi	...	...	...	1,706	...	...	37	...	66	254	2,063	
Lucknow	4,801	2,071	...	...	144	...	2	24	943	655	8,640	
Unâo	5,666	1,604	...	...	14	...	...	...	3,533	82	10,899	
Râê Bareli	9,021	3,019	...	...	30	...	...	...	995	330	13,395	
Sîtapur	8,103	1,341	...	...	81	...	...	17	296	104	9,892	
Hardoi	8,627	1,350	...	...	424	...	...	...	381	3	10,785	

Distribution of Kumhârs according to the Census of 1891—concluded.

District.	Bardiha.	Chakbais.	Gaderi.	Gola.	Kanaujiya.	Kasgar.	Mahar.	Mathuriya.	Others.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Kheri	7,295	331	...	...	...	...	...	...	46	16	7,688
Faizâbâd	12,710	1,280	...	...	7,824	65	...	...	1,010	97	22,986
Gonda	15,458	321	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,048	244	18,071
Bahraich	5,060	259	...	...	10	...	20	...	5,204	238	10,791
Sultânpur	12,107	1,528	...	...	2,026	...	...	...	1,831	138	17,630
Partâbgarh	9,612	823	...	...	228	...	...	...	789	...	11,522
Bârabanki	6,870	221	...	...	155	...	...	...	3,764	505	11,515
Total .	217,810	56,995	15,358	100,499	169,116	1,670	19,857	2,967	118,533	10,189	712,994

Kunjra.—(Sanskrit *kunj*, "a bower, an arbour".)—The caste of greengrocers, who sell country vegetables and fruits. They are also known as Mewa-farosh, Sabz-farosh, or Sabzi-farosh. In Lucknow[1] the castes who usually deal in country vegetables and fruits are Kunjras, Kabâris, or Kabariyas (who more generally correspond to our marine store dealers and are dealers in all kinds of second-hand rubbish) and Khatîks. "These persons buy vegetables daily in the marts (*mandi*), to which they are brought by Murâos, Kâchhis, and others who are occupied in market gardening. They buy country fruit in the various seasons in the same way. Others buy up produce of fields, sugarcane, potatoes, onions, and other vegetables, store onions, potatoes, and other tubers for seed and for sale when the market is dear." Others deal in fruit imported by Kâbuli merchants. The Kunjra is returned in that name only in the east of the Panjâb, and probably in other parts of the Province it is more usual to call him Arain or Bâghbân.[2] In some parts of Bengal the term Kunjra is used in an abusive sense, and they call themselves Mewa-farosh, Sabz-farosh, or Bepâri.

Tribal organisation and marriage rules.

2. In Mirzapur they have two endogamous local sub-divisions—the Kalkatiya, "those of Calcutta," and the Mirzapuriya. The complete Census returns show 94 sections of the normal type—some local, as Gorakhpuri, Jaiswâra, Jaunpuriya, Kashmîri, Kolapuri, Purabiya, Sarwariya, Uttarâha; others occupational, as Bâghwân, "gardeners," Kabariya, "general dealers," Mewa-farosh, "fruit sellers," Sabzi-farosh "greengrocers," Tambâkuwâla, "tobacco men"; others are derived from well-known castes, as Bhûinhâri, Chauhân, Kahariya, Lodhi, Mehtariya, Râjput. They appear to be broken up into groups which habitually eat and smoke together, and with these they intermarry. Their rule of exogamy is that they will not marry any one with whom a direct relationship can be traced, but the recollection does not go beyond two or three generations. They can marry the daughter of a maternal uncle, but not of a father's sister. All marriages are made among families residing in the same locality. Polygamy is allowed, and a man may marry two sisters; but in the case of second marriages in the lifetime of the first wife, the permission of the tribal council must be obtained. Marriage usually

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[1] Hoey, *Monograph on Trades and Manufacture*, 149, *sq.*
[2] Ibbetson, *Panjâb Ethnography*, 301.

takes place at the age of twelve or fourteen. The regular form of marriage is known as *charhauwa*, of which the binding portion is the recital of the Muhammadan *sharah*. Widows can marry by the *sagâi* form, and the levirate generally prevails. Divorce of the husband by the wife is practically unknown: a man may divorce his wife by leave of the council for unchastity. If her paramour be a member of another tribe, she is permanently excluded from caste: if of her own tribe, she can re-marry by the *sagâi* form.

Religion.

3. Kunjras are Muhammadans of the Sunni sect. Their clan deities are Ghâzi Miyân and the Pânchon-pîr. To the former they offer sweetmeats and garlands of flowers on the first Sunday in the month of Jeth; and to the latter the fruit of the *makua* (*Bassia latifolia*), sweetmeats, and *sharbat*. They bury their dead in the recognised Imâmbâra. On the day of the 'Îd they offer vermicelli (*sewâi*, *siwaiyân*) and milk, and on the Shab-i-bârât *halwa* sweetmeats and bread to the souls of the dead.

Social status.

4. In the cities their women have an equivocal reputation, as the better looking girls who sit in the shops are said to use considerable freedom of manners to attract customers. They drink liquor and eat beef, mutton, goat's flesh, fowls, and fish. They will not eat the leavings of any other caste. They eat and smoke with all Muhammadans except Mehtars. Doms alone will eat food touched by them. Some now practise cultivating like the Kâchhi and Koeri tribes, with whom they are very closely allied, and are an industrious, well-conducted class of people.

Kurmi, Kunbi.[1]—A very important cultivating caste widely distributed throughout the Province. Various derivations have been proposed for the name. Some take it to be derived from Sanskrit *kutumba*, "family," others from Sanskrit *krishi*, "cultivation"; others from *kurma*, the tortoise incarnation of Vishnu, either because it supports the earth or because it is worshipped by this and some of the allied agricultural castes, or because it may have been the tribal totem. The Western Kurmis have a vague tradition that they are descended from, and named after, the Kauravas of the great Mahâbhârata war.[2] Recently some Kurmis in these

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[1] Based on enquiries at Mirzapur and notes by Munshi Bâsdeo Sahây, Head Master, High School, Farrukhâbâd; Mr. W. H. O' N. Segrave, District Superintendent, Police, Basti; Pandit Baldeo Prasâd, Deputy Collector, Cawnpur.

[2] Dr. Oppert connects them with the Dravidian Kurumbas or Kudumbas. (*Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarsa*, 261.)

Provinces have claimed Brâhmanical origin and the right of investiture with the sacred cord.

Origin of the caste.

2. Regarding the origin of the tribe there has been considerable discussion. At least in these Provinces they have no tangible traditions which are of any service in ascertaining the origin of the caste. Dr. Buchanan asserts a connection between the Gorakhpur Thârus and the Kurmis,[1] but this rests on no satisfactory evidence. Colonel Dalton[2] regards the Kurmis of Bihâr as some of the earliest of the Aryan colonists of Bengal, a brown tawny-coloured people, of average height, well-proportioned, rather lightly framed, and with a fair amount of good looks. They show well-shaped heads and high features, less refined than Brâhmans, less martial than Râjputs, of humbler mien even than the Goâlas; but, except when they have obviously intermixed with aborigines, they are unquestionably Aryan in looks. Grey eyes and brownish hair are sometimes met with among them. The women have usually small and well-formed hands and feet.

3. On this Mr. Risley[3] comments:—"The foregoing description clearly refers only to the Kurmis of Bihâr, who are on the whole a fine-looking race, though perhaps hardly so Aryan in appearance as Colonel Dalton seeks to make out. The caste bearing the same name in Chota Nâgpur and Orissa belongs to an entirely different type. Short, sturdy, and of very dark complexion, these Kurmis closely resemble in feature the Dravidian tribes around them. In Manbhûm and the north of Orissa it is difficult to distinguish a Kurmi from a Bhûmij or a Santâl, and the latter tribe, who are more particular about food than is commonly supposed, will eat boiled rice prepared by Kurmis, and, according to one tradition, regard them as half brethren of their own, sprung from the same father, who begot Kurmis on the elder and the Santâls on the younger of two sisters. The question then arises—Are these Kurmis a degraded branch of the Kurmis of Bihâr and Upper India, or

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[1] *Eastern India*, II., 469.

[2] *Descriptive Ethnology*, 320.

[3] *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, I., 529. On the other hand, Mr. O'Donnell writes:—"The statistics indicate very clearly, when read along with the similar figures for Bihâr, the ethnic origin of the Bauri, Dom, Dusâdh, Rajwâr, Koeri, and Kurmi. They are Dravidians of the full blood, with a small admixture of Mongoloid affinities in both Bihâr and Western Bengal. It is very doubtful if they have been in any way affected by contact with the Aryan."—*Census Report*, 175.

should they be treated as a separate caste formed out of Dravidian elements and owing their name to the accident of their having devoted themselves exclusively to cultivation? Colonel Dalton does not distinctly commit himself to either view; but it is clear from his account of the caste that he was conscious of the difficulty, and was on the whole inclined to dispose of it by the hypothesis of degradation. This theory, however, fails entirely to account for either the remarkably uniform type of the Chota Nâgpur Kurmis or for their totemistic usages. The latter point, however, appears to have been unknown to Colonel Dalton, and might possibly have induced him to change his opinion. Three hypotheses seem to be more or less tenable—(1) that the class Kurmi is made up of two distinct stocks, the one Aryan and the other Dravidian; (2) that the entire group comes of an Aryan stock, the type of which has been modified to a varying extent by mixture of blood and vicissitudes of occupation; (3) that the entire group was originally Dravidian, but that those portions of it which lay in the way of the Aryan invasion were refined by intercourse with the immigrants, while those settled in remote parts of the country preserved their primitive type."

4. The question can be settled only by the evidence of anthropometry, which has hardly advanced sufficiently to enable the matter to be settled. Most observers in these Provinces will be inclined to believe with Mr. Risley that the signs of so-called Aryan origin in the Kurmis are not so clear as Colonel Dalton found to be the case in Bihâr. But with a tribe so widely spread, and so exposed to varied influence, as the Kurmi, such a divergence in physical type is only to be expected. On the whole, perhaps it is safest, for the present to regard them as an occupational caste from which has, at various times, diverged a series of kindred castes, such as the Koeri, Kâchhi, Saini, Mâli, and others connected with the higher forms of husbandry.

5. At the last Census the Kurmis were enumerated in eleven main endogamous bodies or sub-castes—

Internal structure.

Baiswâr; Bardiha ("bullock-men"—*bard*, *bardh*, "an ox"); Gangapâri ("residents beyond the Ganges"); Gujarâti ("residents of Gûjarât"); Jaiswâr ("residents of the old town of Jais in the Râê Bareli District"); Kanaujiya ("residents of Kanauj"); Kharêbind or "pure" Binds, which is a well-known division of the Bind tribe; Patariha, or Patthariha, "stone men"; Rârh; Sainthwâr or Saithwâr, who appear to take their name from

the *sentha* (*Saccharum sara*), a sort of reed grass, from the stalks of which chairs and stools are made; Singraur, who assert some connection with the Pargana of Singrauli in the Mirzapur District. Besides these, there is in the Azamgarh District the caste of Mals, who are apparently closely allied to the Kurmis. In Mirzapur we have the Jaiswâr; Chanau or Chananu; Patanwâr or "residents of Patna"; Sandhauwa or "washers of hemp" (*san-dhona*); the Patthariya, or workers in, and sellers of, stone, and the Athariya. In Farrukhâbâd are found the Kanaujiya; Kathiyâr; Gangwâr or Gangapâri; Jaiswâr; Sachân; and Bota. In Râê Bareli are the Kanaujiya; Gûjarâti; Chhappariya ("makers of thatches"); Patthariya; Khapribandh or "tilers"; Lakariya, "workers in wood," and Jaiswâr. In Gorakhpur are found the Patanwâr; Saithwâr, whom Dr. Buchanan identifies with the Ajudhiyas of Bihâr, who claim there to be of the highest dignity and the purest blood and are usually cultivators, while in Bengal they often enlist in the native army or serve as constables;[1] the Chanau; Dhelphora or "clod-breakers" (*dhela-phorna*); Sankatwa or Sankata, "hemp-weavers" (*san-kâtna*); and Audhiya of Ajudhya. In Cawnpur are the Sachân; Katwâr; Umrân; Bhandâri, "store-keepers"; Kanaujiya; and Patariya or Patthariya. In Kheri their sub-castes are Kanaujiya; Thakuriya; Kachhwâha; Haridwâra; Manwa; Jaiswâr; and Kori. The strongest sub-caste in Oudh is the Jaiswâr, who trace their origin to Kanauj, whence they say they were driven five hundred years ago by famine. In Gorakhpur they are divided into Kanaujiya; Bâhmaniya; Goyit; and Jaruhâr. In Râê Bareli the Kharêbind sub-caste is in some way closely connected with the Bais Râjputs. The sub-castes in Azamgarh[2] are Audhiya; Dhilphora or Dhelphora; Jaiswâr; Sankata; Sainthwâr; and Mal, who consider themselves superior, and regarding them it is said *Banal Mal, bigaral Kunbi*—"When the Mal thrives, the Kunbi fails." Mr. Sherring[3] gives their sub-castes in Benares—Kanaujiya; Hardiya or "growers of turmeric" (*hardi*); Illahâbâdi, "residents of Allahâbâd"; Brajbâsi, from Braj or Mathura; Kori, which is the name of a distinct tribe; Purbiha or Purbiya, "those of the East"; and Dakkhinâha, "those from the South."

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[1] Risley, *loc. cit.*
[2] *Settlement Report*, 33.
[3] *Hindu Castes*, I., 326.

6. The complete census lists give 1,488 sub-divisions, of which those locally most important are the Gaharwâr, Kathiyâr, and Lohât of Farrukhâbâd; the Jâdon, Jadua and Kathiyâr of Bareilly; the Jâdon of Pilibhît; the Katwâr, Sunwân, and Uttarâha of Cawnpur; the Andhâr, Karjwa, Sahjan, Singraul, Uttarâha, and Uttam of Fatehpur; the Bargaiyân, Chandel, Chandpurha, and Chandrâwal of Bânda; the Simmal and Usrehti of Hamîrpur; the Chandel, Chandaur, Chandrâwal, Jariya, Jhamaiya, Karjwa, Sakarwâr, and Singraul of Allahâbâd; the Usrehti of Jhânsi; the Bhukarsi, Mahesri, and Usrehti of Jâlaun; the Usrehti of Lalitpur; the Uttarâha of Benares; the Gondal of Mirzapur; the Jhura of Ghâzipur; the Dhelaphor of Ballia; the Akrethiya, Audhiya, Bathma, Birtiya, Chandaur, Dhelaphor, Naipâli and Tarmala of Gorakhpur; the Samsoil of Basti; the Dhelaphor, Dhindhwâr, and Uttarâha of Azamgarh; the Jâdon of the Tarâi; the Bhûr of Râê Bareli; the Bâchhal, Gangwâr, and Kutwâr of Sîtapur; the Mewâr and Sankhwâr of Kheri; the Samâna and Samsoil of Gonda; the Khawâs of Bahrâich; the Birtiya of Sultânpur; and the Chaudhari, Kairâti, and Râwat of Bârabanki.

7. Their immigration to Cawnpur[1] must have followed that of the Thâkurs and Maliks because they occupied most inferior lands. One branch of them is called Jhamaiya, after a Faqîr, Jhâmbaji, who, about five hundred years ago, attracted persons of various castes, Banyas, Ahîrs, Kurmis, etc., to become his followers. As these partook of his food, they were expelled from their own caste. Many of their customs are more Musalmân than Hindu, *e.g.*, till seventy years ago they buried and did not burn their dead; certain mosques are attributed to them, and they marry among themselves, having regard only to nearness of relationship. There is a shrine in Maswânpur, Pargana Jajmau, where one of their notables is worshipped, more, it is said, with Musalmân than Hindu rites. They are curiously reticent about their origin and customs.

Marriage rules.

8. There appears to be no trace in these Provinces of the elaborate system of totemistic sections which are found in Chota Nâgpur. In Bihâr, according to Mr. Risley, "the section names are titular, and the tendency is to discard the primitive rule of exogamy in favour of

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[1] *Settlement Report*, 26, *sqq.*

the more modern system of reckoning prohibited degrees by the formula of certain prohibited sections (*nâl*). Where the section rule is in force, it is usually held that a man may not marry a woman of his own section, or of the sections to which his mother and his paternal and maternal grandmothers belonged. These facts tell in favour of the theory that all Kurmis are derived from a Dravidian stock; for if the Bihâr Kurmis had been originally Aryans, they could have had no motive for discarding their original section-names; whereas a Dravidian tribe, intimately associated with Aryans and subjected to Aryan influences, would certainly be anxious to cast off totemistic designations, which would serve only as a badge of social inferiority. It should be observed, moreover, that even in Bihâr the Kurmis have not risen high enough to establish a claim to use the Brâhmanical *gotras*, and have had to content themselves with a titular series of names; while in Bengal they are excluded, on the ground of their Dravidian descent, from the group of castes from whose hands a Brâhman can take water."
To the east of these Provinces the Kurmis practise a law of exogamy, under which marriage is prohibited with the family of the maternal uncle for five generations; with the family of the father's sister for the same number of generations; in their own family (*kul*) for as long as they can remember relationship. As in many of the castes of the same social grade, there is a strong prejudice against entering into a marriage engagement with a family with whom there has been no previous alliance or connection. From Farrukhâbâd it is stated that marriages still take place between the Kathiyâr and Bota sections, and that the rule of exogamy is that a man must not marry a blood relation on the father's or mother's side. In Cawnpur the rule is said to be that a man cannot marry in a family which is known to have a common ancestor with him; nor in the family of his father's sister or mother's brother; he cannot marry two sisters at the same time, but he may marry the sister of his deceased wife.

9. Polygamy is allowed, and practically a man may have as many wives as he can afford to keep; but there seems to be an increasing prejudice against the practice, and among some of the sub-castes there appears to be an advancing tendency to the adoption of the rule that a man should not marry again while his first wife is alive unless she is barren or incurably diseased. There is a preference for infant marriage where the parents can afford it, and

in any case it is considered disgraceful to keep a girl unmarried after she has become nubile. There is no regular system of paying for either the bride or bridegroom; but it is understood that her parents should give the bride a dowry to the best of their ability. A faithless wife can be divorced with the assent of the brethren, and, indeed, when adultery is notorious, it is incumbent on the husband to put her away. To the east of the Province at least a clear distinction is drawn between an immoral connection with a clansman and a stranger. In the former case, the divorced wife may marry again in the tribe by the *sagâi* form; in the latter case re-marriage in the tribe is forbidden. Widow marriage and the optional levirate, under the usual restriction that the older brother of the late husband is barred, generally prevails; but even here there seems to be a progressing change in practice; to the East it seems to be generally allowed; of the Farrukhâbâd sub-castes the Kathiyârs and Gangwârs allow it; the Kanaujiyas have almost entirely put a stop to it; and a movement for its prohibition is in progress among the Kathiyârs. If the widow marry an outsider, the children and the property of the deceased husband pass to his brothers, who act as guardians of the children and provide for them out of their father's estate; but if the widow have a baby in arms, she usually takes it away to her new home, and there it passes into the family of her second husband.

Marriage ceremonies.

10. There is nothing very peculiar in the marriage ritual. In Bihâr they have a curious custom of tree marriage, of which Mr. Risley has given a full account; in these Provinces the only trace of this seems to be the rule that if the astrological signs portend that the bride may probably be left a widow, she is married to a *pîpal* tree before the regular ceremony comes off. In the marriage of virgin brides (*shâdi, byâh, charhaua*) the binding parts of the ceremony are the worshipping of the feet of the bridegroom by the father of the bride (*pânw pûja*); the giving away of the bride (*kanyâdân*); the applying of red lead to the forehead of the girl (*sendûrdân*).

Birth and death.

11. The Kurmis seem to be particularly sensitive regarding the birth pollution. The mother is regarded as impure for fifteen days after parturition, and, as among the lower castes, though the usual sixth and twelfth day ceremonies (*chhathi, barahi*) are performed, she is still not allowed for some days to cook and join her family. When they adopt, a

brother's son is generally selected, and the only observance is the formal announcement of the fact at a tribal feast. They cremate their married dead, and bury the corpses of children and those who die of any epidemic disease. The death ritual is of the orthodox type, and they perform the *srâddha*. To the east of the Province some go to Gaya for this purpose.

Religion.

12. In religion they follow the rule of other Hindu castes of similar social standing. To the East their ceremonies are performed by Brâhmans of the Sarwariya tribe; further West by the Kanaujiyas. To the East they worship Mahâbîr, Thâkurji, Sîtala. Mahâbîr is worshipped on a Tuesday in Baisâkh or Sâwan with sweetmeats (*laddu*), sweet bread (*rot*), gram (*ghughuri*), a Brâhmanical cord (*janeu*), and a piece of cloth dyed with turmeric. Thâkurji is worshipped in an oratory (*deoghar*) attached to each house in the latter half of the month of Kârttik. They offer to him rice, treacle, and a cloth dyed with turmeric, all of which are used by the worshippers. He also receives flowers and garlands. Sîtala is worshipped on the seventh day of Asârh with an offering of cakes (*púri*) and the *halwa* sweetmeat. In the Western Districts some few of them accept the *Guru mantra* or formula of initimation given by the spiritual preceptor. In Gorakhpur the household deity is Surdhir, who is worshipped by women in the month of Sâwan with the sacrifice of a young pig and rice boiled in milk (*khír*). He is apparently the same as Sânwar or Kunwar Dhir, who, according to the last Census Report, is closely connected with the Pânch-Pîr and worshipped with the assistance of a Dafâli. In Basti they worship Mahâbîr and a household godling, Bâbi Pîr. The offerings to the former are received by Brâhmans, Gusâins, and Mâlis and those of the latter by Muhammadan faqîrs. In Cawnpur they appear to be chiefly worshippers of Devi.

Social rules.

13. Their social status is respectable. They will not eat *kachchi* even if cooked by a Brâhman who is not their Guru. The same rule applies to *pakki*. Some local Brâhmans will eat *pakki* from their hands, and the same is the case with respectable Kshatriyas. All other castes eat *pakki* from their hands without hesitation. In Farrukhâbâd it is reported that they will eat *pakki* from the hands of Kâyasths, *kachchi* of Brâhmans; they will drink from the vessels of Banyas, but will smoke only with members of their own caste. Râjputs will eat

pakki from them, and Nâîs and Mâlis their *kachchi*, while the latter will drink water from their vessels. In Oudh [1] they have traditions of having been land-owners before the Râjput conquest, and Mr. Butts remarks that the same is the case in Lucknow, where "they do not seem to have been a low-caste tribe. They worshipped Malhâdeva. In the village of Gadiya he is still worshipped under the name of Kurmiyâni Nâth, or 'Lord of the Kurmi race,' and of late years a small temple has been erected in his honour. In the village of Tika is a tank at which, it is said, the Kurmi women used to commit *sati*."

They very generally object to sow pepper and similar vegetables, which they regard to be the business of Kâchhis and Koeris. Many of them are Bhagats and will not eat meat or drink spirits; but some eat goat's flesh, mutton, and fish. They have a prejudice against eating the turnip.

Occupation.

14. They are about the most industrious and hard-working agricultural tribe in the Province. The industry of his wife has passed into a proverb—

Bhali jât Kurmin, khurpi hâth,
Khet nirâwê apan pî kê sâth.

"A good lot is the Kurmi woman; she takes her spud and weeds the field with her lord."

Her interest in the welfare of the crop is expressed by—

Ek pân jo barsê Swâti,
Kurmin pahirê sonê ki pâti.

"If only one shower fall in the asterism of Swâti, the Kurmi woman wears rings of gold."

At the same time he is in popular belief untrustworthy, and a Bihâr proverb quoted by Mr. Christian says—

Patthal par jo jâmê ghurmi,
Tubahûn nân âpan hokhê Kurmi.

"The tender creeper *ghurmi* will sooner grow into the stone than the Kurmi be true to you."

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[1] *Sîtapur Settlement Report*, 73; *Lucknow Settlement Report*, 138.

Distribution of the Kurmis according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Baiswár.	Bardiha.	Gangapári.	Gújaráti.	Jaiswár.	Kanaujiya.	Kharébind.	Patariha.	Rárh.	Sainthwár.	Singraur.	Others.	Total.
Dehra Dún .	...	...	...	340	40	...	...	...	...	...	...	999	1,379
Saháranpur .	...	...	...	4	158	...	...	22	...	...	...	287	471
Muzaffarnagar .	...	...	...	2	39	39	...	1	...	...	...	106	187
Meerut . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	111	...	...	...	2,242	2,353
Aligarh . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	67	67
Mathura . .	...	...	...	...	32	1	...	...	...	2	...	139	174
Agra . .	330	...	...	...	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	489	826
Farrukhábád .	...	...	8,131	...	113	5,530	...	...	...	...	...	15,261	29,035
Mainpuri . .	...	...	...	...	16	152	...	...	...	...	...	149	317
Etáwah . .	...	...	225	...	59	1,641	...	...	...	...	...	249	2,174
Etah . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	21	21
Bareilly . .	...	...	60,717	...	...	10,157	...	...	...	...	...	16,436	87,310

Distribution of the Kurmis according to the Census of 1891—continued.

District.	Baiswâr.	Bardiha.	Gangapâri.	Gûjarâti.	Jaiswâr.	Kanaujiya.	Kharèbind.	Patariha.	Rârh.	Sainthwâr.	Singraur.	Others.	Total.
Bijnor . .	...	...	3	...	144	...	...	...	...	...	...	77	224
Budâun . .	...	...	6	...	...	5,851	...	...	...	...	...	517	6,374
Morâdâbâd .	...	...	83	...	25	11	...	5	...	...	...	205	329
Shâhjahanpur .	8	1	12,123	2	77	13,888	...	1	...	...	12	599	26,711
Pilibhît . .	...	2	42,328	...	1,758	2,114	9	56	...	...	...	2,066	48,333
Cawnpur . .	14	...	7	...	304	1,955	...	1,771	...	...	5	39,464	43,520
Fatehpur . .	...	...	...	...	77	11,140	...	...	...	...	1,032	28,049	40,298
Bânda . .	...	...	...	...	26	342	...	4	...	...	5,567	27,102	33,041
Hamîrpur . .	1	...	...	...	...	18	...	...	...	...	5	3,235	3,259
Allahâbâd . .	...	...	...	...	1,559	291	1,494	98,089	...	...	18,101	36,492	151,026
Jhansi . .	...	...	...	...	30	12	...	...	...	...	1	12,180	12,223
Jâlaun . .	...	12	...	...	32	14	...	101	...	...	...	15,406	15,565
Lalitpur . .	...	46	154	...	43	...	...	...	...	...	...	6,165	6,408

Benares . .	...	329	...	...	2,158	105	...	...	...	...	...	89,734	92,326
Mirzapur . .	2,757	360	...	...	40,147	57	...	16,249	...	...	975	7,459	68,004
Jaunpur . .	513	...	...	437	3,094	...	...	44,068	...	...	...	985	49,097
Ghâzipur . .	...	...	...	...	8,178	262	...	4	...	...	...	1,873	10,317
Ballia . .	...	...	...	...	7,757	439	1,146	...	...	...	...	2,200	11,542
Gorakhpur . .	...	...	...	1,946	49,773	464	442	14,563	...	98,626	...	35,787	201,601
Basti . .	...	...	...	15,927	122,813	...	...	5,292	...	...	...	3,685	147,717
Azamgarh . .	...	...	...	832	3,674	761	...	2,850	...	294	...	29,428	37,839
Tarâi . .	...	...	3,668	...	4	3	...	...	...	...	...	2,375	6,050
Lucknow . .	1,001	365	...	456	16,606	4,006	...	...	...	...	99	1,085	23,618
Unâo . .	...	...	...	...	365	11,101	...	...	...	...	...	6,318	17,784
Râé Bareli ..	194	2,990	2	15,170	12,453	3,601	100	1,183	...	...	636	9,335	45,664
Sitapur . .	56	2,427	...	58	58,361	10,291	...	...	...	...	...	14,460	85,653
Hardoi . .	...	...	...	...	...	1,400	...	...	...	...	...	17,728	19,128
Kheri . .	33,807	...	...	268	3,686	31,476	...	...	...	...	...	11,787	81,024
Faizâbâd . .	...	...	...	11,718	58,610	...	...	...	1	...	...	3,824	74,148
Gonda . .	...	...	...	2,031	90,820	...	...	3,558	...	...	...	21,789	118,198

Distribution of the Kurmis according to the Census of 1891 —concluded.

District.	Baiswár.	Bardiha.	Gangapári.	Gújaráti.	Jaiswár.	Kanaujiya.	Kharébind.	Patariha.	Rárh.	Sainthwár.	Singraur.	Others.	Total.
Bahráich . .	11	...	...	45,580	41,463	...	...	53	3,006	...	...	5,125	95,238
Sultánpur . .	...	83	...	...	26,825	243	7,501	793	...	...	...	4,478	39,923
Partábgarh .	...	...	...	...	2,403	...	12,639	51,197	...	...	...	43,999	110,238
Bárabanki .	59,968	...	...	439	95,486	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,030	158,923
Total .	98,660	6,615	127,447	95,205	649,215	117,365	23,331	234,971	3,007	98,922	26,433	524,486	2,005,657

Kurwâr.—A sub-caste of Banyas found only in Etah and the Districts of the Rohilkhand Division.

Distribution of the Kurwâr Banyas according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Etah	1,954	Morâdâbâd . . .	7
Bareilly	471	Pilibhît . . .	22
Budâun . . .	4,436	Shâhjahânpur . . .	14
		Total .	6,904

Kûta, Kûtamâli.—A small caste found only in Bijnor, Morâdâbâd, Gorakhpur, and Bahrâich. They seem to take their name from *kûtna, malna*, "to pound," as their occupation is husking rice.

Distribution of the Kûtas according to the Census of 1891.

District.	Number.	District.	Number.
Bijnor	139	Gorakhpur . . .	530
Morâdâbâd . . .	3,009	Bahrâich . . .	351
		Total .	4,029

L

Lakhera (*lâh ; lâkh ;* Sanskrit *laksha-kârn*, "worker in lac") the caste which makes bangles and other articles of lac.—Of these Mr. Baillie[1] writes: "Entries for persons shown as of the caste of Lakhera, Kancher, Manihâr, Chûrihâr, and Potgar, appeared with such irregularity from different districts, that it was considered necessary to make enquiry on the subject. The result was that Lakheras and Kanchers have been combined; but Manihârs, though probably identical, kept separate. The accounts given by members of the caste of their origin are very various and sometimes ingenious. One account is that, like the Patwas, with whom they are connected, they were originally Kâyasths. According to another account they were made from the dirt washed from Pârvati before her mariage with Siva, created by the god to make bangles for his wife, and hence called Deobansi. Again, it is stated, they were created by Krishna to make bangles for the Gopis. The most elaborate account of their origin given is that they were originally Yaduvansi Râjputs, who assisted the Kurus to make a fort of lac, in which the Pândavas were to be treacherously burned. For this treachery they were degraded and compelled eternally to work in lac or glass. They are in status ordinary low caste Hindus, permitting widow marriage and divorce, drinking wine, but not eating pork. They make forehead spangles (*tikuli*) as well as lac and glass bangles." In Bihâr they are known as Lahera or Laheri, and Mr. Risley gives an account of them.[2]

Distribution of Lakheras according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Numbers.	Districts.	Numbers.
Muzaffarnagar . .	1	Farrukhâbâd . . .	81
Bulandshahr . . .	1	Mainpuri	24
Mathura . . .	58	Etâwah	182
Agra	90	Etah	7

[1] *Census Report, North Western Provinces*, 1,321.

[2] *Tribes and Castes.*

Distribution of Lakheras according to the Census of 1891—concld.

Districts.	Numbers.	Districts.	Numbers.
Bareilly . . .	57	Benares . . .	143
Morâdâbâd . . .	1	Ghâzipur . . .	1
Cawnpur . . .	55	Gorakhpur . . .	577
Bânda	111	Basti	87
Hamîrpur . . .	303	Râê Bareli . . .	223
Jhânsi	430	Gonda	348
Jâlaun	374	Bahrâich . . .	151
Lalitpur . . .	243	Bârabanki . . .	281
		Total .	3,678

Lâlkhâni,[1]—a sept of Muhammadan Râjputs, who take their name from Lâl Khân, their chief.—The Census returns obviously underrate their numbers. They claim descent from Kunwar Pratâp Sinh, a Bargûjar Thâkur of Rajor in Rajputâna, who joined Prithivi Râja of Delhi in his expedition against Mahoba. On his way thither, he assisted the Dor Râja of Koil, or Aligarh, in reducing a rebellion of the Mînas, and marrying the Râja's daughter, received as his dowry one hundred and fifty villages near Pahâsu in Bulandshahr. The eleventh in descent from Pratâp Sinh was Lâl Sinh, who, though a Hindu, received from the Emperor Akbar the title of Khân, whence the name Lâlkhâni, by which the family is ordinarily designated. It was his grandson, Itimâd Râê, in the reign of Aurangzeb, who first embraced Muhammadanism. The seventh in descent from Itimâd Râê was Nâhar Ali Khân, who, with his nephew Dûndê Khân, held the fort of Kumona in Bulandshahr against the English, and thus forfeited his estate, which was conferred on his relative Mardân Ali Khân. The chief families of the sept have their head-quarters at Chitâri, Pahâsu, and Dharmpur, all in the Bulandshahr District. The family, in commemoration of their descent, retain the Hindu titles of Kunwar and Thakurâni, and have hitherto, in their marriage and other social customs, observed

[1] Growse, *Mathura*, 19.

many old Hindu usages. The tendency of the present generation, and particularly of the Chitâri family, is rather to affect an ultra-rigid Muhammadanism.

2. They are often called Naumuslim, which is a general term for all recently converted Hindus. The customs of Naumuslim Thâkurs are a curious mixture of the Hindu and Muhammadan, as they intermarry only with Thâkurs similarly situated, maintaining the relative precedence of caste as among Thâkurs, and being generally called by well-known Thâkur names. But their dead are buried; they are married by Qâzi, and they observe Muhammadan customs at birth, marriage, and death. They cannot, as a rule, recite the prayers or perform the orthodox obeisances (*sijda*). At the same time they worship Devi to avert small-pox, and keep up their friendly intercourse with their old caste brethren in domestic ceremonies; eating, however, apart from them.[1]

Distribution of the Lâlkhânis according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Numbers.	Districts.	Numbers.
Sahâranpur . . .	2	Farrukhâbâd . . .	8
Muzaffarnagar . .	170	Mainpuri . .	2
Bulandshahr . . .	3	Morâdâbâd . .	81
Aligarh	127	Jhânsi	1
Mathura . . .	2	Lucknow . . .	9
Agra	42	Sîtapur . . .	1
		Total .	448

Lautamiya:—a Râjput clan found in Pargana Duâba of Ballia; they are a sturdy, independent race, and addicted to frays and feuds of a serious character. Their origin is doubtful, and they do not hold a high rank among Râjputs. Many of them used to be closely associated with the gangs of Dusâdh robbers for whom the Pargana was famous.[2]

[1] *Cawnpur Settlement Report*, 26.
[2] Oldham, *Ghâzipur Memo.*, I., 59.

Lodha[1] an agricultural and labouring caste very widely distributed through the North-West Provinces and Oudh.—Various derivations have been suggested for the name, such as Sanskrit *lodhra*, the bark of the tree *Symplocos racemosa*, used in dyeing; Sanskrit *lubdhaka*, "a hunter;" Hindi *launda*, *londa*, "a clod." Of the tribe in the Bulandshahr District, Râja Lachhman Sinh[2] writes:—"From their short stature and uncouth appearance, as well as from their want of a tradition showing their immigration from other parts, they appear to be a mixed class proceeding from aboriginal and Aryan parents. They call themselves the ancient inhabitants of the district, and we know from the Purânas that, among the forest tribes, there was one variously called Sodh, Bodh, Lodh, and Rodh. We also know that there was a large forest along and below Delhi on the Jumna. These may be the descendants of these foresters. In the districts below Agra they are considered so low, that no one of high caste drinks water touched by them; but such is not the case in the districts above Agra. Below Agra, they work chiefly as boatmen." Under the name of Lodhi they are found widely spread throughout the Central Provinces; in some places they have a reputation for turbulence and defiance of the law; they seem all to be comparatively recent immigrants from the direction of Bundelkhand. In Jhânsi they say that Narwâr was the original seat of the tribe after their immigration from Ludhiâna in the Panjâb, and that they came thence to Bundelkhand about a thousand years ago. In Lalitpur[3] also they claim kinship with the hill Lodhis of Central India, call themselves Thâkur, and are described as turbulent and ill-disposed. In Agra they are known as Pariya, which is the name of one of their sub-castes, or Purabiya, "Eastern," because they call themselves Bais Râjputs and immigrants from Dundiya Khera or Ajudhya. In Hamîrpur they call themselves Kurmi, Jariya, Mahâlodhi or Tandaiya. They were early settlers in Oudh[4] prior to the Râjput invasion, and were sufficiently powerful to offer a stern resistance to the invaders. They may possibly be an off-shoot from the great Kurmi tribe and

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[1] Based on information supplied by the Deputy Inspector of schools, Agra; Bâbu Ishan Chandar Banarji, Râé Bareli; M. Râm Sahay, Tahsili School Mahoba, Hamirpur.

[2] *Bulandshahr Memo.* 182, sq.

[3] *Gazetteer, North Western Provinces, I.*, 331.

[4] *Chronicles of Unao*, 25.

it is certain that physically they are more allied to the lower or so-called aboriginal section of the population than to any of the higher castes.

Internal organisation.

2. The Lodhas are divided into a large number of endogamous sub-castes. Among these, at the recent Census, were enumerated the Bhosiya or Bhusiya, "Chaff men" (*bhúsa*, "chaff"); the Jaiswâr, who take their name from the old town of Jais in the Râê Bareli District; Jariya; Khâgi who have been dealt with separately; Mathuriya "those from Mathura;" Patariha; Saksena from Sankisa in the Farrukhâbâd District; and Singraur. In Agra we find the Jariya; Patariya or Patariha; the Mathuriya; and the Antarvedi, "the inhabitants of Antarveda" (*antar*, "between," *vedi*, "a piece of flat ground prepared for sacrifice,") which was an old name for the Lower Duâb or the country lying between Etâwah and Allahâbâd, but is sometimes applied to the whole of the Ganges-Jumna Duâb. The women of the Jariya sub-caste wear bangles of lac and bore their noses, both of which practices are prohibited to those of the Patariya sub-caste. In Unâo they are sometimes known as Patariya after the sub-caste of that name, and they have three sub-castes:—Patariya, Jariya, and Kathariya, who probably take their name from Katheher, the old name of Rohilkhand. The complete Census returns name 515 sub-divisions of the normal type. Of these, those locally of most importance are the Katâri and Mahra of Bulandshahr; the Mahuriya of Aligarh; the Bhagîrathi and Tarwariya of Mathura; the Sankhwâr of Mainpuri; the Dilliwâl and Purabiya of Pilibhît; the Sengar of Fatehpur; the Mohan and Mahur of Hamîrpur; the Barwariya and Mahâlodha of Jhânsi; the Bhadauriya and Samaurhiya of Lalitpur; the Khâgi and Khargbansi of the Tarâi; the Bâtham of Unâo; and the Binaunân of Bahrâich.

Marriage rules.

3. All these sub-castes are endogamous. Their rule of exogamy is not very clearly stated; but it would seem that they avoid intermarriage with near relations, both in the paternal and maternal lines, and will not give a bride to a family into which one of their youths has intermarried within the period of ordinary memory.

Domestic ceremonies.

4. Their domestic ceremonies are of the normal type. Widow marriage and the levirate under the usual restrictions are permitted. Divorce is allowed

in case of adultery proved to the satisfaction of the tribal council; but for the first offence, the erring wife is merely reprimanded. Divorced women are not allowed to marry again within the caste. The betrothal is settled by the mutual exchange of presents between the two families. There is no bride price; but it is understood that the bride is provided with a dowry. In Unâo the betrothal is called Takahai, because the father of the bride puts two pice (*taka*) in the hands of the bridegroom and this settles the match. In Râê Bareli, on his marriage day, the boy eats a dish, called *lakhausi*, made of rice and *urad* pulse, with the other boys of his own caste.

Religion.

5. They are all Hindus. In Agra Devi is their tribal goddess, but they also worship Râmchandra,[1] Kuânwâla, or the well godling, and Jakhaiya. Kuânwâla has a brick temple with three doors in front, and inside a miniature well, in which are placed two images. Cakes of wheat flour, boiled rice, milk, sweetmeats, and flowers are thrown into the well as an offering, and water is poured on the ground before the temple. The women dance and play on rude tambourines made of brass cups (*katora*). This worship is done in the month of Asârh. There is a famous shrine in honour of Jakhaiya in the village of Pendhat or Paindhat in the Mainpuri District. "There is no fixed day, but the latter fortnight of Mâgh or Asârh are chosen for these meetings (*jât*) on a Sunday. The story runs that during the war between Prithivi Râja and Jay Chand of Kanauj, an Ahîr was bringing his wife from home, and with him were a Brâhman and a low caste man, a Bhangi or a Dhânuk. The three men joined in the fight and were killed. The Bhangi fell first, and the other two fell at some distance from him. Even when dead their headless trunks (*dând*) continued the fight. The Bhangi became a Bhût, or malignant ghost, under the name of Jakhaiya, and the place where he fell is called Jakhaiya to this day. Droves of pigs are grazed here, and at the time of the great gathering the swine-herds will kill one of them for a trifle and let the blood flow on the spot. At the other place, where the Brâhman and Ahîr fell, there is a temple, and cocoanuts and the like are offered. People come in thousands from the surrounding districts, even from Farrukhâbâd, which touches the opposite side of the district,

[1] At the last Census 1,000,111 persons were recorded as worshippers of Ram-Chandra.

and pay their devotions here. The great object of the journey is to obtain offspring and have an easy child-birth.

"The worship is said also to have a good influence on the winter rains (*mahâwat*)"[1]

6. Another saint, worshipped by the Lodhas of Agra, is Sayyid Mohsin Khân, whose tomb is in the town of Ihtimâdpur. Lamps, filled with ghi, sweets, and flowers are offered to him, and the offerings are taken by the Musalmân Faqîrs who attend the tomb. In most of their villages they have a temple of Devi, to whom offerings are made of goats, sweetmeats, and a fire sacrifice. This worship is performed at night and in times of trouble. Kuânwâla and Jakhaiya are the special deities who guard children.

7. In Unâo they worship Brahma Deo, and the Miyân of Amroha and Jalesar, with offerings of boiled rice and cakes, the produce of the last harvest, in the months of Kuâr, Aghan, and Chait. When a son is born, this offering is made on a larger scale. The Faqîr, who officiates, receives a fee of eight annas and the greater part of the offerings. In Hamîrpur they worship Gusâîn, "the Lord;" they prepare both *pakki* and *kachchi* food for the occasion and offer a goat.

Social status and occupation.

8. As we have already seen, their social position to some extent varies in different parts of the province. In Agra they will eat *kachchi* only from the hands of a casteman or Brâhman. They will eat *pakki* from the hands of Halwâis; will smoke only with a man of their caste; and will take water from a Banya. Sanâdhya Brâhmans eat *pakki* from their hands; and Koris, Chamârs, Kahârs, Gadariyas, and the like will eat *kachchi*. In Hamîrpur they drink liquor, and eat pork, goat's flesh, fish, fowls, and eggs. All through the Province they are tenants and field-labourers, and are considered to be good agriculturists, with a special aptitude for growing rice.

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[1] *Gazetteer, North Western Provinces*, IV, 748.

Distribution of Lodhas according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Bhosiya.	Jaiswár.	Jariya.	Khági.	Mathuriya.	Patariha.	Saksena.	Singraur.	Others.	Total.
Dehra Dûn	...	...	678	...	...	2,001	...	...	277	2,956
Sahâranpur	7	10	1,246	...	992	43	...	...	484	2,782
Muzaffarnagar	...	27	64	...	16	35	...	...	1,200	1,342
Meerut	...	...	1,093	...	...	2,705	...	...	3,788	7,586
Bulandshahr	191	...	...	...	23,107	1	...	...	21,958	45,257
Aligarh	...	...	1,047	...	6,558	...	...	...	31,192	38,797
Mathura	20	...	62	...	6	72	...	...	2,509	2,669
Agra	...	...	1,006	...	15,833	4,829	...	...	1,551	23,219
Farrukhâbâd	...	...	272	...	270	1,306	...	...	267	2,115
Mainpuri	...	...	61	262	16,278	29,682	7,361	...	801	54,445
Etâwah	...	...	29,123	...	3,951	5,169	...	...	1,311	39,554
Etah	...	...	...	667	24,306	51,465	1,258	...	2,218	79,916

Bareilly	...	...	4,078	...	...	...	...	...	976	5,054
Bijnor	...	4	...	41	...	146	...	...	51	242
Budâun	...	...	4	...	4,767	966	...	...	72	5,809
Morâdâbâd	...	...	83	...	10,748	...	...	29	1,058	1,918
Shâhjahânpur	...	5	1,996	...	...	671	...	...	826	3,498
Pilibhît	...	...	23,137	...	81	...	...	...	12,974	36,192
Cawnpur	...	92	42,383	...	84	241	...	299	1,898	44,997
Fatehpur	...	...	34,559	...	...	90	...	11,160	1,511	47,320
Bânda	...	...	6,838	...	...	13	...	9,829	1,369	18,049
Hamîrpur	...	...	758	...	...	...	...	14	55,948	56,720
Allahâbâd	...	...	11,761	...	...	...	...	1,967	589	14,317
Jhânsi	...	...	13,490	...	...	88	...	...	13,182	26,760
Jâlaun	...	...	4,186	...	11	...	...	...	7,362	11,569
Lalitpur	783	...	15,759	...	...	61	...	...	12,103	28,706
Benares	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	14	20
Jaunpur	...	...	276	...	...	...	...	3	...	279
Gorakhpur	...	11	1,702	...	...	2	...	...	623	2,338

Distribution of Lodhas according to the Census of 1891—concluded.

Districts.	Bhosiya.	Jaiswár.	Jariya.	Khági.	Mathuriya.	Patariha.	Saksena.	Singraur.	Others.	Total.
Basti	...	...	20,755	...	...	...	...	...	2,375	23,130
Garhwál	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	16	16
Tarái	...	...	2	...	1,716	658	...	...	1,982	4,358
Lucknow	...	...	43,168	...	24	870	...	...	9,935	53,997
Unáo	...	...	77,814	...	350	9,010	...	...	451	87,625
Ráé Bareli	..	235	48,349	...	...	1,189	...	...	14,463	64,236
Sitapur	...	...	30,518	...	...	10,389	...	...	366	41,273
Hardoi	...	...	5,281	...	...	206	...	...	1,026	6,513
Kheri	...	...	13,856	...	...	19,256	...	...	1,377	34,489
Faizábád	...	...	323	...	677	...	...	...	420	1,420
Gonda	...	...	9,618	...	208	127	...	...	6	9,954
Bahráich	...	...	35,953	...	...	1,097	...	...	7,153	44,203

Sultânpur	...	...	7,336	...	...	...	...	...	43	7,369
Partâbgarh	...	...	628	...	...	...	...	...	98	726
Bâra Banki	...	...	24,193	...	...	10,673	...	...	622	35,488
TOTAL	1,001	390	513,441	970	109,985	153,061	8,619	23,301	218,445	1,029,213

Lohâr[1] (Sanskrit *lauha-kâra*, "a worker in iron," the blacksmith caste.—As Professor Schrader[2] has shown, the Indo-Germanic names for the smith have a threefold origin. They are derived either from words designating metals or metal collectively, such as the Hindi Lohâr and the Greek Chalkeus or Siderous; or, secondly, from verbals which mean "hewing"; or, thirdly, substantives with the general meaning of "worker," "artificer," are specialised down to the narrower meaning of "smith." Such is the Sanskrit Karmakâra, "a blacksmith," which really means "workman" *par excellence*. It has been suggested that the Lohâr is ethnically connected with the Dravidian Agariya, or iron smelter, who has been separately described; and the evidence from Bengal to some extent corroborates this view.[3] But the Mirzapur Agariya does no blacksmith's work; all he does is to smelt the iron and work it up into rough ingots, which are afterwards converted into axe heads and agricultural implements by the Lohâr, who is admittedly a recent immigrant into the hill country, and utterly repudiates any connection with the iron-smelter of the jungles. The internal organization of the caste suggests that it is formed of many different elements, and is, in the main, of occupational origin.

2. Practically all Lohârs trace their origin to Visvakarma, who is the later representative of the Vedic Twashtri, the architect and handicraftsman of the gods, "the fashioner of all ornaments, the most eminent of artizans, who formed the celestial chariots of the deities, on whose craft men subsist, and whom, a great and immortal god, they continually worship."[4] One tradition tells that Visvakarma was a Brâhman and married the daughter of an Ahîr, who was in her previous birth a dancing-girl of the gods. By her he had nine sons, who became the ancestors of various artizan castes, such as the Lohâr, Barhai, Sunâr, Kasera, etc. By another tradition they are the offspring of a Brâhman from a Sûdra woman. Many of the Western Lohârs fix their original home at Mithila, whence they

Legendary origin.

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[1] Based on enquiries made at Mirzapur and notes by M. Bâsdeo Sahay, Head Master, High School, Farrukhâbâd; the Deputy Commissioner, Sultânpur; the Deputy Inspector of Schools, Dehra Dûn.

[2] *Prehistoric Antiquities*, 154.

[3] Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, II, 22.

[4] Dowson, *Classical Dictionary*, *s. v.*

say they emigrated to Mathura with Sri Krishna. At the last Census, 18,805 persons, chiefly Barhais and Lohârs, recorded themselves as worshippers of Biskarma or Visvakarma.

The wandering blacksmiths.

3. Occasional camps of these most interesting people are to be met with in the districts of the Meerut Division. They wander about with small carts and pack animals, and, being more expert than the ordinary village Lohâr, their services are in demand for the making of tools for carpenters, weavers, and other craftsmen. They are known in the Panjâb as Gadiya or those "who have carts" (*gâdi*, *gâri*). Mr. Ibbetson [1] says that they come up from Rajputâna and the North-Western Provinces, but their real country is the Dakkhin. In the Panjâb they travel about with their families and implements in carts from village to village, doing the finer kinds of iron-work which are beyond the capacity of the village artizan. Of the same people Mr. Balfour [2] writes that they are called in Dakkhini Ghisâri, in Marhatti Lohâr, but call themselves Târêmûk. They worship Khandoba. Their marriages are conducted in the Hindu manner, but intoxicating drinks are largely used. They have earned a great name for gallantry, and it is very usual to hear of the rough Târêmûk levanting with another man's wife. On the occasion of a birth they sacrifice in the name of Satvâi. They burn the bodies of the married people and lay the ashes by a river's side; but the unmarried dead are buried, and for three days after the funeral food is carried to the grave, though they draw no augury of the state of the soul of the deceased from any animal eating the food. In the Dakkhin [3] this class of wandering blacksmiths are called Saiqalgar or knife grinders or Ghisâra or grinders (Hindi *ghisâna*, "to rub"). They wander about grinding knives and tools. "They are wiry men with black skins, high cheek bones, and thick lips. Latterly they have taken to shaving the head, but some keep the Hindu top-knot. Since their conversion to Islâm most men wear the beard. The women dress their hair rather oddly, plaiting each tress in a separate band." They make nails and tongs, and the women blow the bellows, and collect scraps of iron in towns as materials for their husbands' anvils.

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[1] *Panjâb Ethnography*, para. 624.

[2] *Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XIII, No. 145.

[3] *Bombay Gazetteer*, XVI, 82.

Though never pressed for food, they lead a hand-to-mouth life, always ready to spend what they earn in food and drink. They say they are sprung from Visvakarma,[1] the framer of the universe, who brought out of fire, the anvil, the bellows, the sledge, and the small hammer. He taught them how to make Vishnu's discus, arrow, trident, horse-shoes, sword, and war chariot. When these were prepared and approved by their master, the caste came to be called Ghisâdi, and were told to make various tools and weapons of war. They are strong, dark, dirty, drunken, hot-tempered, and hardworking. In Ahmadnagar[2] "early marriage, polygamy, and widow marriage are allowed and practised, and polyandry is unknown. The women mark their brows with sandal paste when they bathe. On the fifth day after the birth of a child, an image of Satvâi is worshipped in Kunbi fashion, and the child is named and cradled on the seventh and ninth by female friends and relations, who are asked to dine at the house. The mother keeps her room and is held impure for forty days. On the day before the marriage the "god pleasing" (*devkârya*) is performed, when their marriage guardian (*devak*), the leaves of the mango, *ficus glomerata*, *Syzigium Jamolanum*, *Prosopis spicigera*, and *Calatropis gigantea*, are laid in a dining dish with a sword on them and taken to the temple of the village Mâruti, with music, and a band of friends, by two married pairs—one from the bride's and the other from the bridegroom's,—whose skirts are tied together. They are then again brought back and laid before the house gods until the ceremony is ended. The family gods are worshipped with the customary offerings, a goat or a sheep is slain in their name, and the caste people are feasted. All the rites connected with marriage, before and after the guardian worship, are the same as among local Kunbis, and the caste people are treated to a dinner at the house of the pair, or uncooked food is sent to their houses. When a girl comes of age, she sits apart for four days, and is bathed on the fifth, when her female friends and relations meet at the house, dress her in a new robe and boddice, and fill her lap with rice and a cocoanut. They mourn their dead twelve days, burying the unmarried and burning the married after the Kunbi custom. The son, or chief mourner, gets his face clean shaven, except the eye-brows, on the

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[1] *Bombay Gazetteer*, XX, 101.
[2] *Ibid*, XVII, 98.

tenth or twelfth, without requiring the services of a Brâhman priest, and, on the tenth, treats the caste people to a dinner of stuffed cakes and rice with split pulse. The death day is marked by a "Mind rite" (*srâddha*), and the dead are remembered in all Souls' fortnight in the dark half of Bhâdon, on the day which corresponds with the death day. They are bound together by a strong caste feeling, and settle social disputes at meetings of castemen. Breaches of rules are punished by fines, which generally take the form of caste feasts, and a free pardon is granted to those who submit."

It has seemed worth while to collect so much information about these people, because they probably represent the most primitive form of workers in iron, and are thus closely allied in function, if not in race, to the European Gipsy, whose chief occupation is that of the farrier and tinker.

The Lohârs of the North Western Provinces and Oudh.
Internal organization.

4. The Lohârs of these Provinces include both a Hindu and a Muhammadan branch, of which the former is far more numerous than the latter. At the last Census the Hindu Lohârs were divided into nine main sub-castes:—Ajudhyabâsi, or "residents of Ajudhya;" Visvakarma, who take their name from their eponymous ancestor; Dhaman; Kanaujiya, from Kanauj; Lâhauri, from Lahore; Mahul; Mathuriya, "those from Mathura;" Ojha, or those professing a Brâhmanical origin, the word being probably derived from the Sanskrit *Upâdhyâya*, "a teacher;" and Râwat, which comes from the Sanskrit *Râjdûta*, "royal messenger." But this does not exhaust the catalogue of sub-castes. Thus, we find at Mirzapur, besides the Kanaujiya, the Mauliha or Mauliya, who are said to derive their name from the country of Malwa, and to be identical with the Mahauliya of Benares and the Mahul of the Census lists. Mr. Sherring names in addition the Sribâstava, who take their name from the old city of Sravasti: the Malik; the Banarasiya, "those of Benares;" the Chaurâsiya who, are perhaps called after Tappa Chaurâsi in the Mirzapur District; Purabiya or "Eastern;" Maghaiya or Magahiya, those of Magadh; Sinar and Mathuriya who derive their name from Mathura. In the Central Duâb their divisions are Tumariya, who assert some connection with Tomar Râjputs; Jholiya or "wearers of the wallet" (*jholi*); Gurhâbâdi; Logvarsha or Laungbarsa; and Siyâhmaliya, or "workers in black iron." Akin to these are the

Palauta of Bijnor and the Kachhlohiya, or "workers in unpurified iron," of Morâdâbâd. The complete Census returns show 736 sub-divisions of the Hindu and 114 of the Musalmân branch. Of these those locally most important are the Deswâli of Sahâranpur: the Lotê of Muzaffarnagar and Meerut; the Sengar of Jhânsi: the Gotiya of Lalitpur, the Byâhut, Gorê and Uttarâha of Ballia; the Basdiha, Byâhut, Dakkhinâha, Malik, Uttarâha of Gorakhpur; the Dakkhinâha of Basti: and the Gamela of Sîtapur.

The Ojha Lohâr or Barhai.

5. One sub-caste known almost indifferently as Ojha Barhai or Lohâr is almost entirely confined to the Central Duâb. They often call themselves Maithal or Mathuriya Ojha. The word Ojha, as has been already remarked, is probably a corruption of the Sanskrit Upâdhyâya "a teacher." They allege that they were brought to Mathura by Sri Krishna from Mithila. They claim to be of Brâhman descent and have provided themselves with a number of the ordinary Brâhmanical *gotras*:—Bharadwâja; Vasishtha; Gautam; Kasyapa; Sandilya; Vatsa, etc. These are all derived from the names of various Rishis from whom they claim descent. In Farrukhâbâd and its suburbs they are divided into some twenty-four groups (*thok*) each of which has a headman (*chaudhari*) of its own, to whom all social questions are referred. If the matter is not very particular, he calls a meeting of his group and settles it according to the opinion of the majority. In weightier cases members of the other groups are also invited to attend. Their rule of exogamy is in an uncertain condition. Properly speaking no man should marry in his own *gotra* according to the usual Brâhmanical formula; but as a matter of fact, few of them know to which *gotra* they belong and they simply use the ordinary rule which prohibits intermarriage between blood relations on the paternal and maternal sides. Polygamy is allowed, polyandry prohibited. Girls are married between five and fourteen years of age. A man may expel his wife for proved immorality, but this is no ground for a woman leaving her husband. Divorced wives and widows may re-marry by the *dharauna* form. In widow marriage there is no regular ceremony; but the man who takes a widow to live with him has to undergo some sort of expiation, such as bathing in the Ganges, feeding the brotherhood and distributing alms to

Brâhmans. The levirate is allowed under the usual restrictions, but is not compulsory.

6. No ceremonies are performed during pregnancy. On an auspicious day, generally on the third day after her confinement, the ceremony of *latadhoba* is performed when one lock of her hair is washed. This is followed by the *bâhar nikalna* when she leaves the confinement room for the first time. As a safeguard against demoniacal influences when she brings out the baby in her arms, an arrow is held in its hand by its maternal uncle who, as in other castes of the same social grade, bears an important part in these domestic ceremonies, probably a survival of the matriarchate. On the sixth day (*chhatki*) the mother and child are bathed again. On this occasion the goddess Bihi or Bihai Mâta, whose name is probably a corruption of the Sanskrit *Vidhi*, "Fate," is worshipped as the protector of the child. As soon as the child is born she is installed in the house and a representation of her is made on the wall with ghi. On the sixth day she is dismissed after being duly honoured with an offering of cakes, flowers, etc. As she is regarded as influencing the destiny of the child, on the day of her worship the baby is dressed in its best clothes so as to ensure it a prosperous life. Then the whole house is purified; a fire sacrifice is made; the family gods are worshipped; the child is named and food is distributed to Brâhmans. When they adopt, a regular deed of adoption is drawn up and the fact is notified to the brethren by a distribution of cocoanuts and sweets.

7. Marriage in the regular form is solemnised according to the standard Brâhmanical form; poor people, however, marry by *dola*, when the bridegroom's father goes to the house of the girl, brings her home and goes through the ceremonies at his own house. There is in the ceremony a survival of marriage by capture. A representation of a fish is made of flour and is hung by a string which the bride holds in her hand. She will not enter the house until the boy succeeds in piercing it with an arrow, which the bride tries to prevent by moving it about as he aims at it.

8. The death ceremonies are of the normal type and the usual Srâddha is performed. The birth pollution lasts for ten days; that of menstruation for seven days; that after a death for thirteen days. Their tribal deity is Durga. They also in the month of Mâgh make pilgrimages to the shrine of Shâh Mulâr. The

offerings, consisting of sweetmeats (*revari*) flowers and pice are taken by the guardians (*khâdim*) of the tomb. Shaikh Saddu is the guardian of women and children. When a birth or marriage occurs in a family he is worshipped on a Saturday. The women fast and in the evening a Mujâwar is sent for; a sacred square (*chauka*) is made with cow-dung and offerings consisting of a he-goat, cakes, curry and rice are made. The Mujâwar pronounces the Fâtiha and takes away the offerings. A local godling known as Deota is also worshipped. Pilgrimages to his temple are undertaken in the month of Mâgh. The offerings to him consist of a cocoa-nut, a loin cloth and some pice. The marriage ceremonies commence with ancestor worship. Figures representing them are made on a wall with yellow clay and a lamp placed on a sieve laid on an earthen pot is kept burning near the place. Sweetmeats and other dainties prepared for the marriage feast are first offered to the sainted dead, and every important ceremony commences with an offering to them. This ancestor worship is confined to women. Snakes are also worshipped by women on the feast of the Nâgpanchami; if this worship be neglected, it is believed that some member of the family will be bitten. The *bargad* tree (*ficus Indica*) is also worshipped on the fifteenth of the month of Chait. Women whose husbands are alive fast up to noon and do not eat any salt that day. When they go to a *bargad* tree they make offerings of some grain, flowers and a lighted lamp and then go round it seven times holding in their hands a thread of cotton which thus becomes wound round the trunk. The Sun is worshipped on Sunday, a fast is kept and the offerings are made at noon. On this occasion no salt is eaten. The Moon is worshipped on the festival of the Ganesa Chaturthi or Ganesa's fourth. Rice and curds are given to the family priest, offerings are made to the Moon and then the worshipper breaks his fast. Offerings are made to fire daily when the family take their meals. They believe in the Evil Eye which is obviated by burning in the presence of the person affected a strip of cloth his exact height which has been soaked in oil; or a blue thread of the same length is tied round a stone and thrown into the fire; or pepper pods, wheat bran and salt are passed round his head and burnt.

9. They eat meat, goat flesh and mutton, fowls and fish. They use all the ordinary intoxicants; but excess is reprobated. They will eat *pakki* from the hands of Agr vâla Banyas, *kachchi* from Kanaujiya Brâhmans. They ll drink from the vessels of these two tes, but will of none

but a member of their own caste. Gaur Brâhmans will eat their *pakki*; none but members of the caste and the lowest menials will eat their *kachchi*.

Ordinary Lohârs.

10. Besides those Lohârs who claim a Brâhmanical origin, there are large bodies of them which make no such pretensions. In the Hills many of them appear to be members of the great Dom race and from Pargana Jaunsar Bâwar in Dehra Dûn it is reported that the fraternal or family form of polyandry prevails amongst them and that a woman may have as many as five so-called husbands at a time. This custom, it is hardly necessary to say, does not prevail among those residing in the plains. To the East of the Province they marry their daughters at the age of eleven or twelve; there is, however, an increasing tendency in favour of infant marriage and the richer a man is the earlier he is expected to marry his daughter. Anti-nuptial infidelity is not seriously regarded, provided that it be inter-tribal, and is punished by a fine payable to the tribal council and a certain amount of feasting of the brethren. A man can marry as many wives as he pleases, or can afford to support; but few marry more than one wife unless the first be barren or hopelessly diseased. Widows may marry in the *sagâi* or *kâj* form and the levirate, though permitted, is not compulsory on the widow and is restricted by the usual rule, that it is only the younger who can marry the widow of his elder brother. The children of such unions rank equally with the offspring of virgin brides for purposes of inheritance. Adultery is not severely dealt with, provided it be not habitual or become an open scandal: for the first offence the erring wife is admonished by the council. A repetition of the offence leads to her formal repudiation and such a divorced woman may re-marry in the tribe by the *sagâi* form, provided her paramour has not been a member of a menial caste. In Oudh there is an apparent survival of marriage by capture in the custom by which the women of the bride's household throw packets of betel and handfuls of barley at the bridegroom as he enters the house. They have also a sort of ordeal to ascertain the prospects of married life. A necklace is thrown into a bowl of water and the married pair scramble for it; whichever succeeds in holding it rules the other.

Religion.

11. They profess to be Vaishnavas, but few of them are regularly initiated. To the East their clan deities are Mâhâbîr and the Pânchon Pîr, with the tribal founder Visvakarma. The Pânchon Pîr are

worshipped on a Sunday or Wednesday in the months of Sâwan, Kuâr, Baisâkh or Jeth, with an offering of rice milk (*khîr*), cakes (*púri*) and garlands of flowers. They worship Mahâbîr in the same months on a Tuesday or Saturday with an offering of sweetmeats (*laddu*) and sweet bread (*rot*). They are ministered in their religious ceremonies by a low class of Sarwariya Brâhmans. They worship their implements as fetishes, the seat represents Mahâdeva and the anvil Devi. At this worship of the anvil they invite the clansmen on an auspicious day and then wash the anvil and offer before it what is called *agiyâri* by burning sweet-scented wood before it. This is done only when the anvil is first made, and the ceremony ends with a distribution of sweetmeats among the guests. In Dehra Dûn they worship Kâli, Aghor Nâth, and Narasinha Deo. The worshippers of Narasinha, the man lion *avatâra* of Vishnu, numbered at the last Census 164,555 throughout the Province. They are specially worshipped when epidemic disease prevails with sacrifices of goats and pouring a little spirits near the shrine. In Farrukhâbâd they have a household godling named Kurehna, who is worshipped at marriages, child-birth, and death. The worship is a purely household one.

Occupation and social status.

12. The occupation of the blacksmith is no doubt very ancient in India. He is mentioned in the Rig Veda,[1] but though Indian steel was prized even among the ancient Greeks, "in literary monuments iron can not be traced with certainty before the end of the Vedic period when the oldest names of the metal occur."[2] The country Lohâr is a true village menial. He makes and repairs the agricultural implements of his constituents and receives contributions of grain at harvest time. Thus, in Bareilly he gets from 7½ to 12 *sers* of rice or *kodon* millet in the autumn and barley or oats in spring per plough. He also gets 2½ *sers* of new grain per plough at each harvest as *niboni* and one sheaf per plough which is known as *phiri*. He also gets two for each sugar mill, two *sers* of coarse sugar per field of sugarcane, and his share of the thirteenth jar of cane juice which is divided among the workmen. In Sultânpur he receives one and a half *panseri* or measures of five village *sers* at the autumn, and sheaves representing 2½ *sers* of grain in the spring harvest. In the cities they have greatly improved their position and rank as *mistri*

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[1] Wilson, *Rig Veda Intro.*, XL.
[2] Schrader, *loc cit*, 203.

or "master" workman. They make carriages and other articles of European style, shoes for horses and keep ironmongers' shops, selling cooking utensils (*tawa*, *karâhi*), axes, knives, chains, nails, screws and the like. Such a trader is often known as Luhiya or Lohiya. In these Provinces the Lohâr appears to enjoy a social position rather superior to that of his brethren in the Panjâb. There, according to Mr. Ibbetson "his social position is low even for a menial, and he is classed as an impure caste, in so far that Jâts and others of similar standing will have no social communion with him, though not as an outcaste like the scavenger. His impurity, like that of the barber, washerman, and dyer, springs solely from the nature of his employment; perhaps because it is a dirty one, but more probably, because black is a colour of evil omen, though on the other hand iron has powerful virtue as a charm against the Evil Eye. It is not improbable that the necessity under which he labours of using bellows made of cow hide may have something to do with his impurity." This feeling of contempt for the blacksmith is not modern. In the Purânas the Karmakâra or smith is classed as one of the polluted tribes, and according to Manu[1] iron is one of the commodities which a Brâhman or Kshatriya, obliged to subsist by the acts of a Vaisya, must avoid. It is at least possible that some of the disrepute attaching to the smith may be connected with his association with the vagrant, gipsy tribes of which evidence has been already given. This feeling of impurity is not so much felt in the East of the Province. In Bihâr[2] they are said to rank with Koiris and Kurmis, and Brâhmans take water from their hands. In the Eastern Districts their women are reported to be chaste. There they drink spirits and eat the flesh of goats, sheep and deer, as well as fish. They do not eat meat of other kinds. They will take *pakki* from Brâhmans, Râjputs and members of the trading castes, except Telis and Kalwârs. They eat *kachchi* cooked by their own castemen or by their religious teachers and spiritual guides. They smoke only with their own tribe. Râjputs of the inferior septs, traders, and all menials will eat *pakki* cooked by them. Bâris, Chamârs and other low castes eat *kachchi* cooked by them. They are, on the whole, quiet, respectable, and little given to crime, except that they will occasionally make the chisel (*sabari*) used by the professional burglar.

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[1] *Institutes* X. 88.

[2] Risley, *loc cit*, II. 31.

Distribution of Lohârs according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Ajudhyabâsi.	Visvakarma.	Dhaman.	Kanaujiya.	Lâhori.	Mahul.	Mathuriya.	Ojha.	Râwat.	Others.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Dehra Dûn . .	...	...	469	199	...	...	87	...	...	1,946	123	2,824
Sahâranpur . .	...	...	2,321	60	9	...	67	...	...	4,633	3,814	10,904
Muzaffarnagar . .	...	10	379	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,197	5,630	10,206
Meerut . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6,267	14,928	21,195
Bulandshahr . .	...	...	...	..	...	...	74	...	71	1,530	8,558	10,233
Aligarh . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	311	1,129	2,862	4,302
Mathura . . .	2	...	32	...	...	27	380	141	10	2,402	76	3,070
Agra . . .	21	...	...	...	...	6	380	1,687	...	945	59	3,098
Farrukhâbâd . .	114	...	...	...	...	382	11,353	978	...	368	...	13,195
Mainpuri . . .	293	...	...	...	...	...	667	2,325	...	223	..	3,508
Etâwah . . .	504	...	...	...	...	476	3,474	1,079	...	1,897	...	7,430
Etah . .	15	...	...	...	...	20	687	199	...	229	2,839	3,989
Bareilly . . .	...	...	...	...	247	...	5,491	222	...	196	4,707	10,863
Bijnor . . .	...	...	171	...	164	...	...	...	...	77	4,353	4,765

Budâun . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,717	11	...	260	5,031	7,019
Moradâbâd . . .	...	...	...	...	57	2	114	...	...	281	11,118	11,572
Shâhjahânpur . .	...	...	...	...	19	7	11,348	50	...	258	1	11,683
Pilibhît . . .	...	...	...	2	12	...	8,100	...	...	184	303	8,601
Cawnpur . . .	277	...	...	38	...	16,229	700	108	...	726	...	18,078
Fatehpur . . .	198	...	...	...	...	10,975	13	31	...	1,042	...	12,259
Bânda . . .	17	6	...	...	...	6,857	...	...	6	455	...	7,341
Hamirpur . . .	25	...	...	...	...	6,848	27	...	...	769	...	7,669
Allahâbâd . . .	...	87	...	3,277	...	26,747	...	...	...	688	...	30,799
Jhânsi . . .	12	...	...	25	...	667	741	33	...	2,993	...	4,471
Jâlaun . . .	...	4	...	...	...	1,029	710	...	...	2,934	...	4,677
Lalitpur . . .	26	...	...	...	...	69	697	...	...	2,919	...	3,711
Benares . . .	...	344	...	18,365	...	...	...	...	...	2,386	...	21,095
Mirzapur . . .	...	666	...	23,951	...	54	...	...	...	366	...	25,037
Jaunpur . . .	...	1,885	...	22,371	...	3,343	...	...	...	1,423	...	29,022
Ghâzipur . . .	...	140	...	15,953	...	4,261	...	...	71	2,378	...	22,803

Distribution of Lohárs according to the Census of 1891 —concluded.

DISTRICTS.	Ajudhya-bási.	Visva-karma.	Dhaman.	Kanau-jiya.	Láhori.	Mahul.	Mathu-riya.	Ojha.	Rawat.	Others.	Muham-madans.	TOTAL.
Ballia . . .	...	...	...	3,009	...	4,410	...	...	...	10,224	...	17,643
Gorakhpur . . .	29	7	...	25,587	...	1,845	698	...	...	26,517	...	54,683
Basti	...	...	...	4,385	...	14,365	...	...	...	2,717	...	21,467
Azamgarh . . .	...	879	...	25,717	...	...	...	...	...	3,628	...	30,224
Tarái . . .	...	...	...	...	126	...	283	...	...	543	1,740	2,692
Lucknow . . .	...	...	...	52	...	4,620	94	93	...	586	5	5,450
Unáo . . .	48	...	...	19	...	7,737	37	...	...	882	...	8,723
Ráé Bareli . . .	...	...	...	6	...	8,772	1	...	...	1,245	...	10,024
Sítapur . . .	31	...	...	84	...	7,368	403	...	...	2,787	...	10,673
Hardoi . . .	...	...	...	...	...	3,996	6,872	...	...	65	...	10,933
Kheri . . .	3	...	...	5	...	6,087	3,246	...	...	379	1	9,721
Faizábád . . .	...	730	...	4,268	...	6,305	...	...	...	1,838	...	13,141
Gonda . . .	...	...	...	15	...	13,031	...	...	...	11	30	13,087

Bahrâich . . .	1	4	...	23	...	7,759	...	...	...	837	26	8,650
Sultânpur . . .	...	707	...	1,389	...	7,134	...	...	...	2,793	...	12,023
Bâra Banki . . .	...	...	...	1	...	8,429	...	...	...	305	...	8,735
TOTAL .	1,616	5,516	3,372	148,801	634	197,088	58,461	6,957	1,456	102,009	66,204	592,114

Lohiya (*loha*, "iron") a sub-caste of Banyas found principally in the Eastern Districts of the province. They have a tradition that they derive their name from their place of origin—a certain Lohiya Ban or forest, but they are clearly an occupational sub-caste and take their name from dealing in iron, though they now add to this other forms of trade and even agriculture. Some are Vaishnavas and some Jainas.

Distribution of Lohiya Banyas according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Hindus.	Jainas.	Total.
Sahâranpur	7	...	7
Meerut	1,457	...	1,457
Bulandshahr	134	...	134
Mathura	8	...	8
Agra	7	19	26
Etah	4	37	41
Bareilly	40	...	40
Bijnor	819	49	868
Budâun	61	...	61
Bânda	33	...	33
Hamírpur	8	...	8
Jaunpur	2	...	2
Gorakhpur	6	...	6
Tarâi	52	...	52
Total	2,638	105	2,743

Lorha, a caste of rope makers, shown only in the Sahâranpur District, where they aggregate 2,622 persons. They are probably from their occupation menials and allied either to the gipsy Kanjars or to the Doms and Dharkârs.

Luniya, Nuniya,[1] a caste believed to be in a large measure of Dravidian origin, engaged in cultivation, saltpetre making, and

[1] Based on notes collected at Mirzapur and reports from the Superintendents Ethnographical Enquiries, Azamgarh, Sultânpur.

various kinds of earthwork. They take their name from the Sanskrit *lavana* "the moist", which first occurs as a name for sea salt in the Atharvan Veda. In the oldest prose salt is known as Saindhava or "coming from the Indus."[1] The salt sold in Bâzârs is Sâmbhar which comes from the salt marshes of Râjputâna at Sâmbhar, Dindwâra and Panchhbhadra; Panjâb rock salt is known as *Khâri non*, *Sendha*, *Lâhauri non*, or *Kâla non*; sea salt is *Samudri non*.

Traditions of origin.

2. The Audhiya sub-caste has a tradition that they are descended from an ascetic named Bidur Bhagat "who broke his fast on salt earth, and being thereby disqualified for the higher life of meditation was condemned by Râmchandra to betake himself to the manufacture of saltpetre."[2] Who this Bidur Bhagat was, the Luniyas of these Provinces are unable to say. He may possibly be identical with Vidura, the younger brother of Dhritarâshtra and Pându, who were all three sons of Vyâsa, but only the latter two by the two widows of Vichitavirya. When Vyâsa wanted a third son, the elder widow sent him one of her slave girls, and this girl became the mother of Vidura, who is sometimes called a Kshatriya and is one of the wisest characters in the Mahâbhârata, always ready with good advice both for his nephews, the Pândavas, and for his brother Dhritarâshtra. Another tradition common all through the Province asserts that they are Chauhân Râjputs of the Vatsya *gotra*. Their original home is said to have been Sambhalgarh, which appears to be identical with Sambhal in the Morâdâbâd District. The city was besieged by a Muhammadan king who was anxious to take the lovely Princess Padmâvati to wife. On the city being captured she took refuge in the house of the family Bhât. All the women of the family were paraded before the conqueror who recognised Padmâvati, but the Bhât insisted that she was his daughter, and to prove the assertion was forced to eat with her. So she was saved from the Muhammadan, and the Râja, her father, promised that his descendants would pay forever a tithe of their substance to the family of the faithful Bhât. Their descendants are said still to give certain dues to Bhâts. Another Mirzapur tradition makes the Bind, Luniya, Kewat, and Musahar tribes the descendants of a

[1] Schrader, *Prehistoric Antiquities*, 318.

[2] Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, II, 135.

creature who was produced by the Rishis from the thigh of Râja Vena; after this they produced Râja Prithivi from his body. In Azamgarh they say that they are the descendants of a certain Râja Sena who was a king in their original seat of power, Morâdâbâd. The Sultânpur tradition tells that during the war of the Mahâbhârata a boy was born of a Sûdra mother and a Kshatriya father, and was appointed by Yudhishthira to level his camp and gained his name because, in the course of his excavations, he came across a bed of salt. These traditions throw little light on their origin. It seems quite certain that they are connected with tribes of undoubted Dravidian affinities like the Kewat and Bind, and Mr. Risley hazards the conjecture that the Binds may be the modern representatives of an aboriginal tribe from which the Luniyas have branched off as saltpetre makers, and the Beldârs as earth workers. He adds that the hunting and fishing proclivities of the Binds seem to suggest that they are the oldest of the three, while the Bengal totemistic sections of the Luniyas stamp them as Dravidian. On the whole, perhaps the safest theory of their origin may be to define them as an occupational caste which has sprung from one or other of the local non-Aryan races.

Internal structure.

3. The internal structure of the caste in these Provinces is far from clear. It rather looks as if they were still in a transition stage, and that the endogamous sub-castes were as yet not completely organised. The last Census classes them under the heads of Ajudhyabâsi; or "residents of Ajudhya;" Bachgoti or "descendants of the sage Vatsa;" Bhagîrathi the descendants of the sage Bhâgîratha; Chauhân, the largest of all, who have, as we have seen, a tradition of Râjput descent; Deorâj and Golê. In Mirzapur they keep these divisions in the back ground and have a system of local sub-divisions known as *dih*, each taking its name from the parent village. Some of these are the Ninaur, Surahan, Hand, Kotakbai, and Jhusi-Arail, the last of which appear to take their name from two old towns in the Allahâbâd District situated on the Ganges and Jumna respectively. Those who have a common *dih* do not intermarry; and they have an additional law of exogamy which prohibits marriage in the family of the maternal uncle and aunt as long as relationship is remembered and recognised, which in their caste is within two or three generations. Another statement of the law of exogamy is that a man cannot marry in the family of his mother,

father, father's sister, in his own *gotra*, or with the elder sister of his wife. Another story again in Mirzapur is that the endogamous sub-castes are Luniya; Mallâh; Kewat; Kuchbandhiya; Bind; Paskewata and Musahar. Mr. Sherring[1] gives an additional set of sub-castes in Benares:—Chauhân; Audhiya, who come from Oudh and make saltpetre; Musahar, who are palanquin bearers; Bind, who are servants; Bhuînhâr, "occupiers of land;" Lodha, field labourers; Paramtâri, none of whom are found in Benares, but reside in the country further west; Dasaundhiya, who may perhaps be connected with the tribal tradition of the union between Luniyas and Bhâts, and Bujâr. Another list from Mirzapur gives the endogamous sub-castes as Bachgotra Chauhân, who wear the sacred cord (*janeû*) and trace their origin to Sambhal; inferior Bachgotra Chauhâns who do not wear the cord; Bhuînhâr; Bin or Bind; Pachkauta or Pachkewata, who are allied to the Kewats; Lodha and Musahar. A list from Sultânpur gives them as Jaiswâr, Chaurasiya, Chauhân, Satkaha, Rautâr, and Mahto, all of which are endogamous. These are in a great measure different from the sub-castes of Bihâr[2]:—Awadhiya or Ayodhyabâsi, who are perhaps identical with the Audhiya of these Provinces, Bhojpuriya; Kharâont; Magaiya; Orh; Pachhainya; Chauhân and Semarwâr with their totemistic sections which the Luniyas of the North-Western Provinces appear quite to have shed off. In addition to all this the Luniyas of these provinces recognise two great divisions, the Pachhainya or "Western" and the Purbiya or Purabiya, the "Eastern" branch. The complete Census returns show 808 sub-divisions, of which those locally most important are the Bhagawati of Mainpuri; the Semarwâr or "cotton tree people" of Ghâzipur and Ballia; the Khairpuriya, Karot, and Semarwâr of Gorakhpur: the Semarwâr of Azamgarh: the Khemkarani of Râê Bareli, the Bagulah of Hardoi; the Mahton and Sankat of Sultânpur; the Bhagotiya, Khemkarani and Mangarha of Partâbgarh. According to Mr. Sherring the Bachgotra sub-caste, who do not wear the sacred cord, will in Benares give their daughters to the Bhuînhâr Luniyas, but not sons to their daughters. This, if correct, goes to show, as before suggested, that the endogamous sub-castes are not only of comparatively recent formation, but are even still in process of elimination.

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1 *Hindu Tribes and Castes* I. 348.

2 Risley, *loc. cit*, II. 135.

Marriage rules.

4. Whereas in Bihâr adult marriages are considered unfashionable, if not disreputable, in the Eastern Districts of these Provinces, marriage takes place when the parties attain puberty, at the age of ten or twelve. In Sultânpur, however, they usually marry at the age of seven and, as in all the castes of a similar social grade, there seems to be an increasing tendency towards infant marriage. Infidelity prior to marriage, provided the offence be committed within the tribe, is lightly regarded. Polygamy is recognised and polyandry regarded with a feeling of horror. Marriage follows the usual form of *shádi* or *charhaua* when the bridegroom goes to the bride's house, marries her there, and brings her home in procession, the binding part of the ceremony being the worshipping of the feet of the bridegroom (*pairpúja*, *ránwopúja*) by the father of the bride; *dola*, where the bride is brought home quietly, and any ceremony performed is done at the house of the bridegroom; and thirdly, *sagái* for widows. In the latter case she very often marries the younger brother of her late husband, but she is free to marry an outsider if her brother-in-law be already married, and the levirate is not enforced. A man can turn out his wife for infidelity, and she can with the permission of the tribal council leave him if he does not provide for her or is proved to be impotent. All divorces must be sanctioned by the tribal council, and a divorced woman can marry again by the *sagái* form, provided she has not gone wrong with a man of another caste, in which case she is permanently expelled from caste.

Religion.

5. Luniyas do not become initiated into any of the recognised Hindu sects. To the east of the province their deities are Mahâbîr and the Pânchonpîr. To the former, the offerings consist of moist gram fried in butter or oil (*ghúgharí*) and sweetmeats, and they are made on the tenth day of Jeth. To the Pânchonpîr are presented fowls, goats and pigs, and pulse cakes cooked in oil or butter (*malída*) and rice milk (*khír*). This offering is made on some Tuesday in the month of Sáwan. Some of them prescribe a special offering for each of this quintette of saints; for Subhán some sweets and a castrated goat (*khassi*); for Ghází Miyán sweets and a goat; for Rikha Barahna a delicacy known as *kesha* made of wheat flour, sugar and clarified butter; for Palihár liquor and a cock; for Amina Sati a cloth (*patka*) with a red border; for Bibi Fátima sweets.[1] She

[1] For the Pánchpîr worship see Mr. E. Greeven's *Heroes Five*, and *Introduction to Popular Religion*, p. 122.

is particularly worshipped by women. These offerings are shared between a Faqîr and the family of the worshipper. In Azamgarh they worship Mahâbîr with an offering of sweets on a Tuesday. Though they are Hindus, they worship Muhammad and the Imâm Sâhib, who represents the martyrs Hasan and Husain; they consider Amina Sati to have been the mother of the Prophet—a curious mixture of belief in the saints of Islâm among a purely Hindu tribe. In Sultânpur their deities are Agwân and Kul Deo, which is properly a term applied by Hindus to their family god. To Agwân they offer in the month of Aghan rice and *urad* pulse, and in the month of Phâlgun cakes, all of which are consumed by the worshippers themselves. To Kul Deo the offering consists of parched gram flour (*satua*) and the egg plant (*bhanta, baingan*). These are offered in Baisâkh, and in Kuâr he receives cucumbers (*turoi, kakari*). They offer water and sacred balls (*pinda*) to the sainted dead on the Somwati Amâwas, or when the new moon falls on a Monday and at the fortnight of the dead (*pitrapaksha*) in the month of Kuâr, on the last day of which they distribute uncooked food (*sîdha*) to Brâhmans.

Occupation.

6. Prior to the Râjput immigration into Oudh, they appear to have held considerable landed property.[1] Now their main occupation is making saltpetre, but they do earthwork and act as agricultural labourers and cultivate land. They drink liquor and eat goat's flesh and mutton. Those who worship the Pânchonpîr also eat pork. They will not eat food cooked by an outsider. All classes of Hindus drink water touched by them; but none but Doms and Chamârs will eat food cooked by them. They will also be seen in the commencement of the cold season digging field rats out of their holes in the rice fields, and these they kill and eat with the contents of their underground granaries. In Bihâr Mr. Risley notes that "they think little of Bhagats, who practise small forms of asceticism by abstaining from certain kinds of food and drink, and I am informed that very few Bhagats are found among them." Their women have a good reputation for chastity, and they are on the whole fairly industrious, respectable people, who are more adventurous in emigrating with their families than their neighbours. They will collect on a railway or other large work and take contracts for earthwork. The men dig and the women and children carry off the clay in baskets. They seldom come before the Courts except in connection with violation of the Government salt monopoly.

[1] Elliott, *Chronicles of Unao*, 25.

Distribution of Luniyas according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Ajudhya-bási.	Bachgoti.	Bhagirathi.	Chauhán.	Deoráj.	Golé.	Others.	Total.
Dehra Dún	...	...	...	140	...	6	47	193
Saháranpur	...	...	...	260	...	...	98	358
Muzaffarnagar	...	...	...	...	...	...	30	30
Bulandshahr	...	...	...	30	...	...	164	194
Mathura	...	...	...	28	...	402	77	507
Agra	...	...	...	36	...	55	174	265
Mainpuri	...	...	...	149	...	698	1,436	2,283
Etáwah	...	...	...	566	...	518	1,356	2,440
Etah	...	...	...	52	...	1,335	1,203	2,590
Bareilly	...	...	...	...	...	...	36	36
Budáun	...	...	...	1,223	...	260	422	1,905

Morâdâbâd	...	...	...	...	...	39	...	39
Shâhjahânpur	...	...	...	1,269	...	259	758	2,286
Pilibhît	...	...	...	883	...	...	224	1,107
Cawnpur	...	96	2,021	201	10	142	1,033	3,503
Fatehpur	170	35	...	1,852	320	...	2,790	5,167
Bânda	445	...	...	222	20	24	199	910
Hamîrpur	1	...	...	..	...	...	74	75
Allahâbâd	447	37	...	5,246	52	...	3,255	9,037
Jhânsi	42	...	...	33	...	97	20	192
Jâlaun	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	6
Lalitpur	...	...	...	1	...	...	3	4
Benares	395	7,038	...	6,288	...	...	2,614	16,335
Mirzapur	...	4,618	...	6,898	...	...	404	11,920
Jaunpur	...	...	...	13,472	...	...	6,920	20,392
Ghâzipur	856	16,794	...	1,303	...	...	2,208	21,161
Ballia	2,112	4,199	...	...	...	...	16,063	22,374

Distribution of Luniyas according to the Census of 1891—concluded.

DISTRICTS.	Ajudhya-bâsi.	Bachgoti.	Bhagirathi.	Chauhân.	Deorâj.	Golê.	Others.	TOTAL.
Gorakhpur	2,117	30,150	...	11,313	30	...	26,309	69,919
Basti	84	3,405	...	18,049	...	...	210	21,748
Azamgarh	476	47,105	...	7,880	...	...	4,336	59,797
Lucknow	722	385	484	1,038	21	...	765	3,415
Unâo	64	47	489	12	48	...	2,261	2,921
Rê Bareli	...	...	...	253	726	...	6,959	7,938
Sitapur	295	...	293	9,159	...	...	602	10.349
Hardoi	...	15	8	...	...	...	2,564	2,587
Kheri	623	...	...	12,750	...	...	650	14,023
Faizâbâd	148	4,677	...	6,782	...	...	284	11,891
Gonda	...	...	...	22,471	...	...	516	22,987

Bahráich	690	117	87	13,471	...	...	6,383	20,698
Sultánpur	...	677	...	4,047	153	...	5,758	10,635
Partábgarh	208	...	...	1,117	1,462	...	10,017	12,892
Bára Banki	104	...	...	15,163	...	88	441	15,708
GRAND TOTAL .	9,999	119,401	3,332	163,657	2,842	3,923	109,663	412,817

M

Madâri; Madariya[1]—One of the Beshara or unorthodox orders of Muhammadan Faqîrs who take their name from the famous saint Zinda Shâh Madâr of Makanpur or Makhanpur in the Cawnpur District. There are, according to the usual computation, four sacred personages—Châr Tan or Châr Pîr, *viz.*, Muhammad the Prophet; his friend Ali; Ali's eldest son Imâm Husain and Hasan Basari. Khwâja Hasan Basari had two disciples, Khwâja Habîb Ajami and Khwâja Abdul Wâhid Qâd. From these were sprung the fourteen Sûfi Khânwâdas or sections. Of these, nine groups were sprung from Khwâja Habîb Ajami, *viz.*, the Habibiya, founded by two brothers Mubârak and Muhammad; Tafûriya, founded by Tafûr bin Isa, who is better known by his other name Bayazîd Bustâmi; the Kharkhiya, founded by Shaikh Marûf Khârkhi, Khârkh being a quarter (*muhalla*) of Bâghdâd; Siqtiya, founded by Khwâja Sri Siqti; the Junediya by Juned Bâghdâdi; the Gozrûniya, by Abu Ishâq of Gozrûn; the Tusiya by Alâ-ud-dîn of Tûs; the Firdosiya by Shaikh Najm-ud-dîn Kulera and the Sahrwardiya by Abu Najîb Sahrwardi. The remaining five sects of the Sûfis were founded by the disciples of Khwâja Abdul Wâhid Qâd, *viz.*, the Zadiya, founded by the five sons of Abdulla bin Ouf; the Ayâziya by Khwâja Fazl-bin Ayây; the Hubariya by Shaikh Hubara Basari; the Adhaniya by Sultân Ibrahîm bin Adhan, and the Chishtiya by Abu Ishâq of Chist, a village in Khurasân.[2]

2. But as a matter of fact the Madâris of Northern India have no real connection with these genuine Sûfi sects, because their founder Shâh Badi-ud-dîn Madâr neither had any disciples nor was he himself a disciple of any of the genuine Sûfi sects. The fact seems to be that the Indian Madâris were established in imitation of the Hindu Jogis and Sannyâsis and their professed division of fourteen sections is based on that of these Hindu ascetics. Like Hindu Faqîrs they apply ashes (*bhabhût*) to their bodies, wear iron chains round the head and neck, and carry a black flag and turban. They seldom pray or keep fasts, and use *bhang* freely as a beverage.

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[1] Based on notes by M. Mahadeva Prasâd, Head master, Zilla School, Filibhît; M. Hâji Rashîd Khân, Mirzapur.

[2] *Latâif Ashrafi*, Delhi Ed. 343; *Dabistân ul Mazâhib*, Bombay. Ed 169.

3. The following account of Shâh Madâr was given by the present manager of the shrine at Makanpur.—"Shâh Madâr had fourteen hundred assistants (*Khalîfa*) but no daughter. He adopted Sayyid Abu Muhammad Khwâja Irghawân, Sayyid Abu Turâb Khwâja Mansûr, and Sayyid Abul Hasan Khwâja Taipur. These persons were his nephews. He brought them from the town of Junâr in the Province of Halab and settled at Makanpur in the Cawnpur District where he died and was buried. The descendants of Sayyid Abu Muhammad Khwâja Irghawân were always noted for their learning and piety. Besides those whom he adopted he also brought with him Sayyid Muhammad Jamâl-ud-dîn Janman Janti, who is usually called Jamanjati and is buried at Hilsa near Azîmâbâd. He also brought with him his younger brother Sayyid Ahmad from Bâghdâd. Both these were the nephews of saint Ghaus-ul-Azam and he made them his assistants. With Jamanjati came two other brothers Mîr Shahâb-ud-dîn and Mîr Rukn-ud-dîn, who were also nephews of Ghaus-ul-Azam. Their tombs are at Shaikhpur Dharmsâla in the Cawnpur District, about two miles north of Makhanpur. Jamanjati was also noted for his piety and learning and thousands of persons benefited by him. His followers are known as Dîwâna; numbers of these are still in Hindustân and are called Malang. Among the assistants of Shâh Madâr, Qâzi Mahmûd, son of Qâzi Hamîd, whose tomb is at Kantut in Nawâbganj, Bârabanki, was a great worker of miracles, and his followers are called Talibân. Bâba Kapûr's name was Abdul Ghafûr. His tomb is in Gwalior, and he was an assistant of Qâzi Hamîd and Qâzi Mazhar Qala Sher. His tomb is at Mâwar in the Cawnpur District. Qâzi Shahâb-ud-dîn Shamsumar was a famous learned man in the time of Sultan Ibrahîm Sharqi of Jaunpur. Another Khalîfa of this family was known as Parkâl-i-âtish, and he was buried at Baragân. These four, *viz.*, Abu Muhammad, Jamanjati, Qâzi Mazhar, Qâzi Mahmûd were the most distinguished of all the Khalîfas in the time of Tâj Mahmûd. The greater part of the Dargâh at Makanpur was built in the time of Shahâb-ud-dîn Shâhjahân, Emperor of Delhi. Finally, Sayyid Tamîz-ud-dîn was a noted man in this family. The descendants of Sayyid Abu Turâb and Sayyid Abul Hasan are known as Khâdim. The family of Qâzi Mazhar are known as Ashiqân or "lovers." Other famous tombs of members of the sect are those of Mufti Sayyid Sada Jahân at Jaunpur; Maulâna Hisâmuddin at Jaunpur; Mîr Muiz Husain at Bihâr; Shams Nabi at Lucknow; Abdul

Malik at Bahrâich ; Sayyid Ajmal at Allahâbâd ; Shaikh Muhammad Jhanda at Budâun ; Sayyid Ahmad at Khuluaban; Sayyid Muhammad at Kâlpi ; Shâh Dâta at Bareilly ; Maulâna Sayyid Râji at Delhi. The date of the death of Shâh Madâr is 17 Jamâdi-ul-awwal 838 Hijri."

4. According to the best authorities[1] Shâh Madâr came to Makanpur in the reign of Ibrahîm Shâh Sharqi of Jaunpur. But the local legends would bring him to the time of Prithivi Râja of Delhi. Many wonderful legends are told of him. He is said to have had an interview with Shâh Muîn-ud-dîn Chishti from whom he demanded a place to live in. On this the Khwâja sent to the Shâh a cup of water full to the brim, by which he meant that there was no place available for his accommodation. The Shâh in reply placed a rose in the cup, implying that he would be a rose among the general body of Faqîrs. On this the Khwâja appointed as his residence the site of Makanpur which was then occupied by a demon named Makna Deo. Him the Shâh expelled and the place was called by his name.

5. Another legend tells that he used to practise the art of keeping in his breath (*habs dam*) which is still common among various classes of ascetics. At last he was supposed to be dead and his disciples carried him to his burial. But he sat up and called out that he was alive in the words *Dam dâram* and they replied *Dam maddr*, "Do not breathe." Whereupon he really died and was buried ; but he has since appeared from time to time in many places. By another story it was the Prophet Muhammad himself who gave him the power of retention of breath (*habs dam*) and hence arose his longevity, as the number of his respirations was diminished at pleasure. So he is said to have reached the age of 383 years when he died, and some say that he is still alive and so he is named Zinda Shâh Madâr. His devotees are said never to be scorched by fire and to be secure against the poison of venomous snakes and scorpions, the bites of which they have power to cure. Women who enter his shrine are said to be taken with violent pains as if they were being burnt alive, some of them leap into fire and trample it down with the cry *Dam Maddr ! Dam Madâr !* Mrs. Mîr Hasan Ali[2] tells a story of a party of drunken revellers who trespassed in his tomb, one of them became

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[1] Cunningham, *Archæological Reports*, XVII, 102, sq.
[2] *Observations on the Musalmâns of India*, II, 321, sq.

insensible and died. Dr. Herklots[1] describes the rite of Dhammâl Kûdna. They kindle a large heap of charcoal, and having sent for the Shâh Madâr Faqîrs, offer them a present. The latter perform Fâtiha, sprinkle sandal on the fire, and the chief of the band first jumps into it, calling out *Dam Madâr!* when the rest of them follow him and calling out *Dam Madâr! Dam Madâr!* tread out the fire. After that they have the feet of these Faqîrs washed with milk and sandal, and on examination of the probable injury, find that not a hair has been singed; and that they are as they were at first. They then throw garlands of flowers around their necks, offer them *sharbat*, food, etc. Some having vowed a black cow sacrifice it in the name of Shâh Badi-ud-dîn and distribute it in charity among Faqîrs. In some places they set up a standard (*alam*) in the name of Zinda Shâh Madâr and erect a black flag and perform his festival (*'urs*) and sit up and read his praises, have illuminations and perform religious vigils. This standard is left all the year in its original position and never removed as those of the Muharram are.

6. Some of the Madâris are family men (*takyadâr*) and lead a settled life; the Malangs lead a wandering life. Some have rent-free lands (*mu'âfi*) and cultivate or live by daily labour or by begging. Others, who are perhaps different from the true Madâris, go about with performing bears or monkeys or snakes and are jugglers and eaters of fire. They are wild looking people and rather resemble Nats and their vagrant brethren.

7. General Cunningham quotes one of the songs current at Makanpur, which is interesting in connection with what has been stated above.

Nahîn Salon, Kârê, Hilsê,
Nahîn Jât Bihâr, nahîn jât Bukhârê,
Ajmerê, Muner ko kaun ganê?
Ali aur hen Pîr anek barârê.
Jot akhandit, Mangal mandit, Shiu Pandit kavirâj pukârê.
Jâpar rîjhat hen kartâr,
So ânat duâr, Madâr, tihârê.

"Who goes to Salon (the tomb of Pîr Muhammad) Karra (the tomb of Shaikh Karrak), or Hilsa (the tomb of Jaman Shâh Madâri)? Who goes to Bihâr (the tomb of Shâh Makhdûm) or

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[1] *Qanûn i Islâm*, 158.

Bukhâra? Who cares for Ajmer (the tomb of Muîn-ud-dîn Chishti) or Muner (the tomb of Sharf-ud-dîn Muneri) when a greater saint is here? A brilliant light and a holy delight—so says Siva Pandit the poet—for he whom the Maker chooses to favour comes to the shrine of Madâr."

Distribution of the Maddris according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Dehra Dûn . . .	106	Jhânsi . . .	50
Sahâranpur . . .	4,571	Lalitpur . . .	33
Muzaffarnagar . .	2,391	Benares . . .	207
Bulandshahr . . .	2,235	Jaunpur . . .	1,917
Aligarh . . .	4,860	Ghâzipur . . .	1,273
Mathura . . .	2,787	Ballia	515
Agra	520	Gorakhpur . . .	4,488
Farrukhâbâd . .	1,702	Basti	13,083
Mainpuri . . .	2,022	Azamgarh . . .	8,564
Etâwah . . .	2,626	Tarâi	2,216
Etah	4,491	Lucknow . . .	2,816
Bareilly . . .	8,944	Unâo	3,936
Bijnor	6,970	Râê Bareli . . .	1,273
Budâun . . .	7,241	Sitapur . . .	5,671
Morâdâbâd . . .	7,474	Hardoi . . .	6,716
Shâhjahânpur . .	2,234	Kheri	4,529
Pilibhît . . .	2,510	Faizâbâd . . .	2,206
Cawnpur . . .	2,046	Gonda	10,277
Fatehpur . . .	2,428	Bahrâich . . .	5,051
Bânda	275	Sultânpur . . .	928
Hamirpur . . .	87	Partâbgarh . . .	985
Allahâbâd . . .	3,990	Barâbanki . . .	3,518
		Total .	148,662

Mahâbrâhman[1] —"Great Brâhman", a term used in ridicule or contempt for the class of Brâhmans who receive the funeral gifts. He is also known as Mahâpâtra or "prime minister," and Kantaha or Kataha, "snappish." In Gorakhpur, according to Dr. Buchanan,[2] they are called Karataha or "Brâhmans, like crows, that is, who follow carcasses."

2. Of their origin there is no satisfactory account; but it may be reasonably suspected from their appearance and functions that they are an occupational tribe of some menial origin who were introduced into Brâhmanism. They, of course, claim to be real Brâhmans, and the comparatively small number of them recorded at the last Census is almost certainly due to their repugnance to the use of the contemptuous term by which they are commonly known. They have simply recorded themselves as Brâhmans without further distinction. By one account they are descended from Drona Achârya, the instructor in the military arts of both the Kaurava and Pândava princes. Hence, in Bombay and Rajputâna, they are usually known as Achârja or Achârya. By another story when Dasaratha died there was no son present to perform the funeral rites. So a Brâhman took charge of the corpse till Bhârata arrived who did the ceremony and then gave the clothes of the king to the Brâhman as a reward. The Brâhman objected to receive the gift, but was induced to do so on the advice of Vasishtha. When Râma came and heard what had happened he blessed the Brâhman and told him that no one could complete the death rites of his father unless he worshipped this Brâhman and his descendants on the eleventh day after the death. By another account again, the Brâhmans and Kshatriyas once met together to decide who should receive the various kinds of gifts (*dâna*). Those families who agreed to accept the funeral offerings were cut off from other Brâhmans and have been degraded ever since.

3. Every tribe of Brâhmans, the Gaur, Kanaujiya, Sarwariya, and so on, have each their own Mahâpâtras. They follow the ordinary Brâhmanical *gotras*. Thus in Gorakhpur the Mahâpâtras of Pargana Dhuriyapâr belong to the Sândilya *gotra*, one of the three highest classes of Brâhmans. All grades of people accept them as

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[1] Based on notes by M. Ramsaran Dâs, Faizabad: M. Mahadeva Prasâd, Headmaster, Zilla School, Pilibhit: and Pandit Râmgharib Chaubé.

[2] *Eastern India*, II, 497.

MAHÅBRÅHMAN.

their funeral priests. Mahâpâtras are endogamous and avoid their own *gotra* and the same prohibited degrees in marriage as ordinary Brâhmans. They have their parish or circle of constituents (*jajmâni*) like the ordinary Purohits. They themselves employ Brâhman priests; but are always regarded with some contempt.

4. The special function of the Mahâbrâhman is the receiving of the funeral offerings, consisting of the clothes, jewelry, furniture, and other things belonging to the dead man. By his vicariously wearing and using these the theory is that the soul is provided with necessaries and luxuries in the next world. Hence, it is needless to say, the Mahâbrâhman from his association with death, is regarded as an ill-omened personage. No Hindu will mention his name in the morning before breakfast; in the Panjâb he rides on an ass, people are very chary about meeting them on the road, and when an official is receiving petitions the voice of a Mahâbrâhman answering his name makes all those in his neighbourhood give way and draw in their skirts. It is chaff against him that he watches the mortuary register for the death of a rich Mahâjan.

Distribution of the Mahâbrâhmans according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Achârj	Kanaujiya.	Sarwariya.	Others.	Total.
Dehra Dûn . .	...	...	...	59	59
Sahâranpur . .	673	...	...	193	866
Muzaffarnagar . .	426	...	...	219	645
Bulandshahr . .	350	...	...	246	596
Aligarh . . .	...	...	...	39	39
Mathura . . .	...	...	...	204	204
Agra	...	...	...	63	63
FarrukhAbad . .	...	...	...	22	22
Mainpuri . . .	...	...	...	129	129
Etâwah . . .	...	...	...	92	92
Etah	...	...	...	9	9
Bareilly . . .	...	12	...	121	133

Distribution of the Mahâbrâhmans according to the Census of 1891—contd.

Districts.	Achârj.	Kananjiya.	Sarwariya.	Others.	Total.
Bijnor . . .	309	...	...	...	309
Budâun . . .	...	...	...	230	230
Morâdâbâd . . .	3	...	...	559	562
Shâhjahânpur . .	15	...	...	291	306
Pilibhît . . .	300	29	...	64	393
Cawnpur . . .	...	...	...	30	30
Fatehpur . . .	...	...	...	39	39
Bânda . . .	...	120	85	216	421
Hamîrpur . . .	...	...	...	4	4
Allahâbâd . . .	...	...	25	4	29
Benares . . .	...	...	...	704	704
Mirzapur . . .	...	...	...	199	199
Jaunpur . . .	...	...	...	359	359
Ghâzipur . . .	...	...	...	2,188	2,188
Ballia . . .	...	...	...	3,261	3,261
Gorakhpur . . .	...	...	559	868	1,427
Basti . . .	...	...	...	153	153
Azamgarh . . .	...	26	1,025	329	1,380
Tarâi . . .	...	...	...	11	11
Lucknow . . .	6	159	1	112	278
Unâo . . .	...	98	...	52	150
Râê Bareli . . .	...	...	...	414	414
Sîtapur . . .	710	2	...	236	948
Hardoi . . .	...	...	...	531	531
Kheri . . .	224	73	...	97	394
FaizAbâd . . .	...	...	...	219	219
Gonda . . .	...	...	...	204	204

Distribution of the Mahâbrâhmans according to the Census of 1891—concld.

Districts.	Achârj.	Kanaujiya.	Sarwariya.	Others.	Total.
Bahraich . . .	...	...	3	477	480
Sultânpur . . .	...	...	606	51	657
Partâbgarh . . .	...	...	485	...	485
Bârabanki . . .	...	88	83	86	207
Total	3,016	557	2,872	13,384	19,829

Mahâjan (*mahâ*, "great;" *jan* Sanskrit *jana*, "man") a term generally applied to the higher class of banker and money lender, a title of a sub-caste of Banyas. Those in Etah are said to be descended from a Mahâjan and a Dhobi woman. The higher sub-castes of Banyas will not in consequence drink from their vessels. They are believed to have originally come from Mathura. They have *gotras*—Mâhur, Gulahri, Tînwâla, Kalâr, and Satwâla. The Tînwâla and Kalâr take liquor shops.

Distribution of Mahâjans according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Bulandshahr . .	303	Budâun . . .	13,140
Aligarh . . .	6,024	Morâdâbâd . . .	57
Agra . . .	722	Shâhjahânpur . .	9,142
Farrukhâbâd . .	15,988	Pilibhît . . .	642
Mainpuri . . .	15,995	Cawnpur . . .	1
Etâwah . . .	11,298	Jâlaun . . .	18
Etah	14,841	Tarâi . .	272
Bareilly . . .	2,769	Kheri . . .	2
		Total .	91,214

Mahârâshtra—"The great country," a local group of Brâhmans who occupy what is known as the Marhâta country. It is to be remarked that in some of the Purânas the form used is **Mallarâshtra** and its name has been interpreted as "the country of

the Mahârs," a tribe of outcastes still found there. They have been identified with the Porauuroi of Ptolemy. Their principal settlement in these provinces is at Benares where they hold a very high rank for learning and theology. Dr. Wilson,[1] who gives a very full account of them, treats them under the heads of Desashtha; Konkanastha; Karhâda, about whom there is a curious tradition of human sacrifice; Kânva; Madhyandina, who are perhaps referred to in Arrian;[2] Pâdhya; Devarukha; Palâsa; Kîrvanta; Tirgula; Javala; Abhîra; Sâvasa; Hasta; Kunda; Rânda Golika; Brâhman Jais; Sopâra; Khisti; Husaini; Kalanki; Shenavi.

Distribution of Makârâshtra Brâhmans according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Sahâranpur	9	Fatehpur	4
Muzaffarnagar	20	Bânda	118
Bulandshahr	3	Hamîrpur	75
Aligarh	5	Allahâbâd	1
Mathura	100	Jhânsi	211
Agra	141	Jâlaun	559
Farrukhâbâd	8	Lalitpur	1
Mainpuri	63	Benares	2,263
Etâwah	4	Ghâzipur	71
Bareilly	4	Gorakhpur	13
Bijnor	11	Basti	8
Budâun	13	Kumaun	243
Morâdâbâd	39	Garhwâl	63
Shâhjahânpur	43	Tarâi	175
Pilibhît	2	Lucknow	2
Cawnpur	29	Gonda	5
		Total	4,600

[1] *Indian Caste*, II, 17, sqq.

[2] McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, 186; Max Müller, *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 333, 106: Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, 106; Oppert, *Original inhabitants of Bharatavarsa*, 22.

Mahesri, Maheswari[1] (*Mahesa*, "the great lord," an epithet of Siva) a sub-caste of Banyas found chiefly in the Western Districts. The Mahesris of these Provinces connect their origin with a place called Didwâna in the Jeypur State. By one form of the legend Sujât Sen, Râja of Khandela in Jaypur, had no son. The Pandits directed him to go into the forest and told him that by digging under a certain tree he would find an image of Mahâdeva, and that then he would have a son. The Râja did as he was told, and finding the image requested Mahâdeva to give him a son. The god granted his prayer, and while his heir was still a boy the Râja died. One day the prince went to hunt in the forest and there came upon a party of Rishis engaged in their austerities. There was a tank close by where the prince and his followers washed their weapons; whereupon the water became as red as blood. The Rishis believed that the prince and his followers were Râkshasas; so to prevent them from doing any harm they built a fort of iron round them. This fort stands to the present day and is known as Lohâgarh or "the iron fort." Immediately out of the fort came a voice saying "Strike! Strike!" (*már! már!*). The Râja went to see what this voice meant and when the Rishis saw him they cursed him and his seventy-two followers, and they were turned into stone. When the Rânis heard of the fate of the prince they started for Lohâgarh intending to become Sati with him. But when they had erected the funeral pyre and were about to mount it, Siva appeared and gratified at their devotion, stopped the sacrifice. Then he turned the stones into men again, and told them to give up the profession of arms and take to trade. After that the Râja became their tribal bard (Bhât or Jâga) and from his followers were formed the seventy-two *gotras* of the Maheswaris. By another form of the story the prince tried to force his way into the sacred ground in order to witness a sacrifice which the Rishis were about to perform, when they were turned into stone and revived by Siva at the intercession of Pârvati. They got the name of Maheswari because they were brought to life by Mahesa or Siva.

Internal structure.

2. It has been found impossible to procure a full list of the seventy-two *gotras* in these provinces. The following list has been prepared from two

[1] Based on enquiries at Mirzapur, and a note by the Deputy Inspector of Schools, Pilibhit.

imperfect lists, one from Mirzapur, the other from Pilibhît:— Ajmeri; Augar; Bahari; Baldua; Bângar or Bânghar; Baryal; Begi; Bhandâri; Bhutra; Bihâni; Binnâni; Chandak; Chitlângya; Dâga; Dammâri; Daurâni; Dhut; Heriya; Jagu; Jharkat; Kabara; Kallâni; Kankani; Karnâni; Khânsat; Khokhata; Khyalya; Kothâri; Laddha; Lakhautiya; Lohiya; Mal; Malpânrê; Mâlu; Mantri; Marada; Marudharân; Mundhara; Natharin; Nishkalank; Partâni; Parwâl; Pûndpâliya; Râthi; Sâbu; Sadhara; Saudhâni; Shikchi; Somâni; Soni; Tapariya; Tosaniwâl; Totala.

Religion and customs.

3. Maheswaris are very careful in the observance of all Hindu customs. They are very often initiated into the Vallabha Samprâdaya. Their priests are Gaur Brâhmans who come from the country of their origin. Gaur Brâhmans will eat *kachchi* and *pakki* from their hands and so will Agarwâlas. Maheswaris are noted for their charity and the regard they pay to Brâhmans and ascetics. They partake of no food without dedicating some of it to Krishnaji.

The western branch.

4. Among the Maheswaris of Rajputâna there is a remarkable custom connected with marriage. The bride's maternal uncle, on the bridegroom entering the house of the bride, catches her up in his arms and takes her round the bridegroom seven times.[1] In Bombay[2] the Meshri Vânyas are divided into Modhs who take their name from Modhera in Parântij; Dasa and Vîsa Goghua; Dasa and Vîsa Adâliya and Dasa and Vîsa Mandâliya. The Dasa and Vîsa Goghua and the Dasa and Vîsa Adâliya intermarry in Kachh and Kâthiawâr. They are very careful to visit the shrine of their family goddess Bhadrârika at Modhera. Though they claim the right to do so, all do not wear the sacred thread. Widow marriage is forbidden and polygamy is practised only when the first wife proves barren. At marriages, except among the Mandâliyas, Modh bridegrooms wear the sword. The proper Maheswaris claim descent from Nagor in Thar. They chiefly deal in clarified butter, oil, sugar and molasses. Vaishnavas by name, but with goddesses as their family guardians, their hereditary priests are Pâliwâl Brâhmans, though of late some Pokarnas have by purchase secured their patronage. Practising neither polygamy nor widow marriage, they are peculiar in not

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[1] *Rajputâna Gazetteer*, II, 251.
[2] *Bombay Gazetteer*, V, 50, sq.

allowing their women to join the marriage party that goes to fetch the bride.

Distribution of Maheswari Banyas by the Census, 1891.

Districts	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Sahâranpur . . .	247	Bânda . . .	16
Muzaffarnagar . .	737	Hamîrpur . . .	62
Meerut	1,066	Jhânsi . . .	152
Bulandshahr . . .	597	Jâlaun . . .	148
Aligarh	2,040	Lalitpur . . .	19
Mathura . . .	733	Benares . . .	225
Agra	490	Mirzapur . . .	76
Farrukhâbâd . . .	11	Ghâzipur . .	21
Etâwah . . .	603	Azamgarh . . .	38
Etah	549	Tarâi	120
Bareilly . . .	249	Unâo . . .	15
Budâun . . .	265	Khori	15
Moradâbâd . . .	493	Faizâbâd . . .	2
Cawnpur . . .	21	Sultânpur . . .	6
Fatehpur . . .	4	Total .	9,010

Mahror.—A Râjput sept in Oudh, who by one account were originally Kahârs, and their name is said to have been changed from Mahra to Mahror by Tilok Chand.[1]

Mâhur.—A sub-caste of Banyas principally found in the Western Districts. Of the Mâhuri of Behâr who are probably identical with them, Mr. Risley[2] says that they "occupy nearly the same rank as Agarwâlas in social estimation. Like the Sikhs, the Mâhuris strictly prohibit the use of tobacco, and a man detected smoking would be expelled from the community. Another peculiar usage is that marriages are always celebrated at the bridegroom's house, and not at the bride's. Trade and money lending are the

[1] Elliott, *Chronicles of Unão*, 62 · *Oudh Gazetteer*, III, 227, 330.
[2] *Tribes and Castes*, II, 44.

proper occupations of the Mâhuri. Some of them have acquired substantial tenures and set up as landlords."

Distribution of Mâhurs according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Sahâranpur . . .	6	Hamîrpur . . .	12
Muzaffarnagar . .	2	Allahâbâd . . .	2
Meerut . . .	12	Jhânsi . . .	126
Bulandshahr . .	289	Jâlaun	139
Aligarh . .	961	Lalitpur . . .	1
Mathura . . .	1,063	Benares . .	22
Agra	6,374	Ghâzipur . . .	3
Etâwah . . .	14	Tarâi	20
Etah	37	Lucknow . . .	1
Bareilly . . .	3,463	Unâo	64
Budâun . . .	16	Râê Bareli . . .	9
Morâdâbâd . . .	1,664	Sîtapur . . .	176
Shâhjahânpur . .	1,148	Hardoi . . .	281
Pilibhît . . .	1,135	Kheri . . .	407
Cawnpur . . .	27	Bahrâich . . .	5
Fatehpur . . .	2	Total .	17,482

Maithila.—A local tribe of Brâhmans who take their name from Mithila, the kingdom of Janaka, father of Sîta, and now comprising the modern Districts of Sâran, Muzaffarpur, Darbangah Puraniya, and part of Nepâl.

2. Of this branch of Brâhmans Mr. Risley writes [1] :—"The Maithila or Tirhûtiya Brâhmans rank among the Pancha Gaur. Dr. Wilson, following Mr. Colebrooke, observes that fewer distinctions are recognised among the Maithila Brâhmans than among any other of the great divisions of Brâhmans in India. This statement needs to be qualified. It is true that the Maithila have no endogamous

[1] *Tribes and Castes*, I, 158.

divisions, but their exogamous groups are peculiarly numerous and complex, and they have a complete hypergamous system. For the latter purpose the caste is divided into five groups—Srotiya or Sotê, Jog, Panjibaddh, Nâgar, and Jaiwâr, which take rank in this order. A man of the Srotiya group may take a wife from the lower groups and is usually paid a considerable sum of money for doing so; but he loses in social estimation by the match, and the children of such unions, though higher than the class from which their mothers came, are nevertheless not deemed to be socially equal to the members of their father's class. The same rule applies to the other classes in descending order; each may take wives from the group below it. The principle of this rule is the same as that followed by Manu in laying down the matrimonial relations of the four original castes, and in its earliest form it seems to have gone the full length of forbidding a woman of a higher group to marry a man of a lower group. It is important, however, to notice that in Bihâr the rule is now much less stringent and rigid than in Bengal. Although it is admitted to be the right thing for a girl to marry within her own group or in a higher group, it is not absolutely obligatory for her to do so, and cases do occur in which a girl of a higher class marries a man of a lower class in consideration of a substantial bride-price being paid to her parents. The comparative laxity of Bihâr practice in this respect may be due partly to the character of the people, and partly to the fact that caste observances in that part of the country have never been laid down by a superior authority, such as Ballâl Sen, but have been settled by the people themselves at regular meetings held with that object. It is well known that the leading members of the Maithila sub-caste with their Pandits, their genealogists, and their marriage brokers, come together in many places in Tirhût for the purpose of settling disputed questions of caste custom and of arranging marriages. A community which has five hypergamous classes and a double series of exogamous groups, one based on locality and the other on mythical ancestry, and at the same time attaches great importance to purity of blood, may well find it necessary to take stock of its arrangements from time to time and to see whether the rules are being obeyed.

3. "Among the Maithila Brâhmans of Bihâr, as among the Kulins of Bengal, the bride-price familiar to students of early tradition has given place to the bridegroom-price, which hypergamy tends necessarily to develop. Polygamy, formerly characteristic of the

Bengal Kulin, is practised in Bihâr in much the same form by the Bikauwa or 'vendor', a class of Maithila Brâhmans who derive their name from the practice of selling themselves, or more rarely their minor sons, to the daughters of the lower groups of the series given above. Usually the Bikauwas belong to the Jog and Panji-baddh classes, and comparatively few of them are found among the Srotiya and Nâgar groups. Some have as many as forty or fifty wives, who live with their own parents and are visited at intervals by their husbands. Bikauwa Brâhmans who have married into the lower classes are not received on equal terms by the members of their own class, but the women whom they marry consider themselves raised by the alliance. The price paid for a Bikauwa varies according to the class to which he belongs and the means of the family of the girl whom he is to marry. It may be as little as twenty rupees; it has been known to rise as high as six thousand rupees."

4. The Census shows that the males bear a considerable disproportion to the females—815 to 515—though, of course, they do not practise infanticide.

Distribution of Maithila Brâhmans according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Sahâranpur . . .	4	Allahâbâd . . .	14
Muzaffarnagar . .	6	Jhânsi . . .	69
Bulandshahr . . .	11	Benares . .	203
Aligarh . . .	127	Ghâzipur . . .	20
Mathura . . .	239	Gorakhpur . . .	171
Agra	49	Basti	100
Mainpuri . . .	62	Garhwâl . . .	14
Etah	61	Tarâi	10
Bareilly . . .	29	Lucknow . . .	2
Shâhjahânpur . .	11	Sîtapur . . .	18
Cawnpur . . .	13	Bahrâich . . .	11
Fatehpur . . .	18	Sultânpur . . .	34
Bânda . . .	33	Bârabanki . . .	1
		Total .	1,230

MAJHWÂR.

Majhwâr, Mânjhi, Gond Majhwâr, an aboriginal tribe of Dravidian origin found in the hill country of South Mirzapur.—The word Mânjhi or Majhwâr (Sanskrit *madhya* = "in the middle, midmost") means "leader" or "headman," and is commonly used among the Santâls and Mundas in this sense.[1] The name Gond, according to Mr. Hislop,[2] is the same word as Khând, and Kondu in Telegu meaning "mountain," the term Gond is equivalent to "hill people."

2. Their appearance is of the ordinary Gond type. They answer to the description given by Captain Forsyth[3] of the aborigines of the Central Indian Highlands:—"Entirely naked, with the exception of a very dingy, and often terribly scanty, strip of cloth round the middle, there was no difficulty in detecting the points that mark the aborigines. They were all of low stature, the Korkus perhaps averaging an inch or two higher than the Gonds, who seldom exceed 5 feet 2 inches: the colour, generally, a very dark brown, almost black in many individuals, though never reaching the sooty blackness of the Negro. Among the Gonds a lighter brown tint was not uncommon. In features both races are almost identical: the face being flat, forehead low, nose flat on the bridge, with open protuberant nostrils; lips heavy and large, but the jaw usually well formed and not prominent like that of the Negro, the hair on the face generally very scanty, but made up for by a bushy shock of straight black hair. In form they are generally well made, muscular about the shoulders and thighs, with lean, sinewy forearm and lower leg. The expression of face is rather stolid though good humoured. Some of the younger men might almost be called handsome—of the thin pattern,—but the elders have generally a coarse, weather-beaten aspect, which is not attractive. All the men present carried little axes, without which they never stir into the forest, and many had spears besides." This fairly represents the Mirzapur Mânjhis, who have broader heads and coarser-made noses than the Kols or Pankas. Among the Mânjhis, the nose is particularly wide at the base and narrows to a pointed tip. Their height is rather greater than that of the Central Indian

Appearance.

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[1] Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 208; Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, II. 101; Ball, *Jungle Life*, 24. The Mânjhis do not appear in the last Census list and were possibly classed as Gonds or Kharwârs—they number 16,202 in Dudhi, 2,787 in Agori, and 2,316 in Singrawli of the Mirzapur District.

[2] *Papers relating to Aboriginal Tribes*, 4.

[3] *Highlands of Central India*, 125.

Gonds. The average is about 5 feet 4 inches, but some are as much as 5 feet 5 inches. Like other savages[1] they fail to appreciate, what is in our eyes, the higher type of Aryan beauty. The clothing of the Mirzapur Mânjhis is much superior in amount and quality to that of the Central Indian Gonds.

Tribal organization.

3. The Mânjhis of South Mirzapur are divided into five exogamous sub-divisions, each of which includes a number of totemistic septs. Each of these endogamous sub-divisions is named from the leading sept. They say that there was once a Gond who had five sons, from whom these sub-divisions are descended. Many of these sub-divisions and septs can be identified with those now existing among the Gonds and other Dravidian races. The five exogamous sub-divisions are Poiya, Tekâm or Tekma, Marâi, Oika or Waika, and Olku. The Poiya, which is a sept of the Bengal Gonds,[2] includes five sections: Markâm, Poiya, Kusro, Neti, and Sirso. The Poiya are said to take their name from the *pawai* tree, out of a leaf of which they believe themselves to have been born, and which they will not cut or burn. The Kusro is also a Gondi sept in Bengal and the Central Provinces.[3] The Markâm is also a sub-division of the Agariyas. The word means "a tortoise," which this sept will not kill or eat. It also appears among the Gonds of the Central Provinces.[4] The other septs of this sub-division have not been identified, but are probably both Gondi and of totemestic origin. The second sub-division includes the Tekâm or Tekma, Marpachi, Netâm, Posâm, Kariyâm, Sindrâm, Korâm, Oima, Dadâichi, Koâichi, Ulangwati, and Kârgoti. Many of these are both Gondi and totemistic, as will, probably on further enquiry in the Central Indian hills, be found to be the case with all. Thus Tekâm is a Gond sept.[5] Marpachi is possibly equivalent to the Narpachi of Mr. Hislop.[6] Netâm or Naitâm is a Gond sept derived from a word meaning "tortoise," which is the totem.[7] Posâm is possibly derived from

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[1] Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 257.
[2] Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, II, *App.* 54.
[3] Risley *Tribes and Castes*, II, *App.* 54; Hislop, *Papers*, *App.* p. ii.
[4] Hislop, *Papers*, *App.* ii; *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 273.
[5] Hislop, *Papers*, *App.* ii; *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 138, 273.
[6] *Loc cit.*
[7] *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 139; Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, II, *App.* 54; Hislop, *loc cit.*

the Gond *pussi* or "cat," and is a sept among the Mundas of Bengal.[1] Similarly, the Sindrâm apparently take their name from *Sindra*, "a lizard," which is recorded as a Kolami word in Mr. Hislop's vocabularies. Dadâichi is possibly equivalent to the Dadave of Mr. Hislop's list.[2] Koâichi is probably the Kowa or Kawâchi of the Central Provinces,[3] and may be connected with Koa, a "silk cocoon," which gives its name to one of the Munda septs.[4] In the third or Marâi sub-division the septs are Soiyâm or Soima, Sarotiya, Pandaru, Karpê, Kussenga, Purkela, Masrâm, Armor, Arpatti, and Kârpatti. Many of these, and probably all, are both Gondi and totemistic. Thus Marâi reminds us of the Marâni or Marâwi Gond sub-divisions in the Central Provinces, as well as of the tribe of Mâri Gonds, and may be connected with the Gondi Mâra, "a tree," which appears in Mr. Hislop's vocabulary.[5] Sarota, again, is a Gond sept.[6] Soiyâm or Soima, a title possibly connected with the Suiya bird, which is held in high respect and used as a predictor of omens by all these allied races, is a sept of Râj Gonds in the Central Provinces and among the Kharwârs, Bediyas, and Mundas of Bengal.[7] Again, Pandarâm, a Central Provinces Gond sept, and Pânru, a totemistic Lohâr sept in Chota Nâgpur, remind us of the Pandaru of the Mânjhis.[8] Karsenga, Masrâm, and Armor must also be closely connected with the Gond septs of Kursenga, Mesrâm, and Armor.[9] In the fourth or Waika sub-division the septs are nine in number: Waika, Korâm, Armu, Pâwalê, Chîchâm, Walariya, Otê, Urrê, and Salâm. Of these the Korâm, Waika, Armu, Pâwale, Chîchâm, Otê, Urrê, and Salâm are undoubtedly analogous to the Kolâm, Wuika, Chichain, Watti, Wurê, and Salâm of the Central Provinces Gonds.[10] The Korâm sept again appears among the Gonds of Sarguja and Uriâr among the Bengal Kharwârs.[11] In the fifth and last sub-division the septs are Olku, Portê, Kôrcho, Kâmro, Sumer, Jaitha, and Sâhjad.

[1] Risley, *loc. cit.* Pussi is apparently our English Pussy.
[2] *Loc. cit.*, 4.
[3] *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 138, 139.
[4] Risley, *loc. cit.*, II, 106.
[5] *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 137, 138, 139; Hislop, *Papers*, 7.
[6] Hislop, *loc. cit.*, *App.* I; *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 273.
[7] *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 139; Risley *loc. cit.*, II, *App.* 8: 79, *App.* 108.
[8] Hislop, *loc. cit.*, *App.* II; Risley, *loc. cit.*, II, *App.* 95.
[9] *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 137, 138, 139, 273. Armor appears to give its name, to the town of Armori in the Chânda District.
[10] *Gazetteer*, 273, 137, 138, 139; Hislop, 10, 11. *App.*; 46, *App.* II.
[11] Dalton, *Ethnology*, 278; Risley, *loc. cit.*, II, 79.

Of these Korcho is certainly a Gond sept,[1] and Portê is most probably identical with the Purthi of the Hos and the Porti of the Mundas, among whom it is said to mean a crocodile.[2] The septs of Sumer, Jaitha, and Sâhjad would appear to mark Hindu influence, if they respectively imply a connection with the holy mountain of Meru, the Hindu Jetha or "superior," and Sâhjaddi or "the descendants of the banker."

Traditions.

4. A large number of these totemistic septs still retain traditions of emigration from the Western hills from Jabalpur and the head-waters of the Son and Narbada rivers. They represent themselves as having come from a series of forts (*garh*), which can be recognised along the line of the Western Vindhyan and Kaimûr ranges. Thus, they are agreed that of the five brothers, Marâi was the greatest and ruled in Mandlagarh or Mandla, which was a noted Gond fortress.[3] So the Marpachi came from Sârangarh in Sambalpur; the Netâm from Sonagarh, which may be Sonagâon, in Wardha; the Sarota from Gârhagarh, which is possibly Garha, in Jabalpur; the Korcho from Phuljhargarh in Sambalpur; the Urrê from Jhanjhnagargarh, of which Jhânsigarh, or the fort of Jhânsi, is a variant; the Oima from Maruagarh, which may be Mâru, in Bilâspur; the Portê from Râêgarh in Sambalpur; the Poiya from Patnagarh in Sambalpur; the Kariyâm from Khairagarh in Chhattîsgarh; the Posâm from Ujjaingarh in Gwâlior; the Tekâm from Lânjigarh in Bâlaghât; and the Armu from Chândagarh, the head-quarters of the district of that name. Search has hitherto failed to identify Bilârogarh, the head-quarters of the Korâm, Dantagarh of the Markâm, Moharagarh of the Kusro, Chinwilgarh of the Armor, and Saidagarh of the Arpatti; but they are all doubtless to be found somewhere along the Western hills in Rîwa or the Central Provinces.

Totemism.

5. Besides the evidence from the names of the septs, there is ample proof that the basis of the tribal organization is totemistic. Thus they have a legend that the five ancestors of the sub-divisions once crossed a river on the way to a feast, and three of them returned on a raft. Meanwhile the river rose, and the other two brothers were unable to cross, when a tortoise (*kachhua*) took them up on its back and ferried

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[1] *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 273.
[2] Dalton, *loc. cit.*, 189; Risley, *loc. cit.*, II, 107.
[3] *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 191, 286; Dalton, *loc. cit.*, 275.

them over. These two men were the ancestors of the Poiya and Tekâm sub-divisions, which to this day worship the tortoise, and will not injure or kill it.

6. They fix the date of their emigration into the Mirzapur Parganas of Dudhi and Singrauli, and the native state of Sarguja, at about ten generations ago. They maintain their connection with their native land by occasional pilgrimages to shrines at Sâranggarh and Maruagarh. They have a legend that when Râmchandra broke the famous bow at the court of Janaka, King of Videha, in Mithila, its pieces fell in four places, to the site of one of which, on the banks of the Narbada, they still resort for pilgrimage. The Gond connection is again kept up by the common worship of the national deities Bûrha Deo or Ningo, and his attendant Bâghiya. They say that there is a temple and images of these tribal gods at their place of pilgrimage on the Narbada. Here, in the land of their wanderings, Ningo resides, either in the common village shrine (*Deohár*), or in some ancient *sál* tree, which no Mânjhi will cut or injure.

Emigration.

7. The totemistic septs already named are exogamous. No one can marry in his own sept or *Kuri*, but it is obvious that this rule fails to prevent the marriage of near of kin, and so the more advanced members of the tribe have begun to reinforce it with the standard formula—*chachera, mamera, phuphera, mausera*, which bars the line of the paternal uncle, maternal uncle, paternal aunt, and maternal aunt: but the more primitive Mânjhis adhere to the old Gond rule[1] by which first-cousins, provided they are not the offspring of two sisters, by preference intermarry, and it is a taunt against them that, in defiance of Hindu custom, a man is not debarred from joking (*dillagi*) with the daughter of his own daughter.

Rules of exogamy.

8. Hypergamy so far prevails that the Poiya sept will not intermarry or eat with the Sarota, whom they consider inferior to themselves. They explain this by a curious legend which recalls the time when the tribe lived by hunting. A man of the Poiya sept had a hound which he prized so much that he used to feed it every day out of a new earthen vessel. One day a man of the Sarota sept asked him for

Hypergamy.

[1] For this rule among the real Gonds see *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 276; For ayth, *Highlands of Central India*, 158. The custom is referred to by Westermark *History of Human Marriage*, 207, and Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*, 154.

the loan of the dog, and when the animal was put in his charge, contrary to the injunctions of its master, he fed it upon scraps, and the animal went mad. The Poiya was so angry that he seized the Sarota, and, harnessing him to a plough, made him drag it through a field. Since then the Poiyas have taken an oath not to eat with or intermarry with a Sarota, because they are no better than oxen.

Tribal council.

9. They have a tribal council (*panchâyat*) at which every householder has a seat. This assembles on occasions when the brotherhood collect for marriages or funerals. When any caste matter, such as cases regarding marriage, adultery, eating with inferior castes, etc., has to be decided, the meeting is convened through the Patâri or tribal priest. At each meeting the oldest or most respectable member present is appointed chairman (*sarpanch* or *gânwha*). Offences against morality are punished by excommunication, which may be for as long as twelve years. Restoration to caste can only be effected by feeding the clansmen on goat's flesh and rice. The number of dinners to be given depends on the gravity of the offence. Disobedience to the orders of the council involves summary excommunication, and the offender has to pay a money fine in addition to giving a tribal dinner. Young men, if convicted of an offence, receive a shoe-beating under sentence of the caste tribunal. Witnesses in the case must belong to the caste. No oath is administered, but perjury before the council involves excommunication. When a man keeps an unmarried woman, or a woman intrigues with an unmarried man, the penalty of excommunication is rigidly enforced, and they can be restored only on payment of the fine and providing a dinner for the clansmen. In such cases if a man, through poverty or wilfulness, refuses to accept the orders of the council, and illegitimate children are born to him, their parents are unable to get them married in the tribe. In order to avoid this, the children often themselves pay the tribal fine and get their parents married in their old age. The marriage ceremony is performed in the usual way, they are restored to caste, and their children can be married in the tribe. If the illegitimate child happen to be a daughter, she of course cannot find the cost of getting her parents married and restored to caste. But her father's brother, or his son, is permitted to take her into his family and get her married in the regular way. She then obtains full rank in the tribe, but she is not allowed to visit her parents or eat in their house.

Marriage.

10. As long as the conditions of exogamy are observed, variations in social position, distance of residence, or differences in religious practice or occupation are not a bar to marriage. But it is essential that they should generally observe the same religion. They have not the distinct survivals of marriage by capture as found among the regular Gonds;[1] but connected with this is a special ceremony of *confarreatio*, by which the bride is not allowed to enter the house of her husband until he and she sit outside and join in eating rice milk, and boiled rice. As with the regular Gonds, monogamy is the general rule;[2] and, among ordinary people, only one wife is taken, unless she happens to be barren, when, as is usual among savage races,[3] a second woman is taken in marriage. But there is, among the better class of Mânjhis, no prejudice against polygamy; in fact it is considered respectable. The women do considerable field or other work, and hence their services are valued. There is a man at present in Dudhi who has seven wives. When there are more wives than one, they always live amicably together, because the more wives a man has the easier they get through the severe labour which falls to their lot.[4] The rights of the senior wife are always respected: she rules the household, and is treated with consideration at social meetings. Concubines are allowed in some places, but the general feeling is against the practice. Polyandry is absolutely forbidden, and even the idea is considered most repulsive. Unmarried girls are allowed considerable liberty, and tend cattle, and run about the village, and visit the houses of clansmen. Intertribal immorality is lightly punished. The father of the girl or her paramour, if he can afford it, has to pay a fine of two maunds of *kodo* millet and a feed of boiled rice and goat's flesh to the clansmen. Then the girl is made over by a sort of informal marriage to her lover, and both are admitted to full caste rights. But, if she is detected in an intrigue with a man of another caste, she is permanently excommunicated, and she can go and live with her paramour as his concubine if his tribesmen will allow it, or settle down apart from her family, and make her living as best she can.

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[1] Hislop, *loc. cit.*, 11.

[2] *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 106, 278.

[3] Westermark, *loc. cit.*, 488.

[4] On this see Westermark, *loc. cit.*, 491, 492, 495, 496; Letourneau, *Evolution of Marriage*, 130, *sq.*; Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, I, 657.

Marriage preliminaries.

11. It is characteristic of the Mânjhis, like all Gonds,[1] that infant marriage is not the rule. Like all savages, maturity comes at an early age.[2] The usual age is sixteen for males and twelve for girls. There is no trace of the Gond custom of taking omens to determine the expediency of a match.[3] The negotiations are carried out by the Patâri, or tribal priest, and by preference the moonlight fortnight of the month is selected for the purpose. After the Patâri has selected the girl, the bridegroom's friends visit her house, and inspect her carefully to satisfy themselves that she has no mental or bodily defect. The consent of the parents on both sides is essential, and it is only in very exceptional cases that the parties exercise any right of choice.

Beena marriage.

12. When the bridegroom is poor, the arrangement sometimes takes the form of what is known to Ethnologists as the Beena marriage, in which the bridegroom serves her father a certain number of years for his bride. This is known as "the son-in-law-at-home" (*ghar-jaiyân*). The practice is very common among Gonds and the allied tribes like the Kurkus.[4] While undergoing his period of probation, the youth is carefully excluded from the society of his future bride and lives in an outhouse apart from the family. The practice, which necessarily implies poverty on both sides, involves some social discredit. But, so far as it exists in combination with intertribal license, it tends to check polygamy.[5]

Betrothal.

13. When the preliminary marriage arrangements are complete, the bridegroom's friends take some cakes (*pûri*) to the bride's house. The clansmen resident in the village are summoned. Then the two fathers put their hands together, and a leaf platter (*dauna*) full of liquor[6] is placed into the hands of each: these vessels they exchange, and then get

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[1] Hislop, *loc. cit.*, 8.

[2] Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, I, 51.

[3] Hislop, *loc. cit.*, 18.

[4] Hislop, *loc. cit.*, 26; *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 49, 277; Dalton, *Ethnology*, 41, 47; Sherring, *Castes*, II, 302.

[5] On this see Westermark, *loc. cit.*, 493.

[6] The same custom prevails among the Bhils of the Western hills. When the bride price is settled, the father of the boy makes a cup of leaves of the Dhâk tree, placing it on the top of the *ghara* of liquor, and puts inside it two annas' worth of copper coin. The girl's brother, or some other relation, then takes the coin and turns the cup of leaves upside down. The betrothal is then complete, and nothing remains but to drink the liquor, which is done on the spot.—*Rajputâna Gazetteer*, I, 118.

up and bow to each other and say "Hail, marriage connection!" (*Samdhi juhâr!*). Then the clansmen present consume the cakes and liquor, and the betrothal is finally settled.

Position of the maternal uncle.

14. It is an interesting feature in Mânjhi weddings, possibly connected with descent in the female line, that the maternal uncle of the bride presents her before marriage with a suit of clothes. Similarly the bridegroom's maternal uncle gives him a money present. These gifts are known by the special name of "dowry" (*daija*). When the marriage is over, the boy's father gives his son's maternal uncle a present: among poor people, a calf is given; among rich people a buffalo.[x] He gives nothing to the maternal uncle of the bride. This present is known as the "dismissal gift" (*bidâi*).

The bride price.

15. It is characteristic of all Gonds that the bride is purchased, and the price consists of such things as are necessary for feeding the guests invited to the marriage.[1] Among the Mânjhis of Mirzapur, the price paid by the boy's father to the father of the girl consists of three maunds of rice, a goat, and two loin-cloths, or sheets (*dhoti, sâri*): one for the bride, and one for her mother. He also sends an earthen pot (*kunda*) full of cakes (*púri*), and five rupees in cash: this sum, it is understood, will be expended in purchasing cooking vessels, which are to be given as a dowry by her father to the bride.

The marriage procession.

16. The bridegroom, when he starts to fetch his bride goes dressed in white clothes; coloured garments are forbidden. Before he starts, his mother does the *parachhan*, or "wave ceremony," by moving over his head a rice-pounder and a tray containing a lighted lamp, in order to bring good luck. Before the procession starts, his mother sits down and suckles the boy at her breast. This is apparently a symbolical recognition of maternity.[2] The bridegroom should be conveyed in the procession either on horseback or in a large cot litter known as "the ship" (*jahâz*). Not long ago a Mânjhi in South Mirzapur was excommunicated because he had his son taken to be married in a palanquin (*pálki*). When the procession arrives at the girl's village they are escorted to their halting-place (*janwâsa*), which is generally an enclosed space

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[1] Hislop *loc. cit.*, 18; *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 186.

[2] The same custom prevails among other races in case of adoption.—Lubbock *Origin of Civilisation*, 97.

surrounded with bamboo hurdles, under some trees in the neighbourhood. From there the bridegroom's father sends the bride a silver necklet (*hansuli*) and armlet (*bâzu*), which she wears at the marriage.

Marriage by capture.

17. On the day they arrive, the bridegroom's party are not fed,—a reminiscense of marriage by capture. Another indication of this is that when the bride and bridegroom are taken to the retiring-room (*kohabar*) after the marriage, the door is blocked by the wife of the bride's brother, who will not admit them until she receives a present. The marriage ceremony takes place in a nuptial shed (*mânro*) erected in the courtyard of the bride's house, where the ceremony, such as it is, is performed by the Patâri, or tribal priest. The Baiga, or aboriginal devil priest, has the special duty of planting the first pole of the marriage shed. Brâhmans have nothing to do with the business, except that in some of the more advanced families they are now asked to fix the lucky time (*sa'at*). The post of the best man is taken by the sister's husband of the bridegroom, who is known as the *lokana*, or "looker on." His business is to lift the boy off the cot on which he sits in state and place him on the marriage litter. He has also to see that he is provided with a black bead and a silver necklace round his neck, to save him from the Evil eye. Meanwhile, after the arrival of the bridegroom's procession, the Patâri makes a square (*chauk*) in the courtyard with lines of barley flour, and when the lucky moment arrives, the bridegroom and his friends march in with songs and beating of drums. In the centre of the square the boy's father solemnly plants a spear, an obvious survival of marriage by capture. The best man then escorts the bridegroom into the enclosure, waving a fan over his head, to guard him from the spirits of evil, which are particularly dangerous at such an important crisis in the life of the boy. Here the girl's female relations bar his entry and will not admit him until they receive a present. The bride is then brought out from the inner room, and they both sit, facing East, on rude mats made of the leaves of the *sâl* tree (*shorea robusta*). The best man fastens the clothes of the pair in a knot, inside which are tied up a copper pice and a piece of betel-nut, This done, the Patâri makes the pair revolve five times round the spear in the course of the sun, the bridegroom marching in front, followed by the bride, who rests her hands on his shoulders. After this the girl is formally made over by a rude *kanyâdân* ceremony

to the bridegroom's father. Her father asks: "Will you receive her?" and the answer is: "I have received her with pleasure." On this both the fathers-in-law (*sandhi*) embrace. Next the pair are again seated on the mats, and the bridegroom's drinking-vessel is placed before the bride and her's before him. Each drinks out of the cup of the other. Then the boy's father presents a new suit of clothes to each of the senior women of the bride's family, and her mother or grandmother washes the feet of the married pair, and makes a mark on the spear with some rice and curds, which are subsequently offered to Sûraj Nârâyan. Next she marks the foreheads of the pair with curds and rice, and the same ceremony is repeated by the father of the bride; after which the bridegroom smears the nose, forehead, and hair parting of the girl with red lead (*sindur*), and this is the binding part of the ceremony. The bride's father on this presents the bridegroom with a cow calf.

Ceremony of the kohabar.

18. After marriage the married pair are taken into an inner room known as the *kohabar*, the walls of which are decorated with rude figures of birds and animals, which were once probably tribal totems, but the meaning of the custom has now been forgotten. This ceremony points to the original habit of immediate consummation of marriage, as even now appears to be the habit among ruder allied tribes like the Orâons.[1] Now-a-days, among the Mânjhis, all that is done is that the bride and bridegroom eat together, the boy's crown (*maur*) is removed, and he has to submit to a number of coarse practical jokes on the part of the female relations of the bride. This over, the bridegroom retires and joins his friends outside the village. The marriage always takes place at night, and next day the bridegroom and his friends are summoned to the marriage feast. The invitation is conveyed by the Patâri, who takes a brass vessel (*lota*), containing a little rice, water, and a mango leaf, to the halting-place of the procession. He stands with the *lota* in his hand before the bridegroom's father, and humbly asks him to come to the feast.

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[1] Dalton, *Ethnology*, 253. The ceremony forms the subject of a good Bihâr proverb:—*Manrwa men koi bât na pûchhe, kohabar dulaha ki chachi*: "No one speaks to her in the nuptial shed (where all have egress), but she claims the treatment of the bridegroom's aunt in the *kohabar* (where only the near relatives of the bride and bridegroom are allowed)"—Christian, *Bihar Proverbs*, 40.

The acceptance of the invitation is notified by his touching the *lota* with his hand. After this the invitation is conveyed in the same way to the relations and clansmen constituting the bridegroom's party. As they go to the bride's house, they are accompanied by a Chamâr or Ghasiya beating a drum. When they sit down to eat, the bridegroom and best man refuse to touch the food until the bride's father gives them a present.

19. Next day they return home. If, as is usually the case, the bride is nubile, she goes home at once with her husband; if she is not nubile, there is a second *gauna* ceremony in the third or fifth year after the marriage. As she is being dismissed with her husband, the Patâri repeats some verses; and *pân* and betel are distributed. When she arrives at her husband's house, his mother and female relatives wave over her head a brass tray containing a lighted lamp. On this tray, round the lamp, are placed little balls of flour and cowdung. They also wave over her head the churn stick (*mathni*). In this ceremony the lamp is usually made of iron, as a protection against evil spirits. After this, the bride enters the house, and the women sing songs of joy. She and her husband are next rubbed with oil and turmeric, and they are made to walk round the central pole of the marriage shed (which is erected at the house of the bridegroom as well as at that of the bride) five times. Near it are placed some pieces of iron to ward off evil spirits, and a jar full of water as an emblem of prosperity. There also is prepared a retiring-room (*kohabar*), into which the married pair are taken, and given curds and coarse sugar to eat. Next, the bridegroom's mother and her women friends go to some neighbouring tank, which is pointed out by the village Baiga. There they collect some earth in the folds of their loin-cloths, and, bringing it home in a basket, put it in the marriage shed, near where the spear is fixed up. This is known as "the lucky earth" (*matmangara*).[1] On this they place two jars (*ghara*) full of water. Near these is placed a vessel containing a mixture of oil and turmeric. The bridegroom is then bathed by the women, and his body is touched five times with oil and turmeric. Up to this time the bride and

The bringing home of the bride.

[1] Among other menial castes the "lucky earth" seems to be collected because from it the fireplace (*chûlha*), on which the wedding cast is cooked, is made.

bridegroom wear white clothes: these are now replaced by coloured garments. The clothes of the pair are knotted together again, and they walk round the spear five times as before. The bridegroom's father and mother mark the foreheads of the pair with curds and rice flour, and the bride washes the feet of her father-in-law in token of submission to him: in return for this, he gives her a present (*neochhâwar*). Then the father of the bridegroom calls out in the presence of the clansmen: "I have now done my duty in getting them married. Let them work for their living. If they respect me, let them give me a drink of water in my old age. I have done my duty."

Final ceremonies.

20. Then follow two ceremonies which are understood to bring good luck to the married pair. They sit down side by side, and five little piles of dry rice are placed on a currystone. The bridegroom grasps the bride's foot and with it knocks down each of the piles, one after the other. This is known as *Kuri dhakelwâna*. The people explain it to mean that the bride is now mistress of the house.[1] Then follows a curious emblematical ceremony. A wooden measure, which usually contains about two pounds, is filled with rice. The bride and bridegroom hold their hands open under it, the boy's hands above and the girl's below: the rice is then gradually poured into their hands from the measure. It is then collected and replaced, and if the measure fail again to hold all the rice, it is a lucky omen.

This is, of course, generally arranged by the simple precaution of crushing the rice down into the measure as it is being filled before the ceremony.[2] When these ceremonies are concluded, the bride and some of the women take the sacred water-pot (*kalsa*) and convey it to a neighbouring stream, into which it is thrown.

Dulha Deo, the god of marriage.

21. Next follows the worship of Dulha Deo, the Gond god of marriages. He is the deified bridegroom: his legends are now vague and uncertain, but in all of them there is an echo of some terrible tragedy of the olden time which has deeply impressed these primitive races. A bride and bridegroom on their way home are said to

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[1] A similar ceremony is described by Dalton (*Ethnology*, 234) among the Kurs or Mundâris.

[2] This custom of weighing is observed by the Kurkus of Hoshangâbâd, who use it as an omen to determine the prospects of the harvest.—C. A. Elliott, *Settlement Report*, p. 257.

have been killed by lightning, or in some other sensational way, and the bridegroom now lives in the stars and has become a god of the household and marriages. The time for his worship is in the middle of summer. He has no shrine, but some *sâl* tree (*shorea robusta*) in the jungle is marked out by the Baiga as his habitation, and at its foot a goat is sacrificed in his honour. Whenever this tree falls, the Baiga sits there for some time and works himself up into a state of religious frenzy, when he walks blindly on and touches another tree which replaces the ancient shrine. At marriages, two short sticks of *sâl* wood are fixed in the ground beneath the marriage shed. On these the Patâri puts the wooden rice-measure which has been used in the ceremony already described. After the marriage is over, the sticks are taken up and fixed in the floor of the family cookhouse, where they are kept with the similar sticks used in all previous marriages in the family, and worshipped at all subsequent marriages in honour of Dulha Deo.

The ceremony of *confarreatio*.

22. After the bride is formally introduced into the family of her husband, she remains there for five days, and then returns home to her father, returning to her husband after such an interval as may be found convenient.[1] When she first comes to her husband, the clansmen assemble, and a ceremony analogous to the *confarreatio* of the Romans is carried out. She first touches all the family cooking-vessels, and cooks for the tribesmen.

Binding portion of the ceremony of marriage.

23. The binding part of the marriage ceremony is understood to be the marking of the foreheads of the pair by the parents of the bridegroom. After the betrothal, the engagement may be annulled; but once this mark (*tîka*) is made, the marriage is irrevocable. This, the regular form of the marriage, is known as *charhauwa*, or the "offering," because the bride is offered to the bridegroom by her father.

Widow marriage.

24. Widow marriage by the form known as *sagâi* is freely allowed. The levirate is practised under the usual restriction that the younger brother has the first claim to the widow of his elder brother, but the elder

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[1] This may be a survival of the general custom by which the bride and bridegroom are debarred from intercourse and obliged to meet secretly for some time after marriage. See instances given by Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*, 81; Westermark, *History of Human Marriage*, 151.

brother cannot take the widow of his younger brother.[1] If the younger brother does not care to marry the widow, she can be married by an outsider, and, as a rule, all widows, except those suffering from any serious physical or mental defect, are married again either to their brother-in-law or to a stranger. In the levirate the only ceremony is the announcement of the fact to the clansmen and a feast to the near relations, if the parties can afford it. When a stranger desires to take over a widow, he sends to her friends one or two maunds of rice, a thread bracelet (*pahaunchi*), a pair of ear ornaments made of palm leaf (*tarki*), and one or two sheets. The woman is dressed in these, and in the presence of the clansmen each pours some sesamum oil over the head of the other. He then brings her home and gives a tribal feast. An outsider marrying a widow has to pay back to the younger brother of the deceased husband the sum of twelve rupees, which is supposed to be equivalent of the bride price originally paid for her. This, or some smaller sum proportionate to the means of the widow's second husband, is always awarded by the tribal council.

Divorce.

25. There is no legal rule of divorce. After a marriage is once performed, no physical defects in either party are sufficient to annul it: but if it turns out that the bridegroom is insane, or impotent, the marriage is annulled, and the bride is married again to one of his brothers, if such an arrangement is possible. But if the parties before marriage are aware of any defect in either, the marriage must be maintained. Grounds for divorce are adultery or absolutely final excommunication from caste of either party. It is said that it used to be the custom that if a woman was deserted by her husband for a year, she could remarry;[2] but if such was the custom formerly, the people deny that it is recognised at present. But no divorce is permitted without an enquiry and order of the tribal council. They profess that a divorced wife cannot re-marry, but that a divorced man is allowed to marry again after giving a tribal feast. But cases to the contrary have been quoted, and it would appear that the restriction on a divorced wife re-marrying is comparatively

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[1] This is also a rule among the regular Gonds.—*Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 278; Forsyth, *Highlands of Central India*, 150; Dr. Westermark, *History of Human Marriage*, 510, *sqq.*, gives strong grounds for disputing the theory that the levirate is a survival of polyandry.

[2] For other instances of this see Letourneau, *Evolution of Marriage*, 237.

modern. The real tribal rule seems to have been that the man who took the widow in *sagái* was obliged to return the bride price.[1]

Succession.

26. The children of recognised wives, which include offspring of the levirate and widows re-married according to caste custom, succeed equally to the goods of the father. No division takes place as long as the father lives and, as a rule, they continue to live together, the tendency being to form large united households.[2] At the same time the sons appear to have the right on the death of their father to claim their shares of the cattle and moveables; and set up for themselves. In a country where land is of little value and houses easily built, these give rise to no difficulty. Illegitimate children have no rights, but the tribal council generally awards them something out of their father's goods. Whether legitimate or illegitimate, children follow the caste of the father, but the illegitimate children are not allowed to eat with the clansmen. They appear generally to emigrate, or, if they remain at home, only intermarry with persons in the same rank as themselves. If a widow with children marry again, they remain with the friends of their father. If she marry outside the family of her late husband, she loses all rights to his estate, and her sons by him succeed. In this case the sons by both fathers are considered joint and equal heirs to the property of both. All, in any case, the widow can claim, is maintenance, and she has no power of making away with any property. In the case of the levirate, there is no fiction that the children by the second are those of the first husband: in fact, the theory of the value of a son from a religious point of view seems to be only very dimly understood.

Primogeniture.

27. If a man die, leaving a widow or widows, a son or sons, a daughter or daughters, brothers and other relations, the son or sons succeed to the estate of their father. The elder son gets something in excess, generally about ten per cent. in cattle and household goods, but there is no fixed rule. The inheritance is divided, not according to the number of wives, but of sons, and no regard is paid to the fact that one widow may be of better family than the others. The father cannot in his lifetime select any particular son to have a larger

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[1] In Greece, in such cases, it was the lady's father who returned the bride price.—*Odyssey*, VIII, 318.

[2] This is the Kándh custom according to some authorities.—Dalton, *Ethnology*, 294.

share than the others: and the question whether one son may be better off than the others, or may have received a larger dowry with his wife is not considered.

The associated brethren.

28. In default of sons only, the brethren who have lived in association with the deceased are entitled to succeed. The sons of a deceased son or deceased associated brother succeed equally to the share which would have fallen to their father. If the brothers succeed they must maintain the widow. A concubine gets only what her paramour may have given her in his lifetime.

The rights of the widow.

29. If a man has died in a state of exclusion from caste his widow succeeds and his brothers have no rights. A widow's right to maintenance depends on her continuing chaste; and if she offends they are at liberty to turn her out.

The rights of daughters.

30. Girls have no right of inheritance, but are entitled to maintenance until marriage, and to have their wedding expenses paid out of the estate of their father.

Posthumous sons.

31. Posthumous sons have no rights unless the pregnancy of the wife has been acknowledged by the husband during his life.

Ascetics.

32. If a man abandons the world and becomes an ascetic he loses his right to inherit; his wife and sons, and in default of them his associated brethren, succeed to his property.

Succession to office.

33. Succession to any office, such as that of village headman, falls to the eldest son of the late incumbent: but if he prove unfit some other member of the family is selected to fill his place.

Adoption.

34. The tribe profess to maintain elaborate rules on the subject of adoption: but it is doubtful how far this is due to Hindu influence. The idea of adoption from a religious point of view in connection with the *srâddha* seems hardly to exist.[1] It is said that only a sonless man can adopt,[2] and that the consent of his collateral heirs is not needed. But he cannot adopt if his daughter's son is alive. If a man's son

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[1] On this, see J. D. Mayne, *Hindu Law*, p. 87.
[2] *Ibid*, 89.

is permanently excluded from caste he can adopt one of his brother's sons. He cannot adopt a second time while the son first adopted is alive. A bachelor, a blind man, a cripple, a widower, or one who becomes an ascetic cannot adopt.[1] Nor can a woman adopt: a childless widow with property in her own right may give her goods to her kinsmen, but cannot adopt. But cases have been known in which a childless widow[2] has been allowed to adopt her brother's son with the consent of all the heirs. But it is settled that in any case a widow cannot adopt if a son already adopted by her late husband is in existence: and if a son thus adopted die, the widow cannot adopt unless her husband before his death have given her distinct authority to do so. A man cannot give his eldest or his only son to another to adopt:[3] but if he have a brother living apart, he can permit him to be adopted by another. There is no age fixed for adoption, but the boy must be unmarried. Girls cannot be adopted. As a matter of fact, a boy not a relation is never adopted, and the preference is always given to a nephew or first cousin on the male side,[4] and it is generally admitted that the adopter and the adopted son should be of the same sept (*kuri*). This excludes the son of a sister who necessarily follows the sept of his father. The only exception to this is the case of a daughter's son who is sometimes, but very rarely adopted.[5] As illustrating the vagueness of the conception of adoption, it appears to be tribal custom that the adopted son inherits both from his adoptive and his natural father. If a man have a son after he has adopted a boy, both share equally. As regards the special case of *gharjaiyán* or Beena marriage, this only takes place among poor people where they are unable to afford a regular marriage.

The period of probation is three years, and during this time the boy does house and field work, and is entitled to clothes and maintenance from his father-in-law in future. The girl to whom he is to be married gives him food and water, and, at least nominally, sexual intercourse between the pair is prohibited. After the three years' probation is over the girl's father gets them married at his own expense. After the marriage they can set up for themselves or continue to live with the bride's father who has no further

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[1] On this, see J. D. Mayne, *Hindu Law*, p. 90.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 94.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 120.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 112.
[5] They would be excluded by Hindu Law, *ibid*, p. 113.

right to claim work from his son-in-law, and he on the other hand has no claim to succeed to his father-in-law's estate. In cases of adoption there is no special ceremony except the announcement of the fact to the assembled clansmen.

Relationship.

35. Besides agnates all cognates, that is to say, those families into which girls are given in marriage or whence brides are taken, are considered relations. These consist of the father-in-law (*sasur*), the wife's brother (*sâla*). A man calls his brother-in-law (*sâla*) *bâbu*: close friends not related to him he calls *bhâi* or *bâbu*. They remember the names of male ancestors up to the third or fourth generation, and those of women up to the great grand-mother. They recognise a connection with persons born in the same village who are known as *ganwa bhâi*.

Birth Ceremonies.

36. They have no observances during the pregnancy of the mother: she is not allowed to eat white grain, and gets only light food. The woman is delivered on the ground facing East. The after-birth is taken away secretly and buried.[1] When the parturition is difficult the midwife (*Chamâin*) hangs a piece of a jungle root, the name of which is kept secret by women, round her neck and fastens it with a bit of untwisted thread. Another device for the same purpose is to crush two and-a-half leaves of the *mahua* (*Bassia latifolia*) in water and make the woman drink it. The moment the child is born a bit of two jungle plants called *chilâwar* and *chinâwar* is hung round its neck to keep off ghosts (*bhût*). The woman is kept isolated in a special room (*saunr*) where she is attended by the midwife.[2] The child is not left alone for a year after its birth, and some one always sits near it to ward off the attacks of ghosts, and with the same object some iron implement such as a sickle (*hansua*) or a betel cutter (*saranta*) is kept near the child's head. They say that iron is the weapon of Durga Devi and keeps off ghosts. For the same reason a fire is kept lighted over the place in which the umbilical cord (*nâr*) is buried by the midwife in the delivery room. This is maintained as long as the woman remains in seclusion.

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[1] A tomb was raised over the after-birth of Aurangzeb at Dohad in the Panch Mahâls. *Bombay Gazetteer*, III. 312.

[2] See the cases of this quoted by Westermark, *History of Human Marriage*, 483; and compare Frazer, *Golden Bough*, II, 238 sqq., Wallace, *Malay Archipelago*, 167.

It is considered improper that the child should be born elsewhere than in the house of the father. On the sixth day is the *chhathi* at which the mother and child are bathed.[1]

On the twelfth day is the *barahi* when the head of the child is shaved [2] and at the same time all the near clansmen shave their heads. On this day the dirty clothes are given to the Dhobi to wash, and the mother and all her relations, male and female, put on clean clothes. The mother and child are bathed and at this final bath the mother is rubbed with a mixture of oil and turmeric and is then finally pure and joins the family. On the sixth day there is no regular feast, only some of the female relations and friends who live close by are entertained. On the twelfth day the clansmen are fed and liquor is distributed: the earthen cooking vessels of the household are thrown away and replaced: the *karama* or tribal song and dance is performed and the sister of the child's father or the elder sister of the baby washes out and replasters the delivery room, for which she receives a present known as *neochhâwar*.[3]

Couvade.

37. There is a survival of the custom of couvade to this extent that when after delivery the woman is given a cleaning draught of ginger, turmeric, and molasses, the father has to take a drink of it first.[4]

Death ceremonies.

38. Like many other savage races the Mânjhis take the dying person into the open air so that there may be nothing to stop the egress of the departing

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[1] The *chhathi* appears to represent among the true Gonds the time at which the base of the umbilical cord which is carefully buried dries up and falls off.—Hislop, *Papers*, App. IV. As among Hindus the *barahi* or twelfth day ceremony represents the time at which infants generally suffer from infantile lock-jaw which is caused by the cutting of the cord with a blunt, coarse weapon and the neglect of sanitary precautions. This disease is known as *jamhua* (the visit of Yama, the god of death or *ghugghua* from *ghuggha*, the owl, which is supposed to grip the child by the throat and stop its breathing.

[2] Child tonsure is a rite among the Santâls, and appears to be the only compulsory ceremony up to marriage. Dalton, *Ethnology*, 214.

[3] Among the real Gonds the woman remains apart for thirteen days after delivery: on the fifth day the female neighbours are feasted, and on the twelfth day male friends are entertained: on the thirteenth the purification is ended by giving a dinner to both parties. The child is named a month or two after. Among some tribes, however, the mother is isolated for a month, during which no one touches her and, unless there are grown up daughters, she is bound to cook for herself. But this is not general. Hislop, *Papers*, 5, 18, App. IV.

[4] This is a custom among a Madras tribe the Koravas: see Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I, 84. On the custom generally, consult Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*, 15 *sqq.*: Letourneau, *Evolution of Marriage*, 316 *sqq.*

soul.[1] Like the Korkus,[2] they are in the transition stage between burial and cremation. People who die of small-pox and are supposed to be thus directly under the influence of the goddess Sîtala are buried, and so are children up to the age of about seven, unless they have been already married, in which case they are usually cremated.

The dying person is fed with a little rice and curds, and a small piece of silver is put into the mouth as a viaticum.[3] The Patâri priest admonishes his spirit to quickly leave the body of clay and depart to the next world. In the case of burial the grave is dug north and south in which direction the body is laid,[4] head upwards, tied up in a shroud. The grave is dug by the relatives, each of whom throws a little earth on the corpse. A cremation is carried out in the ordinary way at a regular cremation ground (*marghat*). If the deceased was an old man, a bludgeon (*lâthi*) and an earthen pot (*mitiya*) are left near the pyre. An axe is sometimes placed in the same way in order that the spirit may make its living in the next world. Near the pyre of an old woman are placed with the same object a grass spud (*khurpa*) and a stick and the wooden stand (*tehri*) on which the house water-pots are placed. These articles are not broken as is the case with other savage tribes.[5] The body is laid on the pyre, feet south and head north, and wood is piled over it. The pyre is fired by the nearest relative, the son or brother of the deceased. He lights a wisp of grass, walks five times round the pyre, and after applying the torch to the mouth of the corpse sets fire to the wood. One of the relatives brings home a lighted brand from the pyre which he gives to the female relations of the deceased. Each of them then steps once backwards and forwards over the brand. This is understood to imply that though the women folk did not go to the cremation ground they have shared in the obsequies. After this the women are considered impure and do not go into the house until they have bathed in the nearest stream. The male mourners, after the pyre is well alight, rub themselves with a mixture of oil and turmeric and

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[1] Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I, 453.

[2] *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 49 : Forsyth, *Highlands of Central India*, 155.

[3] Tylor, *loc. cit.*, I, 491.

[4] The regular Gond custom seems to be the reverse of this.—*Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 278.

[5] Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*, 37 : Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, I, 184.

butter. Most of them before cremation shave the head of the corpse and rub it with oil and turmeric before it is taken out for cremation. But the head shaving is not universal. If the deceased have died of a contagious disease, like cholera, the Baiga goes ahead of the funeral procession with a chicken in his hands, which he lets loose in the direction of some other village as a scape-goat to remove the infection. None but some other most experienced Baiga dares to touch or consume the scape-goat. When they take such a corpse to be cremated they also sprinkle sesamum on the ground as they go on, to prevent the return of the ghost.[1] After the cremation is over with the same object they sprinkle sesamum on the funeral pyre. Next day they sweep up the ashes and collect the bones for conveyance to the Ganges when an opportunity occurs. When the mourners after completing the obsequies return to the house of the deceased no food is cooked there, but is sent from the house of a daughter or sister of the deceased. After eating, the clansmen return home. On the third day all the earthen vessels are replaced and the barber shaves the heads of all the male relations.[2] On the fourth day the clansmen are fed and eat with the persons who fired the pyre. On the tenth day is the *daswân* when the Patâri priest sings a song in honour of the dead man and with other presents takes the clothes and vessels of the deceased as his representative, like the Hindu Mahâbrâhman, in the belief that these things will be passed on for the use of the deceased, in the world of the dead. On this day the clansmen shave their heads, beards and mustaches, reserving the scalp lock. After a feast to the brethren the death impurity is over.[3]

Propitiation of the sainted dead.

39. On the night of the cremation food is laid out on the road taken by the funeral procession, along which it is believed the spirit of the dead man returns. When a child is born the Patâri is asked which of the deceased ancestors has been re-embodied in the child and when the Patâri announces the name this is given to the child. In the same way if a calf is born and will not drink milk they call in an Ojha who says "Your father has been re-born in this calf." It is then taken great care of and not worked in the plough.

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[1] Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I, 126: Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*, 234.

[2] *Odyssey*, IV, 197: Spencer, *Sociology*, I, 164.

[3] Among the real Gonds the death impurity lasts only one day. Hislop, *Papers* 19.

The calf is not branded as with Hindus. They do not erect monuments to the dead as the Gonds do.[1] Whenever a son or daughter is married a fowl and some liquor are offered to deceased ancestors, and on the tenth day after a death the Patâri offers a burnt sacrifice (*hom*) in the courtyard in honour of the dead. They do not perform the annual death ceremony (*barsi*) or release male calves in honour of the dead: but some of the more wealthy Mânjhis are already approximating to Hindu custom in this respect.

Religion.

40. The religious affairs of the caste are managed by the Patâri who corresponds to the Pradhâna[2] of the regular Gonds and performs the functions of Hindu Brâhman and Mahâbrâhman. As with the Gonds the Patâri does not seem to become defiled if a dog or cat dies in his house.[3] Some of the more advanced Mânjhis worship Mahâdeva who is admittedly the representative of the Gond deity Bara Deo and like him has an ox for his vehicle. Bara Deo is also known as Ningo Bâghiya or Bûrha Deo. Lingo or Lingal is a sort of prophet among the Gonds.[4] This deity is worshipped by the Patâri on his periodical visits to his constituents when he goes about rattling a number of iron rings fixed on a stick. He takes alms only from Mânjhis. They also worship the collective local gods in the form of a male deity Dih, and a female Deohârin. In honour of them small images of elephants, horses, etc., are placed under a *sâl* tree. Many of these shrines are by the more advanced Mânjhis identified with those of Devi. In this is placed a water vessel (*kalsa*) and over it is set up a red flag on a pole. The seat of the deity is represented by a little platform of mud on which offerings are made and fire sacrifices (*hom*) done. The sacrifices to these local gods are done by the Baiga who cuts off the head of a goat or chicken with an axe, holding the victim facing east opposite the shrine. To the sainted dead no blood offerings are made. To them are offered small round cakes which must be made by the wife of the eldest son.[5] These are offered in the cookhouse which

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[1] Hislop, *loc. cit.*, page 19.

[2] See Hislop, *loc. cit.*, 19.

[3] Hislop, *loc. cit.*, 5 *sq.*

[4] The name according to Hislop is of Gond origin; sometimes Bhân, Gondi for "devotee," is affixed to his name and sometimes Pariâr, which means "saint." Hislop, *Papers*, App. 8. The name as Forsyth remarks (*Highlands of Central India*, 138) probably represents the phallic nature of the worship. Bâghiya marks his connection with the tiger (*bâgh*); Bara or Bûrha means "great" or "ancient."

[5] Campbell, *Notes*, I.

represents the abode of the sainted dead. If she is unable from illness or any other cause to cook the whole number required, she makes one or two and the rest are cooked by the women of the family junior to herself. They hang up in their houses as charms to keep off disease the bones of pigs or the heads of monkeys which they hold in a certain degree of respect. When they are eating they mention the earth goddess in the Hinduised form of Sîtarâm and throw a little food on the ground.[1] On holidays the only grain they eat is *sâwân* (*panicum frumentaceum*) paddy and wheat. There is a special prohibition against using the small millet (*mijhari*) on holidays, and it is only very poor people who eat it. When milking a cow they utter no spell, but pour a little milk on the ground from the first teat they touch. They think it very unlucky to let salt fall on the ground, and will not pass it from hand to hand as they eat it. The sacrifice to the local female deity now identified with Devi is a female goat which has never borne a kid. Liquor is poured on the ground in honour of Gansâm who is a noted deity of the Kols. Women are not allowed to join in the worship of the *deohâr* or local gods, nor to consume any part of the offering.[2] On Sunday they make vows to Sûraj Deota, the Sun god, and pray to him to bless their occupations. On that day they eat only once and abstain from salt. The ceremony ends with a fire offering (*hom*) which is offered in the courtyard by the house owner.[3]

Ghost worship.

41. They do not worship all ghosts (*bhût*), but they believe that all disease is due to them. In such cases an Ojha is called in and he gets into a state of ecstacy (*khelna, abhuâna*) and finally proclaims the special *bhût* which requires propitiation. Then they give a female goat, a fowl, some liquor and a piece of yellow cloth to the Ojha who offers them to the *bhût* and then appropriates them himself. Their theory of mountains is that they were rained down from heaven by Paramesar, and hence people are careful about going up mountains which are the abode of evil spirits. Many of these mountain ghosts are related. Thus, Turkin, a deified Muhammadan female ghost,

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1 Spencer, *Sociology*, I, 259.

2 Spencer, *loc. cit.*, I, 229.

3 The Gonds worship the Sun as Rayetâl.—Hislop, *Papers*, App. 49 : also see *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 49 : Forsyth, *Highlands of Central India*, 154 : Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*, 317.

who lives on the Jungail hill south of the Son, and Barwat, a male ghost, who lives on the Aunri hill, are sister and brother and rule all the mountain ghosts in that part of the country. When people ascend these haunted mountains they take the precaution of throwing some dry rice and flowers at the foot. They then clasp their hands and implore the local ghosts not to harm them. There is a stream called Sukandar, a tributary of the Kanhar on the Sarguja frontier, in which is a deep water hole supposed to be of unknown depth. In the middle of this is a mound on which is a *kurlu* tree. When ghosts become troublesome the Ojha searches for a piece of deer horn in the jungle and this he hammers with a stone into the tree and thus shuts up the ghost. The tree is covered with hundreds of such pieces of horn. The suppliant has to offer a water-pot (*lota*) and tray (*thâli*) under the tree. Only great Ojhas venture near the place, and when they do they tread very cautiously so as not to disturb the *bhûts*. The stones round the pool are very slippery, and it is supposed that the *bhûts* push in unwary visitors and drown them.[1] It is in this hole that the ruler of all the *bhûts* abides, and he allows no strange *bhûts* to enter it. In the same pool, however, live the snake god and his wife—the Nâg and Nâgin. To them are offered a red goat, a red fowl, and ten cakes (*puri*). These offerings are made by any one afflicted by *bhûts*, and the service is performed by the village Baiga. There is another river named the Kurso in Sarguja which is also infested by these water *bhûts*. To these the Baiga does sacrifice that there may be good rain, productive harvests, and that epidemics may not visit his village. In the same stream lives a kind of demon known as Jata Rohini; the water hole in which he lives abounds in fish, and the Baiga catches one of them with his hands and offers it to the Deo. If any one but a Baiga dare to take a fish from here the Deo pushes him in and drowns him. No one dares to drink from there. If any one ventures to do so the water bubbles up and drowns him.

42. In Sarguja there are two noted caves—one on the Marcha, and the other on the Banka hill. In the former lives a male deity called Mahâdâni Deo. None dares to enter the cave. Now and then a white horse is seen near this cave, and his dung has been found there; but when any one approaches the place he disappears. This

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[1] Spencer, *Sociology*, I, 210.

hill grows a quantity of wild pepper (*marcha*) whence its name, and this is brought home by the Mânjhis and used as a spell against disease. Not even a Baiga dares to enter the cave of Mahâdâni Deo. All he ventures to do is to sacrifice a he-goat in the neighbourhood in his honour. In the Banka hill is a cave in which a demon of the Dâno species lives. Her name is unknown, but she brings pain and disease and is of a very violent temper. To appease her the Baiga offers a black and white cock at the foot of the hill and makes a fire offering (*hom*) with molasses and butter. This done, he sprinkles some holy rice (*achhat*) in the direction of her cave which no one dares to enter. When she is angry a voice is heard from the hill saying "Beware! Beware!" (*khabardâr! khabardâr!*) and this is very often followed by an epidemic of cholera. Any one who approaches the neighbourhood of her cave is seized with diarrhoea.

43. There was once an Ahîr named Bachhrâj Kunwar. His leg was cut off in a fight with some Râja and he died. He has become a vicious ghost (*bîr*) and is now worshipped as a godling (*deota*). He now lives on the Ahlor hill in Sarguja, where his petrified body may still be seen, and the Mânjhis go there to worship him. His offering is a black goat, and this offering is specially made when a prayer to him has been answered. The Baiga does the sacrifice. The wife of this Bachhrâj Kunwar lives on the Jhoba hill in Sarguja. No one but a Baiga dares to ascend the hill, and even the Râja of Sarguja, when he visits the neighbourhood, sacrifices a black goat. Mânjhis believe that if these two deities are duly propitiated they can give anything they need. Similarly, on the Mânra hill in Pargana Singrauli lives a demon known as Darrapât Deo. No one dares to ascend the hill. Even Ojhas when they go there sacrifice a goat at the base. To illustrate the mixture of Hinduism with these aboriginal beliefs, it is said that when Râwana abducted Sîta he kept her for some time on this hill, and to this day on the summit may be seen her litter (*pâlki*) turned into stone.

44. Another deity of the same kind is Râja Chandol, whose shrine is on the Gonra hill in Pargana Dudhi under a *pîpal* tree. He is apparently the same as Chandor a deity of the Bengal Mundas[1] who appears to be the same as Chando Omol or Chanala, the moon,

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[1] Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, II, 103.

worshipped by women as the wife of Singbonga and the mother of the stars.[1] Similar deities known as Mirga Râni and Koti Râni live on the Chainpur hill in Pargana Dudhi. Pât Deo is the deity of the Kaimûr hills in Sarguja, and he has a colleague Sonaich Deo who lives on the Baunra Bûnda hill. One local tradition of the Mânjhis makes Râja Chandol a Chauhân Chhatri from Rîwa. Like him is Bariyâr Sâh, who is said to have been a Rakhsel Chhatri and a Râja of Sarguja. He came to hunt in this part of the country when it was all jungle and took up his residence at Mahuli. He was killed by Bhaiyya Sâh, the ruler of Nagar Untâri, and his Râni became Sati in his honour: since then he and his Râni have been worshipped.

Sacred dances.

45. The sacred dance of the tribe is the *karama* which is performed round a branch of the *karam* tree (*anthocephalus cadamba*) set up in the court-yard of the house. The men and women stand in opposite lines and advance and retreat to the music of the sacred drum (*mândar*). Songs are sung, generally of a very gross nature, and the ceremony is the occasion for much drinking and dissolute conduct.

Pilgrimages.

46. Some of the richer Mânjhis go on the ordinary Hindu pilgrimages to Benares, Prayâg, the shrine of Vindhyabâsini Devi at Bindhâchal, etc. They also go to bathe in the Son which is known as Son Bhadra Mahârâj, "the fortunate great king." They visit a special shrine near his source at Amarkantak. The days for bathing are at eclipses and on the *khichari* festival on the last day of Pûs (January). Bathing is meritorious only on the north bank, which is known as that of Kâshi (Benares).

The tribal priests.

47. Brâhmans are employed by them only for the purpose of fixing lucky days at marriages, etc. The Patâris have been already mentioned. An account of them will be found in the special article referring to them. They worship Ningo Bâghiya and the other regular tribal gods. The Baigas who in the Central Provinces form a special tribe,[2] worship only the village gods and the village goddess, now generally identified with the Hindu Devi.

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[1] Dalton, *Ethnology*, 186.

[2] Forsyth, *Highlands of Central India*, 373 sq.

48. Contrary to Hindu practice the Mânjhis yoke cows in the plough. They have a triennial festival in honour of Ningo Bâghiya at which according to a common Gond practice they sacrifice calves.[1] To Ningo Bâghiya some pillars are erected which are known as *deo kothâr* or the "deity's store-house." On the third day of Baisâkh they pour water out of a *lota* on the pillar of Ningo Bâghiya, and sprinkle it with grains of sacred rice (*achhat*) after the sacrifice of a kid (*halwâna*). After this they cook and offer cakes which the Patâri and all the members of the household consume. Among Hindu festivals they recognise the Dasahara on the tenth bright half of Kuâr, the Anant Chaudas on the fourteenth bright half of Bhâdon and the Phagua or Holi on the full moon of Phâlgun. The women's festivals are the third light half of Bhâdon, the sixth and eleventh light half of Kârttik. The Til Sankrânt in Pûs is also observed. On the Sankrânt, or conjunction, in Baisâkh is the Satuân when people eat *sattu* or parched gram flour. Like other Hindus they do not eat mangoes before that date. On the third light half of Bhâdon the women fast, and on the eleventh is the main Karama[2] festival which is generally a drunken orgy. On this day every one dances the karama and drinks liquor, while the women fast. This day ends all agricultural contracts, such as partnership in cultivation, lending of ploughs, etc. On that day they eat the karami, which is a sort of weed found in tanks and streams. They also observe the Rakshabandhan or Salono on the last day of Sâwan, but with this peculiarity that there is no special date for tying on the wristlets of coloured string because Brâhmans are so few in number. They wander about the country during the whole of the following month and tie on the amulets as they arrive at each village. The Brâhman receives for this service some pice and grain which is in addition to the ordinary dues (*kharwan*) which he receives in the form of a sieve (*sûp*) full of grain at each harvest. Mânjhis are liberal in distributing dues of this kind, and in addition to the Brâhman, the Patâri, Nâu, Dhobi, the village messenger (*Kotwâr*), usually a

Festivals.

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[1] On cow sacrifice among the Gonds, see Hislop, *Papers*, 19, 22.

[2] The Karama among more Hinduised menial tribes is replaced by the Jhûmar dance in which the women go round in a circle with joined hands, *sab milke jhûmar parê, thûthi kahiê hamahûn.* "When all are dancing the Jhûmar the handless woman says 'Shall I join in'" ? Christian, *Behâr Proverbs*, 51.

Panika by caste, and even in some places Musalmân faqîrs receive the same allowance. Some at the *pitra paksha*, or fifteen days sacred to the worship of the sainted dead, in the month of Kuâr offer the sacred ball (*pinda*) through the Patâri, and shave on the tenth day. There is not, as is the custom among many of the allied tribes, any festival at which youths and girls mix and arrange marriages. The women's festival on the third light half of Bhâdon is confined to married women, and is not shared in by girls or widows.

Women also observe the Jiutiya festival on the 9th of Kuâr.[1] On this day married women fast with the special object of securing long life (*jîv*, whence the festival takes its name) and prosperity to their mothers-in-law and sons. They have a special phrase when a man escapes a great danger, such as an attack from a tiger—*Tuhâr mâi khar Jiutiya kîhan*. "Your mother went through such a rigid fast at the Jiutiya that she did not even brush her teeth." The date of this festival appears to differ in various places. In Bengal it appears to be celebrated on 15th Assin and in Bihâr on 8th dark half of Kârttik. The object in all places seems to be the same, that married women by fasting invoke good luck and long life on their relations.[2]

Fetishism.

40. One fetish peculiar to the Mânjhis and allied Dravidian tribes is the *gurda* or chain fetish. This is an iron chain about 2½ feet long and 7 lbs. in weight, with an iron knot at the end. It is generally accompanied by a leather strip of the same length. This is in charge of the Baiga, and is kept hung up in the shed dedicated to the local deities (*deohâr*). It is treated with great respect and a genuine specimen can be obtained only with great difficulty.

When girls become hysterical they are taken to the shrine and there beaten by the Baiga with his chain, which is understood to embody the local divinity, until the devil leaves them. The treatment is said to succeed at once. It may be noted that this chain under the name of Sâkla Pen has among the regular Gonds become an actual divinity.[3] In the hot weather the local female deity identified with Devi wanders about the air in the middle of the day

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[1] This, according to Hislop, *Papers*, App. II, is performed in Sâwan.

[2] Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, II, 190 : Grierson, *Behâr Peasant Life*, 402.

[3] Sâkla (Hindi *Sânkar*, Sanskrit *Shrinkala*,) means "a chain." See Hislop, *Papers*, App. 47 ; *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 275.

in her chariot (*rath*) ; and if in that season of the year a child goes out dressed in red clothes the deity rides on it, and the child becomes insensible and can be cured only by the incantations of the Baiga. This is probably a popular way of explaining the effects of sunstroke.[1] One function of the Baiga is forming a sacred line with liquor round the village which foreign ghosts are unable to cross.[2] The belief in ghostly lights which appear to mislead the traveller at night is widespread. As already stated, the mud platform in the Baiga's shrine is supposed to be the residence of the local deities, and he sometimes in addition raises a special Brahm chaura which is a platform in honour of some Brâhman who has died by an unusual or untimely death. On Brahm worship Mr. Baillie writes—"The names classified in the list of Brahms are almost innumerable. The information about them varies from a full and circumstantial account like that given for Ratan Pânrê or which might be given for Harirâm, the Râj Brahm of the Basti District, down to that derived from the name only, the Brâhmanical character of which was taken to show that the particular Bâba referred to was a Brahm. The total number of Brahm worshippers according to the census statements was 406,787, large numbers of whom belong to the Râjput caste the members of which are most likely to incur persecution from a murdered or injured Brahm. The forms of death selected by suicide Brâhmans are diversified in the extreme. Of all I have heard the most horrible and most likely to impress the imagination of the persons against whom it was intended was that of a Brâhman in the Partâbgarh District, who when turned out of his land, to avenge himself, gathered a heap of cow-dung in the centre of one of the fields and lay down on it until he was eaten by worms. This happened sixty years ago, but his fields still stand a waste of jungle grass in the middle of rich cultivated lands, and neither Hindu nor Muhammadan will put a hand to a plough to till them. Whether Brahms are to be classed among malevolent or benificent spirits is a question which would probably be answered differently by different worshippers. Those families to whose account a Brahm's death is due would probably regard him as malevolent, but elsewhere a benificent interest is taken by Brahms in human affairs. Ratan Pânrê is said to be the tutelary deity of many Gonds

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[1] For similar ideas, see Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I, 293.
[2] For this, see Tylor, *loc. cit*, I, 454.

villages.[1]" Though they secretly sacrifice cows, they still so far reverence the animal as to bow to it on 15th Kârttik, when they give salt to the animals and oil their horns.[2]

50. The worship of the souls of the dead is, as already stated, in an elementary stage. It is only the more advanced Mânjhis who worship them during the Pitrapaksha in Kuâr, and many now get the Brâhman, and not the Patâri, to offer up the sacred ball (*pinda*) in their honour. When a man is asleep or insensible they believe that the soul is wandering abroad and returns to the body only on recovery of consciousness.[3] Dreams are sometimes true and sometimes false, but it is in this way alone that the spirits of the dead manifest themselves and their appearance is dreaded because it implies that they have not received their due propitiation, and then they bring disease and death.[4] This is particularly the case with the ghost of a Baiga or of his wife. They must be propitiated by the offering of a young pig. This Baiga ghost becomes ruler of all the village ghosts, and his wife queen of all the local Churels or ghosts of women who die within the period of child-bed impurity.

51. The sword is a recognised Mânjhi totem. When women pass a *pîpal* tree they bow and veil their faces. No Mânjhi will cut a large tree or any tree which adjoins the special *sâl* tree in which the local deity resides.

Totems.

52. The science of omens is widely recognised. When the female jackal (*phenkârin*) howls on the night the foundations of a house are laid the site is abandoned as unlucky. Meeting a hare is a very unlucky omen with them and all the allied tribes.[5] The sudden or unaccountable fall of a tree in front of a person undertaking a journey is also unlucky. The call of the *suiya* bird on the right is a good meeting omen: on the left the reverse; a tiger meeting a traveller is lucky, but stumbling on starting on a journey is ominous. If a jackal cross from right to left or a female *sâmbhar* doer appear in front the journey is abandoned. The langûr baboon

Omens.

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[1] *Census Report, North-Western Provinces*, 214: For Ratan Pânré, see *Introduction to Popular Religion and Folklore*, 122.

[2] This corresponds to the Pola ceremony of the Gonds, for which see Hislop, *Papers*, App. III.

[3] Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I, 436.

[4] Tylor, *loc. cit.*, II, III.

[5] The modern mythologists of course identify the hare with the Moon. De Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, II, 81.

barking in front is lucky, and when this occurs they clasp their hands and salute the animal.

Taboos.

53. After a Mânjhi is initiated by his preceptor (*guru*) he is warned by him not to eat a particular fruit. This is very generally that of the *bargad* or banyan and is known as *guruchhorni*. Boys, and occasionally girls, have the *rás* name or that determined by astrological considerations fixed by the Pandit, but this is kept secret and they are called by another name.[1] They will not eat the flesh of the cow or the domestic pig, snakes, lizards, crocodiles, or rats. The disuse of beef is comparatively modern, and is based on religious considerations derived from their Hindu neighbours. They will not touch a Dom, Chamâr, Dhobi, or Dharkâr, and they particularly object to the presence of Doms in their villages. The women are not allowed to join in the tribal worship of Ningo Bâghiya, whom they hesitate to name and generally call Bûrha Deo or the "old god." A man will not call his wife by her name. If she has a son he calls her "mother of so and so." A man may not speak to his younger brother's wife or the mother of his son's wife or of his daughter's husband (*samdhin*). A wife may not call her father-in-law by his name.[2] In the morning no one will speak of a donkey, of quarrelling, or death. They have the usual euphemisms in speaking of more dangerous animals, unlucky villages, or disreputable or miserly people. A woman while in her menses is under a rigid taboo, sits and eats apart, and engages in no household duties.[3]

Oaths.

54. Their tribal oaths are touching a broad-sword,[4] touching the feet of a Brâhman, holding a cow's tail, touching Ganges water. They believe that anyone who forswears himself becomes poor and loses his children. Another form of oath occasionally employed is to stand in a pool of water or to walk through fire. These latter oaths are principally used in enquiries before the tribal council.

Witchcraft.

55. Witches are numerous, and feared, and are both male and female. They are detested by the Patâri priests, who use all their efforts to expel

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[1] On this, see Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*, 243.

[2] On these prohibitions arising out of relationships, see Letourneau, *Evolution of Marriage*, 290 : Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*, II.

[3] Frazer, *Golden Bough*, II, 238 *sqq*.

[4] The Kanwars of the Central Provinces worship the broad-sword as an emblem of power under the name of Jhâra Khand or Jhagra Khand.—*Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 107.

them from the village. Witches are able to cause sickness and death. A suspected witch is caught, beaten with castor-oil rods,[1] and called on to withdraw her spells. Another plan is to put her standing in water, and to prick her on the breast, tongue, and thigh, with five or six needles tied together. The blood is mixed with rice, which she is made to swallow. The effect of this is that she forgets her unrighteous spells. The ordeal is efficacious only if performed by running water. It is considered possible to injure an enemy by feeling a goat on grain and then sacrificing it in his name before Mahàdâni or some of the other vicious godlings. There are numerous devices to check epidemics. When cholera begins, the elders of the village, with the Ojha, or wizard, feed a black fowl with grain, and drive it beyond the village boundaries, ordering it at the same time to take the disease away with it. If a resident of another village finds the fowl and eats it, cholera comes into his village. Hence, when disease is about, people are very cautious about meddling with stray fowls. When these animals are sent off, a little oil, red lead, and a woman's forehead spangle are usually fastened to its head. When such an animal appears in a village, it is taken to the shrine of the local god and sacrificed there, or in some cases they merely bow before it at the shrine and quietly pass it on to some other village. The original cost of the animal used as a scapegoat is defrayed by public subscription. This arrangement of sending out a scapegoat (*chalauwa*) is common all over the country.[2] Another method of keeping off disease is to hang little miniature cots (*chárpái*) on the tree over the village shrine. When people are supposed to be under the dominion of a *bhút*, the Ojha is consulted, gets into a state of ecstacy, and names the particular ghost.[3] At exorcisms of this kind it is dangerous for outsiders to be present, as a wandering *bhút* may possess you, and this is perhaps one reason why it is so difficult to learn much of the proceedings of the Ojha.[4] In some cases, as already stated, persons, possessed by a *bhút*, are beaten with the sacred chain (*gurda*) of the Baiga. Another plan is to burn strong smelling substances near the patient in order to drive out the *bhút*. The resin (*dhúp*) extracted from the *sál* tree is very commonly used for this purpose.

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[1] These correspond in their efficacy to the Rowan of Scotland.—W. Henderson, *Folklore of the Northern Counties*, 224; Conway, *Demonology and Devil Lore* I, 126.

[2] On Scapegoats, see Conway, *Demonology and Devil Lore*, II, 131, 169 187.

[3] Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I, 127, 439.

[4] *Ibid*, II, 135.

The office of the Ojha is considered respectable. Noted Ojhas take pupils on payment and instruct them in the craft. It principally consists in the knowledge of a number of hocus-pocus spells (*mantra*), which are used in sudden disease, snake and scorpion bite, and the like.

Dreams.

56. Dreams are valuable as announcing that dead ancestors, who alone appear in this way, need propitiation. They are interpreted by the oldest and most experienced member of the family. When spirits appear in dreams it is usual to promise to make an offering of cakes, molasses, and butter, which is generally effectual.

Evil Eye.

57. They believe in the influence of the Evil Eye (*nazar*). People born on a Saturday have the power of casting it, and it can be avoided by the passes (*jharna*) of an Ojha. They have the usual means of baffling the Evil Eye by hanging beads, nuts, cowries, etc., round the necks of children; by hanging up a blackened tile in fields or on the roofs of houses; and by driving iron pins into the door frame. Witches, and people who cast the Evil Eye, are believed to wander about at night with an evil effect. They touch people while they are asleep and beset them. They cut and carry off locks of their hair, and thus acquire an influence over them. Divination is an art unknown to the tribe, and is done for them by Brâhmans.

Agricultural beliefs.

58. On the third light half of Baisâkh, they take omens of the season, and make five furrows in the field with a plough. On that day they sow a little *sâwân* millet, generally five handfuls. When they begin cultivation, they take the plough five times round the field, and sow five handfuls of seed grain. That day they eat specially good food. They do not commence sowing until the Baiga sets the example; and so with manuring. The Baiga throws down five baskets of manure and then every one does the same. They interpret the cry of the cuckoo (*papiha*) as an omen of heavy rain. When the tree lizard (*girgit*) becomes red, and the skin on a buffalo's tail scarlet, and when buffalo urine dries up at once on the ground, it is a sign of immediate rain. A rainbow in the evening marks the cessation of the rains: when it shows in the morning, rain will be abundant. When the honey in the nests of the jungle bee coagulates, and when there is frost in spring, the autumn rains will be heavy. When the crop is ripe, the Baiga cuts five handfuls, and harvest begins. There

is no special worship, but on that day the Baiga gets a meal of rice and pulse. Some, however, make an offering to the village gods. Cutting begins on Monday, Wednesday, or Friday. Saturday is a very unlucky day for beginning any field work. There appears no trace of the custom of rushing at the last uncut portion of the field and carrying the grain home with special ceremonies.[1] But when the new grain is ripe, the first five handfuls cut are taken home, crushed, and offered to Ningo Bâghiya. The special guardian deity of crops is known as the "Green lady"—Hariyeri or Hariyâri Devi. She is worshipped with a fire offering (*hom*) in the field at sowing and harvest time. Another of these field godlings is Chordeva, the field thief. He has a wife known as Chordevi, and both are sometimes known as Chor and Chorni. Like the Jâk and Jâkni,[2] they live in different but adjoining villages, and the Chor robs threshing floors to support his wife. Hence, if you see one village thriving and its neighbour ruined, you may know that the Chorni lives in the former and the Chor in the latter. These field thieves are kept in order by the Ojha and Baiga.[3] *Bhâts* are also in the habit of robbing threshing floors until the grain is measured. In order to counteract them, a sacred circle is made round the corn heap, and baskets are never allowed to remain mouth upwards.

Food.

59. In addition to the food taboos already noted, they will not eat flesh during the fortnight devoted to the souls of the dead (*pitra-paksha*), and when a man returns from a pilgrimage he abstains for a time from meat and fish. The children eat first and the eldest last, men and women eat apart. As they eat, they throw a little food and water on the ground in the name of Parameśar. They use hemp (*gânja*), liquor and tobacco. Liquor is offered to the local god (*Deohâr*), but not to Ningo Bâghiya. They believe that using hemp (*gânja*) keeps off itch and malaria; and that the use of liquor wards off malaria. Drunkenness is considered disreputable.

Salutation.

60. Equals salute one another in the form known as *pâlagi*. Elders receive the *pâlagi* and give a blessing (*asis*) in return. They do *pâlagi* to clansmen and *salâm* to strangers. In the presence of superiors

[1] See Frazer, *Golden Bough*, Chap. III.

[2] For which see *Introduction to Popular Religion*, 234.

[3] Among the Oràons, Chordeva has become an evil spirit, which, in the form of a cat, injures pregnant women.—Dalton, *Ethnology*, 251.

some stand on one leg, take off their shoes or turbans, and *saldm*. Connections by marriage (*Samdhi*) use the salutation *Jukdr*, "may you live long!" An elder gives a blessing to a younger in the form *nikéraho*: "may you be prosperous!" They salute by putting the left hand under the right elbow and raising the right hand to the level of the forehead. Women on meeting embrace each other and weep.[1] When a man meets his mother, or grandmother, he touches her feet and says *Pdélagi ddi*: "I touch your feet mother!" She kisses him on the lips and cheeks and says *Jiyo putra*: "Live, my son!"

Status of women.

61. Women are, as a rule, well treated. They say that a house is empty (*sûna*) without a woman in it. The wife, and especially the senior wife, if there are more than one, is mistress in household affairs, and she is consulted about marriage alliances and other important business. But women are considered much inferior to men, and a wife cannot sit on a cot in the presence of her husband: she eats after him and walks behind him on the road. But quarrelling and wrangling are certainly not so common among them as with ordinary low caste Hindus.[2] Some men, however, ill-treat their wives, and cases of suicide and the escape of young wives to their parents' home are not uncommon. The tribal council punishes misconduct of this kind. In any case a woman has to take bad language from her husband in silence or stand the risk of a beating.

Old people, visitors, strangers.

62. Old people are respected and supported. The Mânjhis are very hospitable, especially to clansmen, and often incur debt in consequence of this. When a guest comes, even if they have to borrow, they arrange a performance of the Karama for him and supply him with liquor. They assist relations on occasions of mourning and rejoicing. There is a good deal of clan feeling amongst them, and if a tribesman is injured by a stranger, they, though generally a very peaceable people, are ready to turn out with their bludgeons to assist him. They very seldom appear as plaintiffs or defendants in court, and violent crimes against person and property are practically unknown among them.

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[1] This was the way in which Penelope welcomed Telemachus.—*Odyssey*, XVII, 38. And see the whole subject discussed by Darwin, *Expression of the Emotions*, p., 216, *sq*.

[2] This has also been noticed in the case of the Gonds.—*Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 35.

63. One division of Ahîrs, the Kaunrâi, will eat food and drink water touched by them. Doms will eat their leavings. They will eat food cooked in butter (*pakki*), only if cooked by themselves or by Brâhmans. They pride themselves on abstaining from the use of beef and pork.

Social status.

64. The women are tattooed. They say that if they are not tattooed, Paramesar will pitch them out of heaven.[1] Nearly all the men among the Mânjhis, as well as the allied tribes of the Chero, Panika, and Parahiya wear little brass or gold rings in the lobe of the ear.[2] Some wear their silver bangles on both wrists. Some Mânjhi men wear iron rings, made of three folds of wire, on the little finger and thumb of the right hand: some wear a broad brass amulet (*bâzu*) on the upper part of the left arm. A few wear silver images of Sîtala with the figure embossed and gilt. Some again have a thin double necklace of small purple beads, with a larger white glass bead strung between the others, every three or four inches apart. Some again wear a broad brass ring with a thin iron wire ring beside it on the first finger of the right hand. The better class wear the ordinary Hindu jacket (*mirzâi*) and loin-cloth (*dhoti*); but the clothing of the poorer men is very scanty and consists merely of a small loin-rag (*bhagai*), and a scrap of cloth tied round the head, while the hair hangs behind uncut and unkempt. The Mânjhi women all wear heavy pewter anklets (*pairi*). These are usually terribly heavy and cumbrous and give them a peculiar heavy stumbling gait.[3] Women of the Poiya sept wear another form of anklet like the *gorahra* of the Hindus. They are not allowed to wear yellow clothes nor glass bangles (*chûri*), and, even if married do not apply red lead to the parting of the hair, as ordinary low caste Hindu women do. They go so far as not to allow a woman of another caste into the dwelling-house or cow-shed, if she wears yellow clothes or a forehead spangle (*tikuli*). Mânjhi women must keep the head bare, and are not allowed to draw the sheet over it.

Clothes, jewelry, tattooing.

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[1] Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*, 374. For the custom of tattooing among these tribes, see *Agariya*, para. 23.

[2] The Mariya Gonds have the upper part of the lobe pierced and ornamented with small earrings of brass or iron.—*Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 35; Hislop, *Papers*, 11.

[3] These heavy anklets are a favourite subject of rural satire—*Bâhar puderai îta ser kê nenra, ghar sûp na daura*: "outside she boasts of her anklets weighing three sers and has not at home even a grain sieve and basket."—Christian, *Proverbs of Behâr*, 34.

This rule is relaxed only for old women in cold or wet weather.[1] The women have a way of enveloping their lower limbs in the loin-cloth so tightly, that when they sit down on the ground they have to spread out their legs. They, also, contrary to the custom of all ordinary Hindu women, wear a sort of inner garment, like a man's *langoti*, which is known as *bhagna*. This is made specially for them by the weavers of the Panika tribe, who charge fancy prices for it. It is ornamented along the edges with red stripes. Women keep this a secret, and are very unwilling to speak of it or give a specimen. They also wear a specially warm heavily woven upper sheet of cotton known as *darab*, which has an ornamented border. This may be worn by other castes, but it is a special Mânjhi dress.

Morality.

65. Though there is a good deal of tribal license, both before and after marriage, the women are generally considered to be good wives. Prostitution or polyandry is unknown among them.

Occupation.

66. They work as cultivators and ploughmen and cultivate at lower rates than their Hindu neighbours. Their special form of cultivation used to be the *dahya*, by which a patch of jungle was periodically burnt down and seeds scattered in the ashes.[2] This is now being gradually abandoned. The first crop sown on newly cleared land is generally the small sesamum (*tilli*). They are, as is usual with half-civilised races,[3] lazy and inefficient cultivators.

Mal.—(Sanskrit *Malla*, "a wrestler"),[4] a sub-division of the Kurmi tribe almost altogether confined to the Azamgarh District.—A reference to them will be found under the head of Bisen Râjputs. They regard themselves as descended through a Kurmi concubine from the Rishi Mayûra Bhatta, who, after leaving Gorakhpur settled at Kankradih, on the banks of the Sarju, in Pargana Nathupur of the Azamgarh District. The present Mals of Kankradih claim to hold under a grant from Harsha Varddhana, King of Kanauj. The Mals are exogamous and intermarry with

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[1] This is the rule also with the Santâls.—Dalton, *Ethnology*, 217.

[2] On this, see *Gazetteer, Central Provinces*, 280; Hislop, *Papers*, 2; Forsyth, *Highlands of Central India*, 102.

[3] See instances collected by Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, I, 59.

[4] Dr. Oppert suggests that most of these tribal names of which the first syllable is Mal, such as Malla, Mala, Malava, Malaya, etc., are derived from the Ganda-Dravidian root Mala in the sense of "mountain."—*Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarsa*, 13.

the Sainthwâr Kurmis of Gorakhpur, who take the title of Nâgbansi or "of the seed of the dragon." Monogamy is the rule and concubinage is prohibited. Marriage is generally adult. Widow marriage is prohibited.

2. Some are Vaishnavas and others Saivas. They specially worship Kâli and the Dih, the aggregate of the village godlings. In their ceremonies they agree with the Kurmis, of whom, in spite of their legend of aristocratic descent, they are admittedly a subdivision.

Malang: a class of Muhammadan Faqîrs who are usually regarded as a branch of the Madâri (*q. v.*). They call themselves specially followers of Jaman Jati, who was a disciple of Shâh Madâr—According to Dr. Herklots [1] "their dress is the same as that of the Muharram Malang Faqîrs, except that they wear the hair of the head very full, or it is matted and formed into a knot behind. Sometimes they wear some kind of cloth round the knot. Some of them tie round the waist a chain or thick rope and wear a very small loin-cloth. Wherever they sit down they burn the *dhúni* (fire) and sometimes rub the ashes over their bodies." Mr. Maclagan [2] says that in the Panjâb "the term is generally applied in a more general way to any unattached religious beggar who drinks *bhang* or smokes *charas* in excess, wears nothing but a loin-cloth, and keeps fire always near him. The Malangs are said to wear the hair on the head very full, or it is matted and tied into a knot behind. The shrine of Jhangi Shâh Khâki, in the Pasrûr Tahsîl of the Siâlkot District, is frequented by Malangs."

2. At the last Census they appear to have been included among the Madâris.

Mâlavi: a division of Brâhmans who take their name from being emigrants from Mâlwa.—Of them Sir J. Malcolm writes: [3] "Besides the various tribes of Brâhmans from the Dakkhin, there are no less than eighty-four sects in Central India; but almost all these trace, or pretend to trace, the emigration of their ancestors, and that at no distant period, from neighbouring countries. The six sects, or Chhanâti tribe of Brâhmans, alone claim the Province of Mâlwa as their native country, and even they refer back to a period of twenty or thirty generations, when their ancestors came into it; but they still

[1] *Qánún-i-Islám*, 192; and see the article *Dhúna*, *supra*.
[2] *Panjáb Census Report*, 197.
[3] *Central India*, II, 122.

have a pride in being termed Mâlwa Brâhmans, which to the rest would be a reproach." Of the origin of the Mâlwa Brâhmans in this part of the country nothing very certain is known. Mr. Sherring[1] suspects that they are akin to their neighbours the Gujarâti Brâhmans. They have a legend that one of the kings of Mâlwa endeavoured to make all the Brâhmans of that Province eat *kachchi* and *pakki* together, and that, on their objecting, he confined them in a double-storied house. At night they saw the people of the place worshipping a local godling named Pânrê Bâba, and on this the Brâhmans vowed to worship the deity themselves if he saved them from their trouble. The Bâba got the doors unlocked, and they all fled to Benares. Some of their brethren who remained behind obeyed the orders of the king, and since then the branch in this part of the country have given up all connection with them.

Tribal organisation.

2. The Mâlavi Brâhmans are divided into thirteen-and-a-half *gotras*, which, with their titles, are as follows—Bhâradwâja, Chaubê Parâsara, Dûbê, Angiras Chaubê, Bhârgava Chaubê. All these are Rigvedis. Sândilya, Dûbê, Kâsapa Chaubê, Kautsa Dûbê—these are Yajurvedis—Vatsa, Vyâs, Gautam, Tivâri, Lohita Tivâri, and Kaundinya—who are Samavedis. Lastly come the Katyâyana, Pâthakand, the Maitreya, or half *gotra*, both of which are Samavedis. They follow the usual Brâhmanical rules of intermarriage. Their chief religious functions appear to be acting as family priests of the Mathura Chaubês. Many of them live by secular occupations, such as trading, doing clerk's work, and general service, and they are in fact more of a trading than a priestly class. The Mâlavi Brâhmans do not hold a high reputation in the Eastern part of the Province, and are generally regarded as tricky and quarrelsome.

Mâli[2] (Sanskrit *mâlika*, "a garland-maker,") a caste whose primary occupation is gardening and providing flowers for use in Hindu worship.—The caste is a purely occupational one, and there is good reason to suppose that the Mâli is closely allied to the Kurmi, Koiri, and Kâchhi, the two last of whom engage in the finer kind of culture which resembles that of the regular Mâli. At the same time the caste cannot be a very ancient one. "Generally speaking

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[1] *Hindu Tribes*, I, 104, *sq.*

[2] Based on enquiries at Mirzapur and notes by Bâbu Âtma Râm, Head-master, High School, Mathura; M. Baldeo Sahây, Head-master, High School, Fatehgarh; M. Bhagwati Dayâl Sinh, Tahsîldar, Chhibramau, Farrukhâbâd.

it may be said that flowers have scarcely a place in the Veda. Wreaths of flowers, of course, are used as decorations, but the separate flowers and their beauty are not yet appreciated. That lesson was first learned later by the Hindu when surrounded by another flora. Amongst the Homeric Greeks, too, in spite of their extensive gardening, and their different names for different flowers, not a trace of horticulture is yet to be found."[1]

Tribal legends.

2. One story of the origin of the caste is that one day Pârvati was plucking flowers in her garden, when a thorn pierced her finger. She complained to Siva, who took a particle of sandalwood from his head, or by another account a drop of his perspiration, and on this Pârvati wiped the blood from her wounded finger, and thus the first Mâli was created. According to the Bengal legend as told by Mr. Risley, they trace their descent from the garland-maker attached to the household of Râja Kans at Mathura. Krishna asked him one day for a garland of flowers, and he at once gave it. "On being told to fasten it with a string, he, for want of any other, took off his Brâhmanical cord and tied it; on which Krishna most ungenerously rebuked him for his simplicity in parting with it, and announced that in future he would be ranked among the Sûdras."

Internal organisation.

3. According to the returns of the last Census the Mâlis are divided into eight principal endogamous sub-castes: Barhauliya, Baheniya, Bhâgîrathi, Dilliwâl or Dehliwâl, Golê, Kapri, whose speciality is making the crowns, ornaments, etc., used in Hindu marriage processions, Kanaujiya, and Phûlmâli. The complete Census returns record 853 sub-divisions, among which those of most local importance are the Deswâli of Sahâranpur; the Panwâr and Samri of Bulandshahr; the Bahliyân, Bhanolê, Bhawâni, Bhomiyân, Khatri, Mohur, Meghiyân, Mulâna, and Pemaniyân of Morâdâbâd; the Râjpuriya and Tholiya of Basti; the Kota of the Tarâi. In Farrukhâbâd we also find the Kachhmâli, who claim kinship with the Kâchhis; Khatiya, who are said to owe their name to their constant use of manure (*khât*), and the Hardiya or growers of turmeric (*haldi*). In Agra are found the Mathur or "residents of Mathura," who are the same as the Phûlmâli or "flower" Mâli, work only as gardeners, and forbid widow mar-

[1] Schrader, *Prehistoric Antiquities*, 121.

riage; the Mewâti, or "those from Mewât," who allow widow marriage; and the Dilwâri, or Delhi branch, who permit widow marriage, and work at drawing gold and silver wire. In Mathura are found the Phûlmâli, Surâb, Hardiya, Saini, Golê and Kâchhi; of which the Saini and Kâchhi are usually treated as separate castes, and have been so recorded at the last enumeration. The sub-castes of the Mâlis and Sainis also disclose a strong resemblance. These sub-castes are endogamous and are each divided into a number of *gotras*, a fairly complete list of which no member of the caste can pretend to supply. The rule of exogamy is thus stated at Mathura: A man can marry within his own sub-caste, subject to the condition that the bride is not of the same *gotra* as that of the bridegroom, his mother, and grandmother. He can marry two sisters, but the second wife must be younger than the first. Marriage is usually infant if the parties can afford it, but the marriage of poor adult males is not uncommon. Widows and divorced wives can re-marry by the *sagâi* or *dharîcha* form, and the levirate is permitted under the usual conditions, but is not compulsory on the woman.

Religion.

4. In Mathura they are Sâktas and worship Devi as their tribal deity. In Farrukhâbâd they have a tribal godling named Kurehna, to whom they make offerings of he-goats, rams, and sweetmeats at marriages and at the birth of a male child. These offerings are made in the house with closed doors, and no member of another caste is allowed to be present. The offerings are eaten by the family, and whatever is left is immediately buried with great precautions against any one seeing the performance. In Dehra Dûn they are worshippers of Kâli Devi, Aghornâth, and Narasinha Deva. To the East of the Province they worship Kâli and Mahâkâli, and the Pânchonpîr in the manner common to castes of the same social grade.

Occupation.

5. The primary occupation of the Mâli is gardening and he is employed by private persons, or grows flowers and vegetables in his own land for sale. In the larger towns there is a considerable trade in flowers, which are used at marriages and other festivities, and bought to be offered at the daily worship of the gods. Some are again used for the manufacture of essences, of which the rose-water made in large quantities at Ghâzipur and Fatehgarh is a good example. The regular distiller of these essences is the Gandhi, who buys flowers

from Mâlis. There is also a wholesale dealer in flowers called Gulfarosh or "rose seller," who purchases flowers in large quantities and supplies orders for important marriages, etc. The Mâli again provides the nuptial crown (*maur*) for the bridegroom. He has another special function, as the village priest of Sîtala, and when an epidemic of small-pox rages in a village, a general subscription is raised, out of which the Mâli does the necessary worship to Kâli and Sîtala. He also inoculates children, and is thus a constant opponent to our vaccinators. In this capacity he is known as Darshaniya (*darshan*, "seeing, worshipping"). In the same way he is sometimes employed as a sort of hedge priest to the village godlings and minor gods when the services of a Brâhman or Sannyâsi are not available.

Social rank.

6. The rank of the Mâli is fairly respectable. They eat goat's flesh and mutton, but not beef, and drink liquor. In Farrukhâbâd they will eat *pakki* of Kâyasths; *kachchi* of Lohârs and Sunârs; and drink water with the same. Nâis and Kahârs will eat *pakki* from them, and Kahârs will eat their *kachchi*. The Mâli is a well-known figure in the folktales. The hero is often his son, or is protected by the gardener and his wife. One popular verse runs—

Mâli châhé barasna; Dhobi châhé dhûp; Sâhu châhé bolna; chor châhé chup.

"The gardener prays for rain; the washerman for sunshine; the banker loves a chat; and the thief quiet."

Distribution of Mâlis according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Barhauliya.	Baheniya.	Bhâgirathi.	Dilliwâl.	Golâ.	Kapri.	Kanaujiya.	Phûlmâli.	Others.	Total.
Dehra Dûn	...	10	110	...	270	...	5	146	233	774
Sahâranpur	...	3,619	7,803	1,718	11,814	54	117	172	5,704	31,001
Muzaffarnagar	...	483	4,831	...	852	109	1	278	883	7,437
Meerut	...	2,312	5,069	...	...	1	...	466	9,572	17,420
Bulandshahr	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	826	10,239	11,065
Aligarh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,936	1,334	3,270
Mathura	...	...	...	2	5	...	...	5,524	1,561	7,092
Agra	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	291	...	729
Farrukhâbâd	45	...	...	...	...	...	330	2,391	927	3,693
Mainpuri	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	724	384	1,112
Etâwah	...	...	...	...	...	...	16	543	277	836
Etah	69	10	...	...	14	...	...	433	256	782
Bareilly	80	...	...	64	...	89	51	2,638	352	3,224

Bijnor	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	594	247	841
Budâun	256	...	...	24	...	...	2	1,055	983	2,320
Morâdâbâd	252	43,211	5,195	...	117	...	30	3,241	19,094	71,140
Shâhjahânpur	20	8	...	13	...	...	352	1,067	183	1,643
Pilibhît	13	...	...	71	...	...	66	564	210	924
Cawnpur	225	...	...	...	17	...	431	2,880	2,511	6,064
Fatehpur	761	...	...	...	...	...	88	1,153	1,759	3,761
Bânda	153	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,468	288	1,909
Hamîrpur	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	1,722	333	2,058
Allahâbâd	1,325	...	...	...	...	...	...	592	1,771	3,688
Jhânsi	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	427	168	595
Jâlaun	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	567	174	741
Lalitpur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	579	54	633
Benares	940	...	...	...	...	...	87	125	770	1,922
Mirzapur	1,044	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	876	1,920
Jaunpur	1,340	...	...	...	...	...	...	28	638	2,006
Ghâzipur	183	...	...	...	...	...	442	90	358	1,073

Distribution of Mâlis according to the Census of 1891—concluded.

Districts.	Barhauliya.	Baheniya.	Bhâgirathi.	Dilliwâl.	Golê.	Kapri.	Kanaujiya.	Phûlmâli.	Others.	Total.
Ballia	...	...	...	...	...	...	682	642	480	1,804
Gorakhpur	394	...	...	...	...	...	505	1,540	2,341	4,780
Basti	1,106	...	...	...	...	...	...	395	1,173	2,674
Azamgarh	303	...	...	...	...	...	292	187	865	1,647
Garhwâl	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	36	36
Tarâi	...	10	1,912	...	12	...	...	247	4,215	6,396
Lucknow	141	...	...	32	...	...	122	1,426	1,963	3,684
Unâo	...	...	...	...	31	...	129	3,656	2,996	6,812
Râê Bareli	490	...	...	...	...	...	74	2,915	1,651	5,130
Sîtapur	...	...	...	18	...	...	298	370	1,188	1,874
Hardoi	...	...	...	...	...	...	153	2,144	778	3,075
Kheri	...	...	...	9	...	...	22	575	228	834
Faizâbâd	1,682	...	...	...	...	...	...	145	450	2,277

Gonda	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,091	376	4,467
Bahrâich	188	...	...	...	..	...	24	216	950	1,378
Sultânpur	328	...	...	...	...	...	...	429	268	1,025
Partâbgarh	174	...	...	...	...	...	...	579	1,462	2 215
Bârabanki	577	...	...	...	...	...	79	2,177	965	3,798
TOTAL .	12,043	49,663	24,920	1,951	13,132	253	4,407	54,254	22.479	245,876

Malkâna, Malakâna (*mâlik*, "a ruler").—A sept of Muhammadan Râjputs, chiefly found in Agra and Mathura. Originally they were mostly Jais and Gaurua Thâkurs who have been converted to Islâm by the sword, but still retain many Hindu customs and are known by Hindu names. They are classed among the Naumuslim.[1]

Distribution of the Malkânas according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.
Mathura	1,000
Agra	4,546
Mainpuri	27
Etah	28
Total	5,601

Mallâh[2] (Arabic *mallah*, "to be salt," or, according to others, "to move its wings as a bird")—a general term including various boating and fishing tribes. The term is no doubt purely occupational, and, being of Arabic origin, must have been introduced in comparatively recent times. But in spite of the doubts expressed by Mr. Risley,[3] it seems beyond question that in Northern India, at least, there is a definite social group, including a number of endogamous tribes, of which various lists are given, which are collected under the general term Mallâh. The group includes a number of diverse elements, and it is this fact which makes an ethnological analysis of them so intricate and perplexing. By other tribes they are known as Mallâh, Kewat, Dhîmar, Karbak, Nikhâd, Kachhwâha, Mânjhi, Kumbhilak or Jâlak. They are very generally known as Mallâh or Mânjhi, but the latter is more properly the designation of the steersman of the boat, so called because he sits in the middle (*madhya*). They must be carefully distinguished from the Dravidian Mânjhis.

Mathura Settlement Report, 35.

[2] Based on enquiries at Mirzapur and notes by Mr. W. Cockburn, Deputy Collector, Jâlaun; M. Udit Nârâyan Lâl, Ghâzipur; M. Bhagwân Dâs, Allahâbâd.

[3] *Tribes and Castes*, II, 64.

MALLÂH.

Traditions of origin.

2. Most Mallâhs represent themselves as descended from the Nishâda, a mountain tribe of the Vindhya range. Though this country is famous as the kingdom of Nala, it does not appear exactly where it was situated. It may be concluded that it was not far from Vidharba (Bihâr), as that was the kingdom of Damayanti, and from the directions given by Nala to Damayanti, it seems to be near the Vindhya mountains, and roads led from it across the Raksha mountain to Avanti and the South as well as to Vidharba and Kosala. It may also be noted that a colony of the same people lived at Sringavera on the Ganges, a day's march above its junction with the Ganges, and their king is described in the Râmâyana as having treated Râma and Sîta with kindness in their wanderings.[1] The Bâthma or Sribâstav Mallâhs have a tradition that they were originally Srivâstava Kâyasths, and lived at some place called Srinagar in the hills, and were driven from there, because they refused to give one of their girls to the king of that country. The ancestor of the Mallâhs of the Ganges valley in the Eastern districts of the Provinces is said to have steered the boat in which Râm Chandra crossed the river on his way to Chitrakût during his banishment, and is said to have settled at the village of Râm Chaura, where there is now a ferry across the Ganges about twenty miles above Allahâbâd. The head-quarters of the Mirzapur Mallâhs is at Sirsa on the Tons, in the Allahâbâd District, close to where that river joins the Ganges. In Benares they have a tradition that "Râma, being pleased with the head of the caste, gave him a horse, on which he placed a bridle, not on the head, but, in his ignorance, on the tail. Hence the custom, it is stated, of having the helm at the stern of a boat instead of in front."[2]

Tribal organization.

3. As might be expected in the case of a tribe which is of occupational origin and made up of various elements, the lists of endogamous sub-tribes are very indefinite. In the last Census these are given as Agarwâla; Bâthma (which appears to be a corruption of Srivâstava and to be derived from the old city of Sravâsti, the present Sahet Mahet of the Gonda District, which gives its title to so many sub-castes of

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[1] Wilson, *Vishnu Purâna*, 190; *Theatre of the Hindus, Uttara Râma Charitra*, I 300.

[2] Sherring, *Hindu Tribes*, I, 347.

other tribes); Châîn, which is said to be derived from Charva, which was the title of a tribe supposed to be descended from an outcaste Vaisya; Dhuriya; Kewat; Kharêbind; Nikhâd, who take their name from their Nishâda ancestor; and the Surahiya. The complete returns give 625 sub-divisions of the Hindu and 22 of the Musalmân branch, of which those of the most local importance are the Chaudhariya of Aligarh; the Balliya of Mathura; the Jarya of Agra, Mainpuri, and Etâwah; the Bhok of Cawnpur; the Nathu of Allahâbâd; the Bhârmarê of Benares; the Tiyar of Ghâzipur; the Kulwant of Ballia; the Gonriya and Kalwant of Gorakhpur; the Dhelphora, Mahohar, Sonhâr, and Turaiha of Basti; the Bhontiya and Machhar of Garhwâl; the Râjghatiya of Lucknow and Bârabanki; the Dhâr of Unâo; the Kharautiya of Faizâbad; the Jalchhatri and Khas of Sultânpur. A list collected at Mirzapur gives the usual seven sub-castes—Muriya or Muriyâri; Bâthawa or Badhariya; Châi, Châîn or Chaini; Guriya or Goriya; Tiyar; and Surahiya or Sorahiya. So far this agrees with Mr. Sherring's list from Benares. The Mirzapur list adds Bind, and the Benares list Pandûbi or "one who dives in water;" Kulwat or Kulwant, "one of gentle birth;" and Kewat. An Allahâbâd list gives Bâthmi or Bathwa; Châîn; Ghogh; Tiyar; Goriya; Sorahiya, and Sribâthawa. Some of these, such as the Bind, Kharêbind, and Kewat, have been separately enumerated at the last Census, and it is convenient to treat them as distinct endogamous groups; but the so-called classification of the Mallâhs as a caste is quite sufficient to show that it is nothing more than an occupational aggregate made up of very divergent elements.

4. All the sub-castes described above are strictly endogamous and will not eat or smoke together. They have, as a rule, no general tribal council; but the local groups hold meetings (*panchâyat*) of their own, consisting of as many adult males as can be brought together. They deal only with matters of caste discipline, and their orders are enforced by excommunication. Restoration is secured by giving a feast (*bhojan*) to the castemen. To the East of the Province, where they are most numerous, they appear to be in the transitional stage between infant and adult marriage;—the former being preferred by those families who have risen to a more respectable social position. Pre-nuptial infidelity is said to be reprobated but a clear distinction is drawn between an amour with a tribes-

Marriage rules.

man or an outsider. The latter involves summary excommunication of the girl and her relations; but it may be condoned by a tribal feast, and then the girl can be married in the caste. Their law of exogamy is not very clearly defined. In Allahâbâd it appears that the descendants of a common ancestor are not allowed to intermarry; but with such people who have no professional genealogists, the recollection of relationship lasts seldom more than three or at the most four generations, and after this cousins freely intermarry. \\The marriage in the regular form (*chárhawa*) runs through the regular stages—the inspection of the bride and bridegroom by the relations on both sides; the comparison of horoscopes (*rásbarg*); the dressing of the bride in clothes supplied by the bridegroom, which is known as the "marking down" of the girl (*larki kâ chhenkna*); the reciprocal present to the bridegroom (*bar chhekani*); the fixing by the village Pandit of an auspicious moment (*sâyat sa' at*) for the commencement of the anointing (*tel abtanni*) of the boy and girl; the sending to the friend on both sides of the marriage invitation (*lagan pattra*), which is tied with a red and yellow string (*kalâwa*) and contains inside a little rice and turmeric, all of which the bridegroom lays on the household shrine; the starting of the procession (*bârât*); the worship of Ganesa (*Ganeshji ki pûja*); the cooking of food for the family godling (*deota kâ neota*); the cooking of an offering of food for the sainted dead (*pitr kâ neota*); the ceremonial purchase of parched grain (*lâwa*), which is sprinkled on the hair as they revolve round the marriage shed; the waving ceremony (*parachhan*), done over the head of the bridegroom to scare evil spirits and bring good luck; the return of the procession to the halting-place (*janwânsa*) assigned to them outside the village; the actual ceremony, where the bride is brought out by the barber's wife and seated to the right of the boy; the tying of their clothes in a knot (*gathbandhan*); the five circumambulations (*bhaunri*) round the marriage shed; the marking of the parting of the bride's hair with red lead (*sindurdân*); the pouring over the pair of the parched grain by the bride's brother into a fan (*beni*) held by her; the visit to the retiring-room (*kohabar*), where the bridegroom's marriage crown (*maur*) is removed and he is fed on curds and sugar and freely chaffed by the female relations of the bride; the ceremonial *confarreatio* or feeding of the married pair on rice and pulse (*khichari*); the return of the bride, if she be nubile, to the house of her husband; the worship of the Ganges (*Gangaji ki pûja*);

the untying of the marriage bracelet (*kangan utárna*) ; the drowning of the marriage jar (*kalsa, bandanwár, dubána*). All these ceremonies have been more or less fully described in connection with other castes.

5. Widow marriage (*sagái, dharauna, baithki*) is permitted, and the levirate, under the usual limitations, is allowed ; in fact the latter has the preference, and if there be a younger brother of the deceased husband who is unmarried and of a suitable age, the widow is generally married to him. The ceremony, such as it is, consists merely in the dressing of the woman in a suit of clothes and ornaments provided by the bridegroom. This is always done in secret at night in a dark room, apparently the element of secresy in the ceremonial being intended to propitiate the offended spirit of the dead husband. The parents of a virgin widow can dispose of her in marriage without the leave of the relatives of her late husband ; but if the girl have lived with her first husband, his relatives have a right to a voice in the subsequent disposal of her, and in many cases insist on being repaid the expenses of the first marriage by the friends of the second husband. A man can take a widow (*sagái*) while his first wife is alive ; but he is understood to do this only in case his first wife is barren, or if, as is often the case, she desires to secure a helpmate for household work. But, as a rule, it is only widowers who take a widow in marriage by the *sagái* form. As Mallâhs often leave their wives and go away for considerable periods on voyages up and down the Ganges or Jumna, the women are left much to themselves, with the result that the standard of female morality is not high, and inter-tribal *liasons* are not seriously regarded. This can be atoned for by a tribal feast, and, as among most of the castes of a similar social rank, the tribal council requires substantial evidence, generally nothing short of the direct evidence of eye-witnesses will be accepted as sufficient. Habitual infidelity is regarded as sufficient grounds for a husband discarding his wife with the leave of the tribal council, and, though there is some difference of practice, it seems to be admitted that women discarded in this way may, if they show a tendency to reform their morals, be re-married within the tribe by the *sagái* form.

Widow marriage.

6. Their domestic ceremonies are of the normal type. There are no ceremonies during pregnancy. The Chamárin midwife attends for six days, when, if the

Domestic ceremonies.

baby be a boy, the usual *chhathi* ceremony is performed. In the case of girls, this is done on the eighth day, when the mother is regarded as pure, and a Pandit is called in, who selects the religious name (*rás ka nám*), while the parents themselves select a name to be used for ordinary purposes. Children under eight years of age, or those who are unmarried, are buried; others are cremated in the usual way. For a male ten holy balls are offered on the tenth day, and for a woman nine on the ninth day. These are offered by the funeral priest (*Mahápátr*, *Mahábrâhman*). On the anniversary (*barsi*), twelve balls are offered. They have a special *pinda* offering for the sonless dead. A few who are in good circumstances go to Gaya to perform the Srâddha, and they do the usual Nârâyani-bal ceremony for those who die away from home.

Religion.

7. To the East of the Province their tribal deities are Mahâdova, Kâli, Bhâgawati, Mahâbîr, Ganga Mâi, Mahâlakshmi, Mahâsâraswati, the village godlings (*dih*), and the personification of the cremation ground in the form of Ghât or Masân. As household deities they have the Pânchon Pîr. Kâli and Bhâgawati are worshipped every second year with the sacrifice of a goat and the offering of chaplets of flowers. Mahâbîr receives sweetmeats on Sundays. Milk is poured as an offering to the Ganges before starting on a journey. The Pânchon Pîr are worshipped on a platform in the house with garlands of flowers, rice and pulse, sweetmeats (*laddu*) and sweet cakes (*rot*). Over this is poured a mixture of sugar and pepper dissolved in water and known as *mirchwán*, and the offering is finally consumed by the worshippers. In Bundelkhand they have a godling known as Ghatoi Bâba, who is probably connected with the cremation ground as already mentioned. A platform is made on the bank of a river under a tree, and a ram is sacrificed in his honour on the Dasahra or the tenth of the light half of Kuâr. The worshippers divide the offering among themselves. They have now come to regard Ghatoi Bâba as the ancestor of the tribe. All along the Ganges they worship the water godling Barun, who is the representative of the Vedic Varuna, the god of the sky. Further up the Ganges they worship specially Parihâr and Ghâzi Miyân, two of the quintette of the Pânchon Pîr, and make pilgrimages to Bahraich and the other cenotaphs for that purpose. Their demonology is that common to all the lower races. The offering made through the Ojha, Bhagta, or Syâna to evil spirits is

technically known as *basandar*. To the East of the Province the demon known as Birtiya Bîr is worshipped in times of sickness or other trouble. A Khatîk brings a young pig and sacrifices it for them in the name of the demon. When a person recovers from small-pox, he offers sweets to Sîtala Mâi. When starting on a voyage they offer a burnt offering (*hom*) and garlands of flowers to their boat.

Occupation and social status.

8. The business of the caste is managing boats and fishing. Those who are well off own boats of their own and employ poorer members of the tribe to work for them. The women of the Goriya caste are said to have an indifferent character as compared with others. In the East of the Province the members of the Bâthawa sub-caste eat only the flesh of sheep, goats, deer and all kinds of fish, except the Gangetic porpoise (*sús*), the *sekchi* and the crocodile. The others eat all kinds of fish and the tortoise. In Ghâzipur they are reported to eat the flesh of goats, pork, fish, tortoise, and rats; but not beef, monkeys, snakes, lizards, or the leavings of other people. In Allahâbâd they will eat *pakki* cooked at their own cooking place by a Brâhman, and with water supplied by themselves; but they will not eat *kachchi* cooked by a Brâhman, or even *pakki* if not cooked at their own fireplace. There is good evidence that many of the river dakâities committed in Bengal are the work of Mallâhs of these Provinces. Dr. Buchanan[1] writes: "Of late years the merchants, not only of Gorakhpur, but everywhere I have observed on the Ganges and its branches, have suffered very heavy losses from the carelessness and dissipation of the boatmen, who have become totally unmanageable. They have discovered the very great difficulty, if not impossibility, of obtaining legal redress against people who have nothing, who are paid in advance, and who can in general escape from justice by moving from place to place with the first boat that sails. There is great reason to suspect that the owners of the boat, or at least the Mânjhi who works for them, connive at the tricks of the men, and taking the full hire allow a part of the crew to desert, giving them a trifle, and keeping the remainder to themselves. The owners of the boats are totally careless about keeping the goods, and the composure with which I have seen the boatman sitting, while the

[1] *Eastern India*, II, 578.

merchant was tearing his hair and his property going to ruin, was truly astonishing." Much of this has, of course, ceased, since the introduction of the railway system has considerably reduced the river traffic. But even now Mallâhs bear an indifferent reputation as regards their dealings with their employers.

9. The Châi and Sorahiya sub-castes are so different from ordinary Mallâhs that they have been described in separate articles.

Distribution of Mallâhs according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Agarwâla.	Bâthma.	Châin.	Dhuriya.	Kewat.	Kharêbind.	Nikhâd.	Sorahiya.	Others.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Dehra Dûn	...	44	...	...	...	3	...	...	109	...	156
Sahâranpur	...	...	...	...	18	...	...	...	318	718	1,054
Muzaffarnagar	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	81	486	569
Meerut	...	...	...	...	51	...	...	...	967	1,212	2,230
Bulandshahr	14	104	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,596	42	1,756
Aligarh	...	87	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,402	...	2,489
Mathura	10	25	...	...	...	...	...	1	4,838	134	5,008
Agra	...	18	9	...	...	...	...	...	24,935	...	24,962
Farrukhâbâd	149	288	...	...	1	...	...	...	59	253	700
Mainpuri	1,422	116	...	...	...	...	101	...	1,567	...	3,206
Etâwah	1,603	483	534	...	...	...	4	...	1,323	...	3,947
Etah	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	73	83
Bareilly	...	...	...	...	...	...	45	...	65	...	110

Bijnor	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	96	16	112
Budâun	...	466	...	...	...	...	...	...	35	26	527
Morâdâbâd	...	4	...	...	...	...	123	...	865	28	1,020
Shâhjahânpur	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	612	378	996
Pilibhît	...	...	...	...	...	...	790	...	46	...	836
Cawnpur	6,332	2,839	156	...	...	...	92	...	7,445	40	16,904
Fatehpur	...	1,244	...	...	...	...	1	...	13	...	1,258
Bânda	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Hamîrpur	1	...	—	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	3
Allahâbâd	34	13,480	1,588	...	31,197	1	222	...	1,201	...	47,723
Jhânsi	1,835	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	26	...	1,870
Jâlaun	1,878	2	398	...	1	...	...	...	293	...	2,572
Lalitpur	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	2	...	3
Benares	...	...	6,589	...	1,506	...	548	...	1,611	...	10,254
Mirzapur	...	208	12,438	...	46,085	...	507	...	326	...	59,564
Jaunpur	...	...	11,845	...	31,339	...	467	...	538	...	44,189
Ghâzipur	...	122	12,431	...	9	...	...	935	1,198	...	14,695

Distribution of Mallâhs according to the Census of 1891—concluded.

Districts.	Agarwâla.	Bâthma.	Chaîn.	Dhuriya.	Kewat.	Kharêbind.	Nikhâd.	Sorahiya.	Others.	Muhammadans.	Total.
Ballia	...	...	3,298	...	136	...	...	8,561	2,944	...	14,939
Gorakhpur	...	...	14,692	...	16,554	155	213	5,360	15,907	204	53,085
Basti	...	...	2,056	...	355	...	1,376	369	6,810	...	10,966
Azamgarh	...	...	4,177	...	647	...	222	6,159	2,242	12	13,459
Tarâi	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	14	...	14
Lucknow	...	70	498	...	88	177	297	...	1,357	1	2,488
Unâo	...	...	...	2,462	...	...	6	...	13	...	2,481
Râê-Bareli	...	104	...	...	96	...	125	...	625	...	950
Sîtapur	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	5	...	7
Hardoi	...	...	...	63	...	...	...	...	...	...	63
Kheri	...	3,153	...	...	1,055	...	...	...	620	...	4,828
Faizâbâd	...	...	1,268	...	...	...	...	109	247	...	1,624
Gonda	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	202	4	206

Bahrâich	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	14	...	14
Sultânpur	...	...	6,070	...	1	405	651	...	3,984	...	11,111
Partâbgarh	...	...	233	...	...	...	21	...	299	2	555
Bârabanki	...	...	466	...	170	...	1,159	...	1,576	...	3,371
TOTAL .	13,279	22,816	78,746	2,525	129,313	741	6,967	21,494	89,498	3,629	369,008

Malûkdâsi.—A religious order who have not been separately enumerated at the last Census. According to Professor Wilson[1] they are a sub-division of the Râmanandi Vaishnavas, and the succession of the leaders of the sect is said to be—Râmanand, Âsanand, Krishna Dâs, Kîl, Malûk Dâs, making the last, consequently, contemporary with the author of the Bhakta Mâla, and placing him in the reign of Akbar. But Professor Wilson is of opinion that Malûk Dâs was contemporary with Aurangzeb: "The modifications of the Vaishnava doctrines introduced by Malûk Dâs appear to have been little more than the name of the teacher, and a shorter streak of red upon the forehead; in one respect indeed there is an important distinction between these and the Râmanandi ascetics, and the teachers of the Malûkdâsis appear to be of the secular order (*grihastha*), or householders, while the others are all cenobites; the doctrines are however, essentially the same; Vishnu or Râma is the object of their practical devotion and their principles partake of the spirit of quietism, which pervades these sects. Their chief authority is the Bhâgavad Gîta, and they read some small Sanskrit tracts containing the praise of Râma; they have also some Hindi Sâkhis and Vishnupadas attributed to their founder, as also a work in the same language, entitled the Dasratan. The followers of this sect are said to be numerous in particular districts, especially among the trading and servile classes, to the former of which the founder belonged. A verse attributed to Malûk Dâs is proverbial:—

Ajgar karé na chákari, panchhi karé na kâm;
Dâs Malúka yon kahé;
Sab ká dâta Râm:
'The snake performs no service,
The bird discharges no duty;
Malûk Dâs declares—
Râm is the giver of all.'[1]

2. "The principal establishment of the Malûkdâsis is at Kara Mânikpur, the birthplace of the founder, and still occupied by his descendants. There is a temple dedicated to Râmchandra; the *gaddi* or pillow of the sect is here, and the actual pillow originally used by Malûk Dâs is said to be still preserved. Besides this establishment there are other six Maths belonging to this sect at Allahâ-

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[1] *Essays*, I, 100 *sq.*; Growse, *Mathura*, 212.

bâd, Benares, Brindaban, Ajudhya, Lucknow, which is modern, having been founded by Gomati Dâs under the patronage of Asaf-ud-daula, and Jaggannâth, which last is of great repute, as rendered sacred by the death of Malûk Dâs."

Mandahâr.—A sept of Râjputs found mainly in the Muzaffarnagar and Sahâranpur Districts. They are also found in the neighbouring parts of the Panjâb. They are said to have come from Ajudhya to Jînd, driving the Chandel and Brâ Râjputs, who occupied the tract, into the Siwâliks and across the Ghaggar, respectively. They then fixed their capital in Kalâyit in Patiâla, with minor centres at Safîdon in Jînd and Asandh in Karnâl. They lie more or less between the Tunwar and Chauhân of the tract. But they have in more recent times spread down below the Chauhân into the Jumna River of the Karnâl District, with Gharaunda as a local centre. They were settled in these parts before the advent of the Chauhân, and were chastised at Samâna in Patiâla by Firoz Shâh. The Mandahâr, Kandahâr, Bargûjar, Sankarwâl, and Panihâr Râjputs are said to be descended from Lawa, a son of Râmchandra, and claim, therefore, to be solar Râjputs; and in Karnâl at least they do not intermarry.[1]

Mandârkiya.—A Râjput sept in Oudh who claim to be of Somhansi origin. They say that the name is derived from Sanskrit *Mandala*, "a circuit," the dominions of their founder Krishna Sinh. They more probably take their name from Mandar Sâh, who was one of the ancestors of the sept. Some of them are Hindus and some Muhammadans; the latter are said to have been converted to Islâm in the time of Shîr Shâh. But the change of religion has not bettered their condition, as the family is in the last stage of decay.[2]

Manihâr (Sanskrit *mani*, "a precious stone," *kâra*, "maker:") workers in glass and tin foil.—They are often confounded with the Chûrihâr, and in some places they appear to practise the same occupation: but their special business is to make and apply the pewter foil (*panni*), which is used in ornamenting bangles of a superior class.[3] There is both a Hindu and Musalmân branch, of whom the latter are much in excess. They are Sunnis and particularly respect the Pânchon Pîr and Ghâzi Miyân, whom they worship on

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[1] Ibbetson, *Panjâb Ethnography*, 238.
[2] *Sultânpur Settlement Report*, 179; *Oudh Gazetteer*, III, 462.
[3] See Hoey, *Monograph*, 147, *sq.*

the first Sunday in the month of Jeth with rich cakes (*malída*), rice and milk (*khîr*), flowers and *sharbat*. They offer food to the sainted dead at the Shabibârât.

2. The complete Census returns show nineteen sub-divisions of the Hindu and one hundred and thirty of the Muhammadan branch. The Hindu sub-divisions are: Ajudhyabâsi, Angarkha, Baiswâr, Bankarwâr, Bargûjar, Chauhân, Hâriya, Jagarhâr, Juriya, Khatwâs, Lokheri, Manihâr, Mathuriya, Râmanandi, Regwa, Sâgar, Sanâwar, Sîsgar, and Tanbara. The Muhammadan sections are of various origin. Some are derived from other well known castes or septs, such as Bâchhal, Baheliya, Banjâra, Chandeli, Darzi, Ghosi, Kâchhiyana, Kalawant, Khatri, Kunjra, Mukeri, Murai, Panwâr, Qalandar, Râjput, Râwat, Raikwâr: local, as Alapuriya, Alampuriya, Bahrâich, Bâtham, Bishnpuriya, Dakkhinâha, Deswâl, Dilliwâl, Jaiswâr, Kanaujiya, Purabiya, Rikhpuriya, Sarwariya: or occupational, as Jauhari, "jewellers," Lakarha, "workers in wood," Lakhiya, "workers in lac."

Distribution of Manihârs according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Hindus.	Musalmâns.	Total.
Dehra Dûn	...	3	3
Sahâranpur	31	1,008	1,129
Muzaffarnagar	1	711	712
Meerut	290	2,045	2,335
Bulandshahr	118	1,133	1,251
Aligarh	4	2,692	2,696
Mathura	74	1,169	1,243
Agra	41	2,018	2,059
Farrukhâbâd	...	1,528	1,528
Mainpuri	1	1,032	1,033
Etâwah	...	1,062	1,062
Etah	...	1,738	1,738
Bareilly	88	2,070	2,158
Bijnor	...	2,083	2,083

Distribution of the Manihârs according to the Census of 1891—contd.

Districts.	Hindus.	Musalmâns.	Total.
Budâun	3	1,909	1,912
Morâdâbâd	112	2,549	2,661
Shâhjahânpur	...	2,994	2,994
Pilibhît	...	1,282	1,282
Cawnpur	...	2,438	2,438
Fatehpur	...	1,038	1,038
Bânda	26	103	129
Hamîrpur	...	361	361
Allahâbâd	...	1,985	1,985
Jhânsi	3	63	66
Jâlaun	...	415	415
Lalitpur	18	1	19
Benares	1	...	1
Mirzapur	...	11	11
Jaunpur	...	665	665
Ghâzipur	2	...	
Gorakhpur	6	994	1,000
Basti	670	256	926
Azamgarh	16	62	78
Garhwâl	40	51	91
Tarâi	...	479	479
Lucknow	31	1,651	1,682
Unâo	...	1,530	1,530
Râê Bareli	...	2,572	2,572
Sîtapur	...	2,430	2,430
Hardoi	...	2,855	2,855
Kheri	...	2,608	2,608
Faizâbâd	...	1,316	1,316

Distribution of the Manihârs according to the Census of 1891—concld.

Districts.	Hindus.	Musalmâns.	Total.
Gonda	8	4,078	4,086
Bahrâich	...	4,375	4,375
Sultânpur	...	1,453	1,453
Partâbgarh	...	153	153
Bârabanki	...	2,554	2,554
Total .	1,584	65,613	67,197

Mârwâr.—A sept of Râjputs who are said to have come from Mârwâr to Ghâzipur at the same time as the Punwârs of Ujjain. They are a manly race, but do not show any marked sign of Aryan origin.[1]

Mârwâri[2] (a resident of Mârwâr) : a term which appears to bear two meanings,—the aggregate of Banyas who have emigrated to these Provinces from Rajputâna and its neighbourhood, including a number of sub-castes, such as Agarwâlas, Oswâls, and Maheswaris, who are to a large extent Jainas ; secondly, a true sub-caste of the name.—It would seem that at the last Census the Jaina Mârwâris recorded themselves under their special sub-castes, and it is only the Hindu branch which has been separately entered under the name of Mârwâri.

2. The following account of the sub-caste in Bombay deserves quotation :[3] "Of these classes of money-lenders, the Mârwâri Srâvaks are by far the most numerous and successful. So completely, indeed, have these foreigners in the rural parts of the Surat District monopolised the business of bankers and usurers, that in the villages south of the Tapti, Mârwâri is the common term in use for a money-lender. No information has been received as to when and from where these Mârwâri Srâvaks have come into the Surat District. But, as

The Western Mârwâris.

[1] Oldham, *Ghâzipur Memo.*, 1, 63.

[2] Based on information collected at Mirzapur and a note by M. Mahâdev Prasâd, Head Master, High School, Pilibhit.

[3] *Bombay Gazetteer*, II, 187, *sq.*

money-lenders of this class are not found north of the Tapti, the common opinion that they have worked their way north from the Dakkhin through the Thâna District may perhaps be correct. Though as aliens in race and religion, and related to them by the least amiable of ties, the Mârwâri money-lender bears among the people of the Surat District a character of unscrupulous greed and dishonesty; towards strangers of his own caste, he would seem to show much sympathy and active kindliness. Arriving in Surat without money or education, the Mârwâri Srâvak is taken in hand by his caste fellows, fed by them, set to work, and in his leisure hours taught to write and keep accounts. With this help in starting, the immigrant, who is frugal, temperate, and hardworking, soon puts together a small sum of ready money. From this amount, by advancing to the poorest classes sums seldom exceeding ₹5, his capital has in a few years increased to ₹2,000 or ₹3,000. With these savings he returns to Mârwâr, and at this stage of his life he generally marries. Practising economy even in his native land, the Mârwâri brings back with him to the village, where he formerly had dealings, enough ready money to enable him to start as a trader. His shop once opened, he settles in the village, leaving it only when forced by urgent reasons to visit Mârwâr, or, because—an event which seldom happens—he has become a bankrupt. Except hamlets chiefly inhabited by aboriginal tribes, almost every village in Surat has its Mârwâri shop-keeper and money-lender."

3. "In the larger villages, with enough trade to support more than one shop, the Mârwâri keeps but little grain in stock. In smaller and outlying villages, where he is the only trader, the Mârwâri starts as a general dealer, offering for sale, in addition to grain, spices, salt, sugar, oil, cloth, and bracelets of brass. The settler is now a member of the community of Mârwâri shop-keepers and money-lenders. This body has a social life, distinct from that of the villagers, with whom its members have dealings. Though the families of the different sub-divisions of the Mârwâri money-lenders do not intermarry, they are connected by many ties. In the event of the death of one of their number, the members of his caste from the neighbouring villages meet together to attend his funeral. Before the anniversary of the death has come round, his near relations, arriving from Mârwâr, unite with the other members in giving an entertainment to the Mârwâri community. As the

number of guests is small, and as all are possessed with the love of economy, the expenditure on such entertainments is, unlike the cost of a funeral feast among Gujarât Srâvaks, moderate.

4. "Almost all Mârwâris of this class are Srâvaks, or followers of the Jaina religion, and in the largest of a group of villages a temple of Pârasnâth is generally to be found. To meet the expense attending the maintenance of worship the settler devotes a fixed portion of his gains. At the same time he subscribes to a provident fund for the help of the widow and children of any member of his community who may die leaving his family in straitened circumstances. When a Mârwâri shop-keeper dies young, until his son is of age, the widow, with the help of a confidential clerk, generally manages the business. In such cases, it is said, the shop-keepers of neighbouring villages are of much help to the widow, giving her advice as to the conduct of the business, aiding her in keeping her accounts, and in recovering her outstanding debts.

5. "Connected by such ties as these, a community of interest is said to prevail among the Surat Mârwâris, and there would seem to be less of that competition of capital, which, in the districts of Northern Gujarât, helps the debtor to play off the Vânya creditor against his rival the Srâvak money-lender. Settled in one of the best houses of the village, with a good store of cattle and grain, spoken of by all with respect as the Seth or 'master,' and seldom without some family of debtors bound to perform any service he may stand in need of, the village money-lender, though he seldom becomes a large capitalist, lives in a state of comparative comfort." More information as to the methods of Mârwâri money-lending will be found in the report of the Deccan Commission.[1]

The Mârwâris of the North-Western Provinces.

6. The Mârwâris of Mirzapur are divided into nine exogamous sub-divisions:—Singhâniya; Gûndaka; Sarrâf; Sarâogi; Jhujhunwala; Bajauriya, Khemka; Bazâz Bartya. Each of these sub-divisions has one hundred and seventy-two sections. The rule of exogamy is that a man must not marry in his sub-division, in the section of his maternal uncle, in the section of his mother's maternal uncle, in the section of his grandfather's maternal uncle, in the section of his grandmother's maternal uncle, in the section of his mother's, grand-

[1] P. 11, *sq.*

father's and grandmother's maternal uncle. Girls are usually not married till they come to puberty or ten years old. Widow marriage is prohibited.

Birth ceremonies.

7. In the eighth month of pregnancy, the ceremony of *athwdsa utárana* is performed. Eight kinds of sweetmeats are placed in eight leaf platters (*dauna*), and an old woman of the tribe or family waves them round the head of the expectant mother. The sweetmeats are then sent to the houses of the relations of the family. When the child is born, a Chamârin is called in, who cuts the cord and buries it at the entrance of the room in which the confinement took place. Then a curious ceremony follows:

The brother-in-law (*bahnoi*) or sister's husband of the father of the baby touches the place where the cord was buried, and receives in cash or a piece of jewelry as a present. A Pandit is then called in who makes a note of the exact time of birth, on which he bases his calculation of the horoscope (*Janampatri*). On the fifth day the mother washes her hands and feet and puts on a new garment. For five days she is fed on a compound of ginger, treacle, dill (*ajwáin*), and other spices. From the sixth day she gets ordinary food. The Chamârin attends for five days, and after that her place is taken by the barber's wife and other servants of the family. When a month has passed, the mother is bathed and some water is poured out as offering to the Sun. Then the mother takes the child in her arms and goes to worship the Ganges, if it be near at hand. The offering to Ganga Mâi is some grain and sweets (*batásho*) with flowers and sandalwood. When she returns home, she distributes among her friends some grain and sweets. On that day, before the Ganges is worshipped, the whole house is plastered and all the earthen vessels are replaced, and the mother and baby are dressed in new clothes. When the child is six months old, the *anna-prásana* ceremony is done by giving the child some rice-milk at an auspicious time named by the Pandit. Next follows the ceremonial shaving (*múnran*), for which no special time is fixed. Poor people take the child to the temple of some neighbouring goddess and have it shaven there; but rich Mârwâris go to the temple of Sati Mâta at Fatehpur in Mârwâr. The mother takes the child in her arms, bathes, offers a sheet to Sati Mâta, and then walks five times round the temple. After this the child is shaved by one of the

barbers attached to the shrine. Only the top-knot (*choti*) is left uncut. After they return home, a dinner is given to the clansmen. Boys have the ears and girls the nose pierced (*kanchhedan, nakh-chhedan*), but no regular time is fixed for this. When it is to be done, the family priest worships the goddess Lohsani for five days with an offering of *kasar*, a particular kind of sweetmeat (*laddu*) made of parched rice and sesamum mixed with treacle. When the auspicious hour arrives, the goldsmith is called, and he bores the ears or nose of the child, who is given a *laddu* to eat during the operation.

Marriage ceremonies.

8. The marriage ceremonies begin with the betrothal ceremony (*sagâi*). First of all the bride's father sends for the horoscope of the bridegroom, and has that of his daughter compared with it by his Pandit. When the result of the comparison proves satisfactory, the fact is communicated to the father of the bridegroom, who sends to the bride by his sister, or, in default of her, by a Brâhmani, some red powder (*rori*) and some rice dyed in turmeric. The bearer marks the bride's forehead with the powder and sprinkles the rice over her. Her mother puts a rupee in the dish in which the rice and powder were brought, and this is taken to the mother of the boy. In return, the bride sends a dish of sweets (*laddu*) to the bridegroom. His mother procures some more *laddus*, and mixing the whole together sends them round to the friends of the family. The phrase for this is *sagâi kâ laddu bântna*. Next the friends of the boy send some clothes and ornaments for the bride, and for this some money is sent by her father. These ceremonies usually take place when the boy and girl are under the age of eight.

Marriage preliminaries.

9. When a girl is between nine and ten, the marriage day is fixed, after consultation with the Pandit. Ten days before the appointed day, the ceremony of *kar-dat* is performed. The women arrange the sacred marriage jar (*kalsa*) in the house and sing songs before it. Beside it is made an image of Ganesa, the god of luck, and the boy is made to worship him and the jar, and to distribute money to Brâhmans. The same ritual is carried out also in the house of the girl. Every day in both houses sweets are made and distributed among friends. Three days before the marriage day comes the *telwân*, when turmeric and oil are mixed in four earthenware saucers and the mothers of the bride and bridegroom anoint them with it. Before the anointing begins, the

unguent is offered to Ganesa. After the mothers have done the anointing, it is repeated by seven married women whose husbands are alive. Every day, up to the marriage, Ganesa is worshipped and every day the bride and bridegroom are anointed.

The procession.

10. Two days prior to the marriage, the boy's father feeds his clansmen, and on the last day before the wedding the *banauri* ceremony is done. Some powdered henna (*mendhi*) is put on the hand of the boy, and he is made to mount a mare, on which he rides to the house of the bride. Her father and his friends receive him at the door and mark his forehead with red powder. Each of them presents him with a rupee and a cocoanut, while the women of the family sing songs of rejoicing. Then the boy returns home. On the marriage day a cloth is hung up and held at each corner by a man. In the centre is placed an earthen cup, with a hole in the bottom, in which is placed a thread made of cocoa fibre. The boy is made to sit under the cloth, and, after he is rubbed with turmeric and oil, he worships Ganesa. The cloth is then tied to a peg in the house; this ceremony is called *manda*. After this Brâhmans are fed. In the evening his mother rubs the boy with oil and turmeric from head to foot, seven married women of the caste whose husbands are alive do the same. This is called *tel utárna*. He is then bathed and dressed in his marriage dress and ornaments, and the family priest marks his forehead with red powder and puts on his marriage crown. He is then mounted on an ass as a propitiation to Sîtala, and the animal is fed on *múng* pulse. The mother then offers her breast to her son, while she covers his head with the part of the sheet which conceals her bosom. The owner of the ass receives a sheet and a rupee, and the forehead of the animal is marked with red powder and turmeric. The boy then dismounts from the ass and mounts a horse. Here the mother, as before, offers her breast to her son. As he prepares to ride away, his sister holds back the horse by the bridle and will not let him go until she receives a present. Then a man holds an umbrella over the boy and fans him with a yak's tail, and a girl marks the horse behind him with some mustard (*sarson*) and salt as preservatives against the Evil Eye. With the same object his elder brother's wife or some other female relation puts lampblack on his eyes.

The arrival of the bridegroom.

11. After all this he sets out with his party (*bárát*) for the house of the bride, accompanied with music and fireworks. He rides round the town or

village in procession, and finally reaches the door of the bride. Over the door are erected some rude representations of birds, etc. (*toran*), which the bridegroom strikes with the branch of a *nîm* tree —an obvious symbol of the opposition which he may expect in taking away the bride. This done, his future mother-in-law comes out and waves a lamp over his head as a spell against demoniacal influence. The party then retire to the place (*janwâsa*) arranged for their reception. On the marriage day the nuptial shed (*mânro*) is erected at the house of the bride. A long pole, dyed with ochre, is set up in the courtyard; near it is laid some sand, and on it a pitcher of water. This done, Brâhmans are fed and baskets of sweetmeats are placed near at hand, which the bride distributes to the assembled Brâhmans. She is then made to worship Gauri and Ganesa. After this, she, accompanied by the other women of the family, goes to the village potter's house and worships his wheel (*châk*) as a symbol of fertility. When they are coming home, the potter's wife accompanies them, bearing on her head two pitchers—one small and the other large—with the necks decorated with gold tinsel. In these, water is sent for the refreshment of the bridegroom and his friends. The bride is then bathed and dressed in a white sheet with a red cloth over her head. Next a sort of platform is made of sand in the courtyard, and at each corner a peg is fixed, to each of which a stick is tied. In the centre a fire is lighted of mango wood. This platform is known as *chauri*.

The marriage ritual.

12. When the bridegroom arrives he is seated on a sort of chair under the shed and the bride sits on his left. The corners of their garments are knotted together, and they are made to worship Gauri and Ganesa. This done, the ceremony of *kathlewa* is performed. For this a ball of flour, turmeric, and henna is made, and this is placed in the hand of the bride. Over this the bridegroom lays his hand, and the pair are made to walk four or seven times round the platform, while the Brâhman recites verses and makes a fire sacrifice (*hom*). When he has completed this, he receives his fee (*dakshina*). Next the bride and bridegroom go into an inner room and worship what is known as the *thâpa*. This is a series of marks on the wall which have already been made by the women of the house with red powder (*rori*). Before these the bridegroom is made to recite some verses, and the bride's mother gives him a present. This over, the bridegroom rejoins his friends.

13. Next day the women of the tribe plait the hair of the bride and put some fruit into the sheet covering her bosom. Each woman gives her a present of money or ornaments. That day the bridegroom with his friends is entertained at the house of the bride, and the father of the bridegroom distributes sweetmeats among the relatives and friends of the bride.

The second day.

14. Next day the procession returns to the house of the bridegroom. Before they start the bride's father gives what he can afford by way of dowry, such as vessels, clothes, etc. Then the married pair take their seats in the same palanquin and return home. When they reach the house, the bridegroom walks in followed by the bride. When they come into the courtyard, seven dishes are placed in succession before them, which the bridegroom pushes away with the sword which he wears all through the marriage festivities. Then his father takes up the bridegroom in his lap and her mother-in-law does the same for the bride. Next the Ganges and Sîtala Mâta are worshipped, and the marriage bracelets (*kangan*) worn by the bride and bridegroom are put in a dish full of water, and the bride and bridegroom have a struggle to see which of them will take them out first. This is known as "the gambling" (*jûa khelna*).

The return.

15. A dying person is brought out of the house and laid on a piece of ground plastered with cowdung. Then the *pancha-ratana*, consisting of gold *tulasi* leaves, curds, pearls, and Ganges water are placed in his mouth. After death a sacred ball (*pinda*) is offered in his name and the corpse is laid on the pyre. The remaining funeral and purificatory ceremonies are performed in the orthodox Hindu fashion.

Funeral ceremonies.

Distribution of Mârwâri Banyas according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Agra	2	Shâhjahânpur . .	289
Farrukhâbâd . .	72	Cawnpur . . .	14
Etâwah . . .	2	Jhânsi . . .	6

Distribution of Márwári Banyas according to the Census of 1891—concld.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Jálaun	21	Unâo	4
Benares	21	Sítapur	14
Mirzapur	32	Gonda	15
Jaunpur	8	Bahráich	11
Ghâzipur	3	Sultânpur	1
Gorakhpur	164	Partâbgarh	2
Azamgarh	11		
Lucknow	28	Total	720

Mâthur.—A sub-caste of Banyas; so called because they believe their native place to be Mathura.

Distribution of Máthur Banyas according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Number.	Districts.	Number.
Meerut	16	Allahâbâd	2
Mathura	171	Mirzapur	1
Agra	9,953	Lucknow	3
Farrukhâbâd	4	Unâo	5
Mainpuri	10	Sítapur	3
Etâwah	98	Hardoi	3
Etah	133	Gonda	7
Budâun	32	Partâbgarh	300
Morâdâbâd	10		
Cawnpur	41	Total	10,792

Mauhâr.—A Râjput sept in Bânda, who say they are emigrants from Sambhal in Morâdâbâd. They claim Chauhân descent, and

say that they separated from the parent stock on account of some breach of caste rules.[1]

Meo, Mewâti, Mîna, Mîna Meo.[2]—A famous tribe who, though fairly numerous in the Provinces, are still foreigners to it. The word Mewâti means a resident of the land of Mewât, the name of which has been derived from the Sanskrit *mîna-vati*, "abounding in fish." The similarity of names and the legend of Sasibadani, as well as the fact that the sections of both tribes closely agree, has led to the general belief that the Mînas and Meos, who are classed as distinct in their native home Rajputâna, are really of common origin. This famous tribal legend is thus told by General Cunningham.[3] "The Mirâsis are the bards and singers of the Meos at all their marriages and festivals. At a marriage feast the most popular song is the love story of Darya Khân Meo and Sasibadani Mîni. The scene of most Meo legends is laid at Ajângarh, an old fort in the hills, only four miles to the west of Kamân. Todar Mal, who was the landlord of Ajângarh, used to repeat the following verse:—

Pânch pahâr ke râjahi,
Aur pûro tero dal,
Ádhé Akbar Bádshâh,
Ádhé Pahat Todar Mal:

"In the kingdom of the five hills, with its force complete, half is the Emperor Akbar's and half Pahat Todar Mal's."

This saying was repeated to Akbar, who sent for Todar Mal and demanded why he made himself equal to the Emperor. The Meo replied: "As I am zamîndâr of the five hills, half the produce belongs to me and half to your Majesty." Akbar was so pleased with the reply that he gave Todar Mal a rent-free grant, with rank in his army. It happened afterwards that Todar Mal was sent on an expedition with Bâda Râo, Mîna. The latter took the Meo to his house, where they drank wine together and became friends. Then Todar Mal said to the Mîna: "My wife will shortly give birth to a child; if a girl, I will give her in marriage to your son; if a boy, he will marry your daughter." Todar Mal's wife gave birth to a son, who was named Darya Khân, and Bâda Râo's wife gave birth to a daughter, who was named Sasibalani or 'moon-like body,' or 'moon face.'

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[1] *Gazetteer, North-Western Provinces*, I, 101, 160.
[2] Partly based on note by Bâbu Âtma Râm, Head Master, High School, Mathura.
[3] *Archæological Report*, XX, 22, *sqq.*

When the children reached ten years of age Bâda Râo sent the signs of betrothal (*tîka*) to Darya Khân, the son of Todar, and after a year a marriage party started from Ajângarh with several hundreds of Meos for the village of Bâda Râo. When the bridegroom reached the house, he struck the ornament (*toran*) over the door (according to custom) by making his horse leap; for otherwise being a boy he could not have reached it. The marriage ceremony was thus complete; but as the Mînas wished the Meos to eat flesh with them, as well as to drink wine, the Meos pretended that the Emperor of Delhi's troops had attacked their village and so the whole marriage party retired, leaving Sasibadani in her father's house.

2. "When the girl grew older she sent a letter to Darya Khân, but it was unfortunately given to Todar Mal, who beat the messenger. A second letter was afterwards safely delivered to Darya Khân, who at once mounted his horse and started for the Mîna village. As he approached, a woman, who was carrying a basket of cowdung (*hail*), saw him and throwing down her basket rushed off at once to Sasibadani, to whom she said: *Beti Bâda Râo ki sunyon mhâri ter, Awat dekho Malko, main ne adhar dâri heil*: 'O Bâda Râo's daughter, listen to my word; I saw the Malik coming and threw down my basket of cowdung half way.' Darya Khân was kindly received by his father-in-law, and the two sat down and drank freely. But when the Mîna pressed his son-in-law to eat some roasted meat, Darya Khân struck him a blow on the mouth and knocked out two of his teeth. Then all the Mînas drew their swords and would have killed Darya Khân at once, but Bâda Râo's son interposed and took him inside the house to his sister Sasibadani. At night Darya Khân fled with Sasibadani, and was pursued by the Mînas. But he reached his uncle's house in safety, when the Mînas dropped the pursuit." This story of Darya Khân Meo and Sasibadani Mîni is a very popular one, and their song is sung at every new marriage by their Mirâsis or bards. One result of this affair has been the discontinuance of marriages between the Meos and the Mînas, which had previously been common.

3. "Whatever truth there may be in the above story, the people generally refer to it as the cause of the discontinuance of marriages between the tribes. The acknowledgment of the previous intermarriage seems to offer rather a strong proof that the Meos must

have been a cognate race with the Mînas, holding the same social position—higher perhaps than the Ahîr and other agricultural classes, but decidedly below the Râjputs, from whom they claim descent. I am inclined, therefore, to agree with Major Powlett that the Meos and Mînas may have had a common origin. I have a suspicion that they may be the descendants of the Megallæ, mentioned by Pliny, who dwelt along the Indus and the Jumna, apparently bordering on the Jumna. As the name is spelt Mewara as well as Mev, I think that Akbar must have revived the old form which gives a very near approach to Megallæ."

Internal organization.

4. Whatever their connection with the Mînas may be, the Meos themselves pretend to Râjput descent and name thirteen clans (*pâl*) and fifty-two *gotras*; but Mr. Channing[1] writes that no two enumerations of the Pâls that he has seen correspond precisely, and curiously enough the fifty-two *gotras* include the Pâls, and are not, as would at first appear, in addition to them. What the exact relationship of the Pâl to the *gotra* may be cannot be ascertained without much more local enquiry in Rajputâna. It is possible that the system of exogamy practised in the tribe may be in a stage of transition, which indeed is not wonderful, considering the various elements out of which the caste is evidently made up. As Sir A. Lyall[2] writes: "It is a Cave of Adullam that has stood open for centuries. With them a captured woman is solemnly admitted by a form of adoption into one circle of affinity, in order that she may be lawfully married into another, a fiction which looks very like the survival of a custom that may once have been universal among all classes at a more elastic stage of their growth; for it enables the circles of affinity within a tribe to increase and multiply their numbers without a break, while at the same time it satisfies the conditions of lawful intermarriage." The following is General Cunningham's[3] enumeration of the Meo Pâls: Five Jâdon clans—Chhirkilât, Dalât, Demrot, Nâi, Pundelot; five Tomar clans—Balot, Darwâr, Kalesa, Lundavât, Rattâvat; one Kachhwâha clan—Dingâl; one Bargûjar clan—Singâl. Besides these there is one miscellaneous or half-blood clan—Palâkra. Mr. Channing's enumeration is somewhat different—

[1] Ibbetson, *Panjâb Ethnography*, section 478.
[2] *Asiatic Studies*, 162.
[3] *Archæological Reports*, XX, 23.

Balant; Ratâwat; Darwâl; Landâwat; Chirklot; Dimrot; Dulot; Nâi; Tunglot; Dahugâl; Singâl; Kalesa or Kalsakhi. The complete Census returns give ninety-seven sub-divisions of the Meo or Hindu and three hundred and forty-seven of the Mewâti or Musalmân branch. The Hindu branch have annexed various Râjput septs, such as Bargûjar, Hara, Janwâr, Kânhpuriya, Raghubansi, Râwat, and Tomar. The names of the Musalmân sections illustrate the composite nature of the caste. We find Râjput sept names, such as Bargûjar, Chandela, Chauhân, Gahlot, Jâdon, Kachhwâha, Rathauriya, side by side with Bhât, Dakaut, Gadariya, Ghosi, Gûjar, Guâl, Julâha, Kabariya, Kori, Nâi, and Rangrez: besides local terms, such as Audhiya, Ismâîlpuriya, Khairâlbâdi, Malikpuriya, Mirzapuriya, and Sultânpuriya.

The Meos of Rajputâna.

5. The best available account of the Rajputâna branch of the tribe is that by Major Powlett:[1] "The Meos are numerically the first race in the Alwar State, and the agricultural portion of them is considerably more than double any other class of cultivators except Chamârs. They occupy about half the territory, and the portion they dwell in occupies the north and east. They are divided into fifty-two clans, of which the twelve largest are called *pâl* and the smaller *gotra*. These clans contend much with each other, but the members of a clan sometimes unite to assist one of their number when in danger of being crushed by a fine, or to recover a village lost to the clan by want of thrift. The Meos, for they no doubt are often included under the term Mewâti, were, during the Muhammadan period of power, always notorious for their turbulence and predatory habits; however, since their complete subjection by Bakhtâwar Sinh and Banni Sinh, who broke up the large turbulent villages into a number of smaller hamlets, they have become generally well behaved; but they return to their former habits when opportunity offers. In 1857 they assembled, burnt State ricks, carried off cattle, etc., but did not succeed in plundering town or village in Alwar. In British territory they plundered Fîrozpur and other villages, and when a British force came to restore order many were hanged.

6. "Though Meos claim to be of Râjput origin, there are grounds for believing that many spring from the same stock as the Mînas. However, it is probable enough that apostate Râjputs and bastard sons of Râjputs founded many of the clans as legends tell.

[1] *Rajputâna Gazetteer*, III, 200.

The Meos are now all Musalmâns in name; but their village deities are the same as those of the Hindus, and they keep several Hindu festivals. Thus, the Holi is with Meos a season of rough play, and is considered as important a festival as the Muharram, 'Id, or Shab-i-bârât; and they likewise observe the Janam Ashtami, Dasahra, and Diwâli. They often keep Brâhman priests to write the note (*pîli chitthi*) fixing the date of marriage. They call themselves by Hindu names, with the exception of Râm; and Sinh is a frequent affix, though not so common as Khân. On the Amâwas, or monthly conjunction of the sun and moon, the Meos, in common with Hindu Ahîrs, Gûjars, etc., cease from labour; and when they make a well, the first proceeding is to erect a platform (*chabûtra*) to Bhaironji or Hanumân. However, when plunder was to be obtained, they have shown little respect for Hindu shrines or temples; and when the sanctity of a threatened place has been urged, the retort has been—*Tum to deo; ham Meo*—'You may be a god, but I am a Meo.' As regards their own religion, Meos are very ignorant. Few know the *Kalima*, and fewer still the regular prayers, the seasons of which they entirely neglect. This, however, applies only to Alwar territory; in British, the effect of the schools is to make them more observant of religious duties. Indeed, in Alwar, at certain places where there are mosques, religious observances are better maintained, and some know the *Kalima*, say their prayers, and would like a school.

7. "Meos do not marry in their own clan (*pâl*), but are lax about forming connections with women of other castes, whose children they receive into the Meo community. On marriage, two hundred rupees is considered a respectable sum to spend, that is to say, one hundred and thirty on betrothal (*sagâi*) and seventy on marriage. They sometimes dower their daughters handsomely, and sometimes make money by them. Indeed they often say that they have sold their daughters to pay their debts. As already stated, Brâhmans take part in the formalities preceding a marriage, but the ceremony itself is performed by the Qâzi, who receives a fee of about R1-4 and eight sers of rice. The rite of circumcision is performed by the village barber and the village Faqîr, who also guards a new grave for some days till the ground has become too hard to disturb. As agriculturists, Meos are inferior to their Hindu neighbours. The point in which they chiefly fail is in working their wells, for which they lack patience. Their women, whom

they do not seclude will, it is said, do more field work than the men; indeed women are often found at work when the men are lying down. Like the women of low Hindu castes, they tattoo their bodies—a practice disapproved by Musalmâns in general. Meos are generally poor and live badly. They have no scruples about getting drunk when opportunity offers. The men wear the loin and waist cloth (*dhoti*, *kamari*), and not drawers (*pâéjâma*). Their dress is in fact Hindu. The men often wear gold ornaments, but the women are seldom or never allowed to have them."

8. Sir J. Malcom[1] says that it is hard to say whether the Meos of Central India are Hindus or Muhammadans. They partake of both religions and are the most desperate rogues in India. Though they are stigmatised as robbers and assassins, they are admitted to be faithful and courageous guards and servants. Their chiefs invariably took the lead in robberies on a large scale. Colonel Hervey[2] says that the Mînas of Upper Rajputâna are Hindus of the straitest sect, and not only do Hindus of every denomination, high and low, but all Thâkurs, Jâts, and Ahîrs will even partake of food which has been prepared by them. Brâhmans and Banyas alone refrain from eating their food and drinking their water. They will however drink water which has been drawn by a Mîna, but not put it into any drinking utensil. They never intermarry in their mother's *gotra* except after a remove of four generations. The installation of the Mahârâja of Jaypur is not considered complete until the ceremony of fixing the mark of sovereignty (*tilak*) is performed by the headmen of the two leading sub-divisions. They guard the Mahârâja's harem, and are the constituted watchmen of the State. They do not, however, mix with the Parihâr Mînas inhabiting Khairwâra, who eat the flesh of young buffaloes. In the Western Panjâb, Mr. J. Wilson[3] says that they erect in their villages the standard of Sayyid Masâud. The erection of these is the privilege of a body of Shaikhs, who are known as mosque attendants (*mujâwir*), and have divided the Meo villages among them. Each man annually sets up a standard in each village of his own circle, receiving one rupee from the village for so doing, and appropriating all offerings made by the people. The usual offering is a

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[1] *Central India*, II, 175.
[2] *Indian Antiquary*, III, 85, *sq.*
[3] *Ibid*, VIII, 209.

HARISCHANDI.

sort of sweetmeat made of bread crumbs, *ghi*, and sugar, which is called *malída*; this is brought by the worshippers and put in the hand of the attendant Mujâwir; he places it at the foot of the standard, reciting the blessing (*álham-du-illah*), while the worshipper makes an obeisance. The Khânzâdas, who are closely connected with the Meos, have the same ceremony. According to General Cunningham,[1] they reverence the local deities of the Hindus, such as Bhaiyya, a platform with white stones placed upon it, who is also called Bhûmiya, Châhund, or Khera Deo. He thinks that the custom of tattooing, common among the women, points to a connection with the lower classes of Hindus, and perhaps also with the aboriginal Mînas, rather than to any relationship with the Râjputs. They may, however, have been Râjputs on the side of the fathers, while the mothers preserved the customs of the lower races to which they belonged. He also describes the lavish waste with which they perform the ceremony of the funeral feast, which is called *shakkarána* from the quantity of sugar consumed by the guests.

The tribe in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.

9. The last Census classes them under three heads: the Meo and Mîna, who are all Hindus; and the Mewâti, who are all Muhammadans. There is a legend current that the two sons of Râja Jaswant had once, in the course of a hunting excursion, caught and brought in two wild cows. Their friends taking pity on the calves, which were left deserted in the jungle, taxed the princes with their irreligious conduct; upon which their father turned them out of his palace. One of them turned a freebooter and directed his course to Jamundes, or the country between the Ganges and the Jumna; after making a great booty in slaves and goods, he returned to his native place, Mewât, which he continued to govern in the name of his father. He had, however, lost the orthodoxy of his Hindu faith by leading a dissolute life and forming connections with women of different creeds and castes during the period while he roamed about as a freebooter. From him the present Mewâtis are said to be descended. Another legend[2] derives the name Meo from the word *mokeo*, which they use in driving their cattle; and a third story[3] says that when a majority of

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[1] *Archæological Reports*, XX, 22, *sq.*
[2] Raja Lachhman Sinh, *Bulandshahr Memo.*, 183, *sq.*
[3] Tod, *Annals*, II, 887.

the tribe were converted to Islâm, the remainder, who preserved their faith, were termed Amîna Meo or "pure Meos," whence the name Mîna. Again, according to Colonel Tod, Maina means the unmixed class, while Mîna is applied to the mixed tribe, of which they reckon twelve communities (*pâl*) descended from Râjput blood, *e.g.*, Chauhân; Tuar; Jâdon; Parihâr; Kachhwâha; Solanki; Sânkla; Gahlot, etc. The word *pâl*, according to the same authority, means a "defile in a valley suitable for cultivation and defence." In Cawnpur,[1] the Mînas call themselves Thâkurs, and adopt the clan names of Chandel and Chauhân; but they are despised by real Thâkurs. In the Central Duâb, they are reported to worship a deified ancestor named Jagat Deo in the form of a rude clay image, to which cakes are offered. They disclaim all connection with the regular Mewâtis and call themselves Râjputs: but they are endogamous and marry usually in the exchange form: a man giving his sister in marriage to his wife's brother. As a mark of distinction from the regular Meos, some call themselves Moh.

10. The Muhammadan branch, who are usually known as Mewâti, claim to have been originally Jâdons and members of other Râjput septs of Mewât, who were converted to Islâm by Alâ-ud-dîn Ghori. They are said to be immigrants from Alwar, Bhartpur, and Gurgâon. Their settlement in Mathura is dated, in the reign of Râo Sindhia of Gwâlior, about a hundred years ago. They follow the law of exogamy prevailing among the Hindu branch but, in other respects, are regulated by the rules of Islâm. They allow widow marriage by the *dharîcha* form. The betrothal is settled by the bride's father sending from one to five rupees by his barber and friends; this is laid in the lap of the boy in the presence of the assembled brethren, and by its acceptance the betrothal is confirmed. Their birth and death ceremonies are of the normal Muhammadan type.

Occupation.

11. At present nearly all of them are cultivators and day-labourers. In the Ganges-Jumna Duâb, they have been a thorn in the side of successive rulers since the dawn of history. We first hear of them when, at the instigation of Prithivi Râj of Delhi, they were expelled from the Upper Duâb by the Râjputs of the Bargûjar, Bhatti, Chokar,

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[1] *Settlement Report*, 18.

Jâdon, and Gahlot septs. In the early Muhammadan era they again broke out and gave constant trouble, until they were brought under subjection by Ghayâs-ud-dîn Balban.[1] Zia-ud-dîn Barni[2] describes their misconduct in the neighbourhood of Delhi. Mubârak Shâh waged an unsuccessful campaign against them, but finally defeated them in 1425 A.D.[3] They again broke out three years later, and the war went on till 1432 A.D.,[4] when they were at last coerced. Bâbar, on his arrival at Agra, describes their leader Râja Hasan Khân as "the chief agitator in all these confusions and insurrections."[5] Farishta[6] describes two terrible slaughters of turbulent Mewâtis by Imâm-ud-dîn, Wazîr of Nasîr-ud-dîn Mahmûd, in 1259 A.D., and again by Balban in 1265. In the Mutiny, they and the Gûjars of the Upper Duâb were notorious for their turbulence, and seriously impeded the operations against Delhi. The popular idea of them is quite in unison with their history: *Pahlé lât, pichhé bât*; *Dekhi tori Mewât*; *pahli gâli, pichhé bât* are common proverbs, which mean that, in dealing with a Mewâti, you had better kick or abuse him before you do business with him; their niggardliness is recorded by *Meo beti jab dé, jab okhali bhar rupaya rakhwâle*: "the Meo will not give his daughter in marriage till he gets a mortar full of silver;" his blood-thirstiness—*Meo ka pût barah baras men badla leta hai*: "the Meo's brat takes his revenge when he is twelve years old;" his toughness—*Meo mara jab jâniye, jab tîja ho jâé*: "Never be sure that a Meo is dead till you see the third-day funeral ceremony performed."

Distribution of the Meos according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Hindus.			Muhammadan.	Total.
	Meo.	Mina.	Others.	Mewâti.	
Dehra Dûn . . .	...	...	...	51	51
Sahâranpur . . .	...	...	...	1,944	1,944

[1] Râjâ Lachhman Sinh, *loc. cit.*, 183, *sq.*
[2] Dowson's *Elliot*, III, 103.
[3] *Ibid*, IV, 60, *sq.*
[4] *Ibid*, IV, 75.
[5] *Ibid*, IV, 263.
[6] Briggs, *Farishta*, I, 241, 256.

Distribution of the Meos according to the Census of 1891—contd.

Districts.	Hindus.			Muhammadan.	Total.
	Meo.	Mina.	Others.	Mewâti.	
Muzaffarnagar . . .	22	...	22	1,093	1,137
Meerut	2	1	1	5,190	5,194
Bulandshahr . . .	2,807	2,795	12	2,723	13,337
Aligarh	346	254	92	5,345	6,037
Mathura . . .	594	429	165	4,179	5,367
Agra	590	590	0	2,724	3,922
Farrukhâbâd . . .	...	...	...	231	231
Mainpuri	15	15	...	247	277
Etâwah	...	...	...	1,505	1,505
Etah	6	6	...	1,048	1,060
Bareilly	...	...	...	10,044	10,044
Bijnor	1,832	...	1,832	358	3,120
Budâun	2,092	2,092	...	890	5,074
Morâdâbâd . . .	1,659	1,488	171	2,095	5,413
Shâhjahânpur . . .	19	...	19	679	717
Pilibhît	...	...	...	2,248	2,248
Cawnpur	...	...	...	474	474
Fatehpur	...	...	...	345	345
Bânda	...	...	...	66	66
Hamîrpur	—	...	...	15	15
Allahâbâd . . .	...	...	...	1,250	1,250
Jhânsi	—	...	...	91	91
Jâlaun	...	...	...	62	62
Lalitpur	1	...	1	32	34
Benares	18	18	...	103	229
Mirzapur	...	...	...	103	103
Jaunpur	600	600	...	1	1,201

Distribution of the Meos according to the Census of 1891—concld.

Districts.	Hindus.			Muhammadan.	Total.
	Meo.	Mina.	Others.	Mewâti.	
Ghâzipur	...	...	...	30	30
Ballia	...	...	...	141	141
Gorakhpur . . .	...	...	...	207	207
Basti	...	...	...	16	16
Azamgarh . . .	...	...	...	207	207
Tarâi	480	467	13	2,533	3,493
Lucknow	...	...	...	1,934	1,934
Unâo	...	...	...	1,121	1,121
RâêBareli . . .	...	...	...	401	401
Sîtapur	...	...	...	331	331
Hardoi	...	...	...	124	124
Kheri . . .	...	...	...	685	685
Faizâbâd	...	...	...	263	263
Gonda	...	...	...	518	518
Bahrâich	...	...	...	870	870
Sultânpur	...	...	...	463	463
Partâbgarh . . .	...	...	...	116	116
Bârabanki . . .	...	...	...	160	160
Total .	10,642	8,755	1,887	60,332	81,616

GRAND TOTAL	HINDUS . . .	21,284
	MUHAMMADANS . .	60,332
		81,616

Milki.[1]—A Muhammadan tribe in some of the Eastern districts and parts of Oudh who are not recorded separately in the last Census. In Unâo, they are landholders and field labourers. In Azamgarh, they are regarded as the aristocracy of the Muhammadan

[1] Based on a note by M. Chhutan Lâl, Deputy Collector, Unâo.

community, and are so called because their ancestors were the class to whom principally revenue grants (*milk*) were given under the Muhammadan rule. They are the class with whom we are most brought in contact, for they hold a good deal of landed property, and from among them come many of our native officials and lawyers, the tribe in this respect occupying among Muhammadans the position that Kâyasths do among Hindus. They are, as a rule, inclined to indolence, and are wanting in practicality. Their neighbours do not put much trust in their generosity or straightforwardness. There is a popular proverb—

Milki kâ jané pardé dil ki ?
Paithé duár niklé khirki :

"What does a Milki know of the feelings of another ?
He comes in by the door and out by the window."[1]

They are, as a rule, wanting in enthusiasm for their creed. Some are Shiahs and some Sunnis, and their lives are regulated by the orthodox rules of Islâm.

Mirâsi, Dom Mirâsi, Dûm Mirâsi.—A caste of singers, minstrels and genealogists. They are obviously an offshoot of the great Dom tribe, and at the last Census appear to have been classed among the Muhammadan Doms. The word Mirâsi is derived from the Arabic *Mirás*, "inheritance," in the sense that the members of this caste are a sort of hereditary bards or minstrels to the lower tribes, as the Bhât is to the Râjputs. They are also known as Pakhâwaji, from the *Pakhâwaj* or timbrel which they play ; Kalawant, "possessed of art or skill" (*kala*); Qawwâl, "one who speaks fluently, a professional story-teller." They sometimes abbreviate the word Mirâsi into Mîr, as if they were Sayyids. They are seemingly closely akin to the Dhârhi, and the Muhammadan Mirâsis and Dhârhis appear to intermarry and eat together.

2. The Mirâsi has two functions—the men are musicians, story-tellers, and genealogists ; the women dance and sing, but they are said to perform only in the presence of women, and are reputed chaste. A writer in the *Calcutta Review*[2] gives an amusing account of the Mirâsi :—

"The Mirâsi is a perfect Autolycus at weddings and other functions among the Jâts, and again at the 'solid funerals,' in which

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[1] *Azamgarh Settlement Report*, 34.
[2] XC, 111.

the Râjput takes his pleasure sadly, as becomes a gentleman. One often meets him on a raw-boned steed, its tail dyed in the fashion to a hair, and a pair of kettle-drums strapped across its withers while the tails of a new pink turban, the fresh spoil of some magnanimous client, stream in the March breeze behind the bard and genealogist. These 'beggars on horseback' absorb a most inordinate share of the farmer's gains, and help him, if recklessly disposed, in a variety of ways along the road proverbially open to the *nouveau riche* of all societies. For generations back the lords of Dîg and Bhartpur were hardly recognised as even yeomen; but seventy years of peace and comparative plenty have trebled the demand for pedigrees as well as other luxuries." Writing of the Panjâb, Mr. Ibbetson says: "The position of the Mirâsi, as of all the minstrel castes, is exceedingly low; but he attends at weddings and similar occasions to recite genealogies. Moreover, there are grades even among Mirâsis. The out-caste tribes have their Mirâsis, who, though they do not eat with their clients, and merely render them professional service, are considered impure by the Mirâsis of the higher castes. The Mirâsi is generally a hereditary servant, like the Bhât, and is notorious for his exactions, which he makes under the threat of lampooning the ancestors of him from whom he demands fees."

3. The instruments of the Mirâsi are generally the small drum (*dholak*), the cymbals (*majira*), and the gourd lute (*kingri*). They are said to have been converted to Islâm in response to an invitation from the poet Amîr Khusru, who lived in the reign of Alâ-ud-dîn Khilji (1295 A. D.). The most famous of them in recent times was Râji-ud-daula, who ruled the Court of Oudh. Another was 'Ali Bakhsh who married a European woman, and whose daughter married Nasîr-ud-dîn Haidar. The current proverbs illustrate the unfavourable view of the Dom Mirâsi: *Dom, Banya, Posti-tinon beimân*: "The Dom, Banya, and opium-eater are all three rogues;" *Dom doli, Pâthak piyâda*: "The Dom in a litter and the Brâhman priest on foot;" *Munh lagâi Domni bâl bachhé samet âé*: "Encourage the singing woman, and she will come with all her brats;" *Bâp Dom aur Dom hi dâda; Kahé miyân! main sharfa zâda!* "His father was a bard, and so was his grandfather; but he says, 'Sir! My family is noble!'"

Mochi (Sanskrit *mochika*)—the cobbler and shoemaker class. They are properly an occupational sub-caste of Chamâr. There appear to be two kinds of Mochis: one, who make and cobble shoes

are real Chamârs; those who make saddles and harness call themselves Sribâstab Kâyasths, with whom they intermarry and agree in manners and customs. They do not appear to know anything of the Bengal tradition of their origin, which is thus told by Mr. Risley:[1] "One of the Prajapati or mind-born sons of Brahma was in the habit of providing the flesh of cows and clarified butter as a burnt offering (*ahuti*) to the gods. It was then the custom to eat a portion of sacrifice, restore the victim to life, and drive it into the forest. On this occasion the Prajapati failed to resuscitate the sacrificial animal, owing to his wife, who was pregnant at the time, having clandestinely made away with a portion. Alarmed at this, he summoned all the other Prajapatis, and they sought by divination to discover the cause of the failure. At last they ascertained what had happened, and as a punishment the wife was cursed and expelled their society. The child which she bore was the first Mochi or tanner, and from that time forth mankind, being deprived of reanimating cattle slaughtered for food, the pious abandoned the practice of killing kine altogether. Another story is that Muchirâm, the ancestor of the caste, was born from the sweat of Brahma while dancing. He chanced to offend the irritable sage Durvâsa, who sent a pretty Brâhman widow to allure him into a breach of chastity. Muchirâm accosted the widow as mother and refused to have anything to do with her; but Durvâsa used the miraculous powers he had acquired by penance to render the widow pregnant, so that the innocent Muchirâm was made an outcaste on suspicion. From her twin sons descended the two main sub-castes of the Bengal Mochis." The Bengal Mochi evidently corresponds more to our Chamâr than Mochi. In Bengal he tans hides like the Chamâr, but will only cure those of the cow, goat, buffalo, and deer.

2. Lucknow and Cawnpur are the great centres of the shoe-making trade. A full account of the Lucknow shoe industry has been given by Mr. Hoey.[2] A common proverb runs—*Mochi mochi laren phaté râj ke jîn*: "When saddlers squabble the Râja's saddle gets torn," *i. e.*, "Too many cooks spoil the broth."

3. The Census returns show 150 sub-divisions of the Hindu and 27 of the Musalmân branch. We find, as usual, many names taken from those of other castes and septs, such as Bâgri, Bais, Bargûjar, Barwâr, Basoriya, Dhuna, Gaur, Gidhiya, Jâdon, Janwâr,

[1] Tribes and Castes III, 1895.

Jât, Kachhwâha, Kâyasth, Kori, Râjput, Ramosiya, Sakarwâr, Tomar: with local groups, such as Agarwâl, Allahâbâdi Bhojpuriya, Chaurasiya, Dilliwâl, Gujaratiya, Jaiswâr, Kanaujiya, Saksena, Shirâzi, Sribâstab.

Distribution of Mochis according to the Census of 1891.

Districts.	Hindus.			Musalmâns.	Total.
	Sribâstab.	Others.	Total.		
Dehra Dûn . . .	...	92	92	...	92
Sahâranpur . . .	...	582	582	227	809
Muzaffarnagar . .	...	214	214	101	315
Meerut	...	180	180	67	247
Bulandshahr . . .	...	87	87	6	93
Aligarh	...	123	123	...	123
Mathura . . .	...	65	65	1	66
Agra	10	360	370	12	382
Farrukhâbâd . . .	151	343	404	20	514
Mainpuri . . .	...	69	69	1	70
Etâwah	18	261	279	21	300
Etah	61	100	161	2	163
Bareilly	...	169	169	...	169
Bijnor	...	...	...	294	294
Budâun . . .	...	34	34	...	34
Morâdâbâd . . .	2	149	151	42	193
Shâhjahânpur . . .	73	85	158	34	192
Pilibhît	22	52	74	45	119
Cawnpur	40	1,116	1,156	36	1,192
Fatehpur . . .	50	117	167	11	178
Bânda . . .	39	159	198	...	198
Hamîrpur . . .	61	98	159	2	161

Distribution of Mochis according to the Census of 1891—concld.

Districts.	Hindus.			Musal-máns.	Total.
	Sribástab.	Others.	Total.		
Allahábád . . .	17	560	577	19	596
Jhánsi	115	...	115	3	118
Jálaun	14	118	132	3	135
Lalitpur	...	56	56	...	56
Benares	8	43	51	67	118
Mirzapur	102	23	125	...	125
Jaunpur	...	14	14	126	140
Gházipur	...	...	...	63	63
Ballia	...	...	...	123	123
Gorakhpur . . .	59	29	88	261	349
Basti	...	...	...	322	322
Azamgarh . . .	...	4	4	124	128
Kumaun	...	115	115	...	115
Garhwál	...	...	...	...	...
Tarái	..	10	10	...	10
Lucknow	...	570	570	569	1,139
Unáo	28	32	60	...	60
Ráé Bareli	18	91	109	152	261
Sítapur	162	129	291	5	296
Hardoi	45	101	146	25	171
Kheri	106	...	106	1	107
FáizAbád	31	49	80	184	264
Gonda	.	9	9	155	164
Pahráich	51	118	169	66	235
Sultánpur . . .	...	64	64	342	406
Partábgarh . . .	...	38	38	93	131
Bárabanki . . .	...	108	108	47	155
Total .	1,283	6,736	8,019	3,672	11,691

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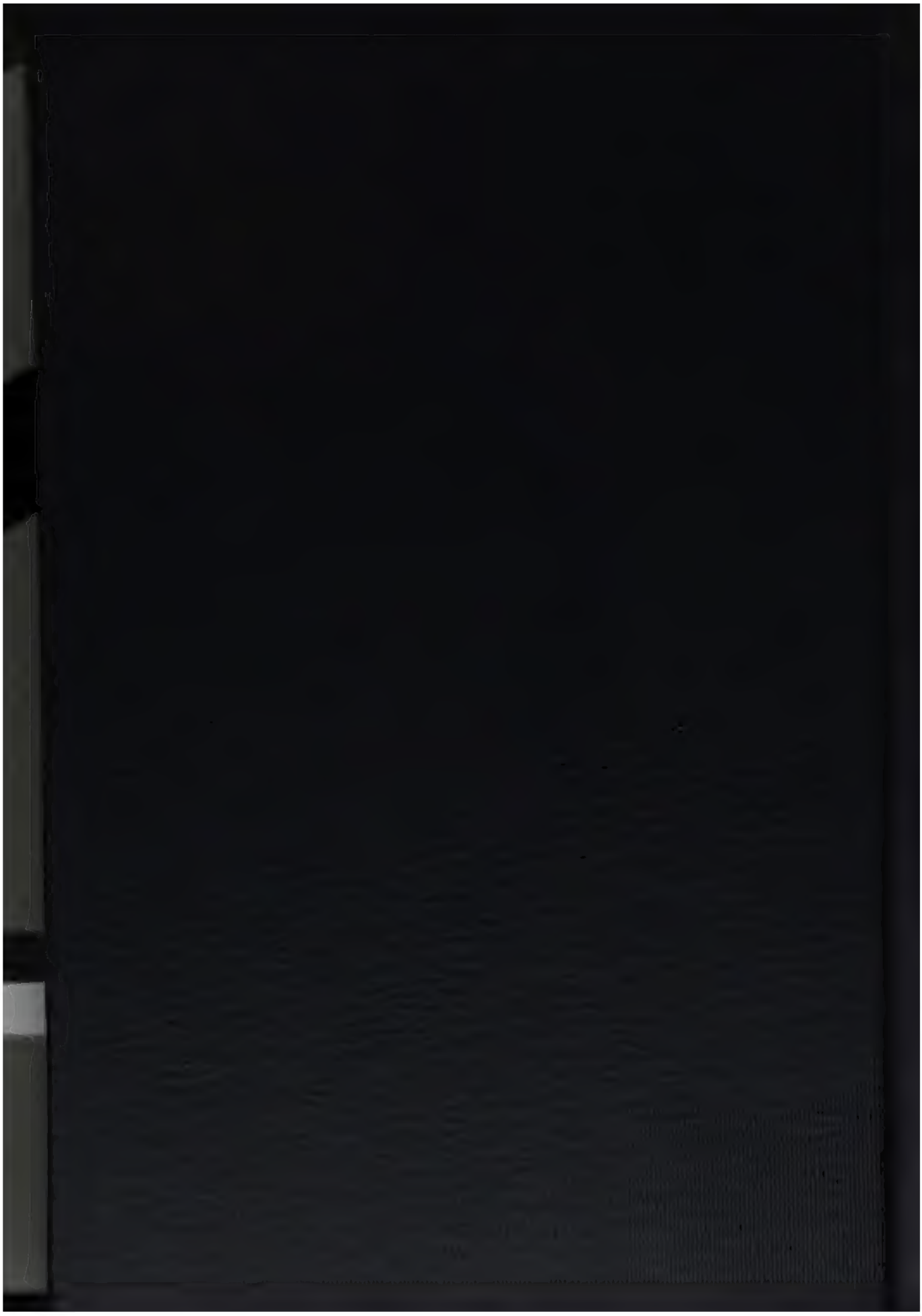
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